W., 10,000--20/9/98.

Croydon Public Libraries.

Central Reference Library.

Accession No. 8579 **Class No.** 9327·42

Besides the class topic, other topics treated of in this book are as follows :—

Topic No.	Pages.	Topic No.	Pages.

This Volume is presented *by the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury to*_____

and will, in the event of the Library being broken up, be returned to the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office, Westminster.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

BROMLEY LIBRARIES

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CALENDARS.

Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged:—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or, he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

K 89. Wt. B 1190.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed :—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

CALENDAR

OF

LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

THE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN,

PRESERVED IN

THE ARCHIVES AT SIMANCAS AND ELSEWHERE.

Vol. IV.—Part II.

HENRY VIII.

1531-1533.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

EDITED BY

PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
LONGMANS & Co., PATERNOSTER ROW; TRÜBNER & Co., LUDGATE HILL;
ALSO BY PARKER & Co., OXFORD;
MACMILLAN & Co., CAMBRIDGE;
A. & C. BLACK, EDINBURGH; AND A. THOM & Co., DUBLIN.

1882.

BROMLEY PUBLIC LIBRARIES
AL 45
CLASS
L 45
ACC.
01997 7902
942.052

Printed by George E. B. Eyre and William Spottiswoode,
Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

CENTRAL

CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction	i
Calendar	1
Table of Contents	943
Additions and Corrections	955
General Index	1001

ABBREVIATIONS.

S. .....Archivo General de Simancas.
L. .....Legajo or bundle.
Bul. Suel. .....Bulas Sueltas.
Pat. Re.....Patronato Real.
T. c. I. .....Tratados con Inglaterra.
Cap. c. l. cas. d'Aus. ...Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria.
T. c. Pont.....Tratados con Pontifices.
E. .....Estado or Foreign affairs.
Co. d. C. .....Corona de Castilla.
Co. d. A. .....Corona de Aragon.
Co. d. N. .....Corona de Navarra.
F. .....Flandes.
A. .....Alemania.
Po.....Portugal.
I. .....Inglaterra.
R. .....Roma.
Na.....Napoles.
Si. .....Sicilia.
Mi.....Milan.
V. .....Venecia.
Ge.....Genoa.
To.....Toscana.
Pr. d. It. .....Principes de Italia.
Var. De.....Varios Despachos.
L. Suelt. .....Legajos sueltos, or bundles of papers not yet classified.
L. d. Berz.....Libros de Berzosa.
Se. de Guer. .....Secretaria de Guerra.
Mar y T. .....Mar y Tierra.
H. .....Hacienda or Finances.
M. .....Madrid.
Re. Ac. d. Hist. .....Real Academia de la Historia.
Salazar .....Coleccion de D^{n}. Luis de Salazar.
Muñoz .....——— de Don Juan Bautista Muñoz.
Car. Var. .....Cartas varias.
Bib. Nac. .....Bibliotheca Nacional, at Madrid.
B. .....Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, at Barcelona.
D. Pasc. d. G. .....Library of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid.
Pap. r. a. l. Hist. d'Esp...Papeles relativos á la historia de España.
P. .....Archives de l'Empire, now Archives Nationales, at Paris.
Mo. Hist. .....Monuments Historiques.
K. u. K. Haus- Hof- u. Staats Arch. Wien. } Kaiserlich und Königlich Haus- Hof- und Staats Archiv, at Vienna.
Arch. d. Roy^{me}. de Belg. Archives du Royaume de Belgique, at Brussels.
Doc. Hist.....Documents Historiques.
Pap. d'Etat. Neg. d'Ang. Papiers d'Etat, Negotiations d'Angleterre.
Arch. Cent. Priv. y Cart. Re. d. S^{ta}. Mar. d. Naj. } Archivo Central *at Madrid:* Privilegios y Cartas Reales de Santa Maria de Najera.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

INTRODUCTION.

This Part, II. of the 4th volume, embraces a period of three years, from January 1531 to the end of December 1533, — a momentous one, indeed, for the political relations between England and Spain. At its beginning the two sons of Francis I. were still hostages in Spain, kept, as it were, in bondage for their father's ransom. Louise de Savoie and Margaret of Austria had not yet met together to negociate the peace of Cambray; Italy was striving to secure her independence; the divorce suit had not been advoked to Rome, and Clement VII. himself was undecided as to which was his best policy, whether to lean on the side of the Empire or on that of France. At Rome — then the centre of European politics — the Emperor's general affairs were still conducted by Miçer Miguel Mai, occasionally assisted by Praët, by cardinals Quiñones, Merino, and Loaysa, as well as by a host of minor agents, such as Muxetula, Ortiz, and others, all of whom were evidently straining every nerve to remove Clement's scruples in the matter of the divorce, and fix his hesitating policy. The treaty concluded in Barcelona, in June 1527, with its two secret clauses, importing the subjection of Florence, and the advocation of the divorce suit to Rome, seemed to incline the balance in favour

* François, the Dauphin, and Henri, the duke of Orleans.

of Charles, who during his visit to Italy and subsequent coronation at Bologna, obtained further concessions from Clement, besides a most solemn promise that Katharine's case, and the convocation of a General Council—the two pivots on which his policy at the time revolved, should be attended to in preference. No sooner, however, was the Emperor's back turned, than with a vacillation and cunning, of which the tortuous diplomacy of the XVIth century offers too many examples, Clement entirely forgot his promise, and invented all manner of ingenious subterfuges to evade his formal engagements. As the pages of this Calendar will show, the convocation of the Council did not take place during Clement's pontificate, the matrimonial cause remained unsettled, and in spite of Papal briefs and formal excommunications, Henry caused his marriage with Katharine to be dissolved, and secretly married Anne Boleyn in February 1533.

Mai. On the whole Mai's position at Rome as Charles' ambassador, and Katharine's procurator at the same time, must have been a difficult one. Ever since his arrival in 1529, two years after the sack of that city by Bourbon's ruthless bands, he had conducted the Emperor's affairs in a manner highly creditable to himself, and given unequivocal signs of his prudence and wisdom, as well as of thorough knowledge of Roman politics and men. His opinion of Clement was by no means favourable. He would never trust him, nor believe in his professions of devotion to the Emperor, whilst his official despatches are filled with observations more or less sharp, and at times irreverent, upon his character and behaviour. He accused him of sordid avarice, of unfaithfulness in his dealings with Charles, and, what is more, of low cunning in all his acts. " My private opinion of the Holy Father, " is that Your Majesty cannot rely too much on his

" professions. As to the probability of getting assistance " from him, or money for your wants, it is entirely " out of the question. On this particular I am far " from sharing the opinion of those Privy Councillors, " who at Barcelona, whilst I myself was there, thought " the thing feasible. Unless Florence is positively re- " stored to him and to his family, the Medici,—thus " increasing his power and reputation, which as your " Majesty knows, is very low just now,—he will not " disburse a 'quatrino,' and even then, there will be " some difficuly in getting it out of him. The man is " sordidly avaricious, and low-minded, and, therefore, your " Imperial Majesty would do well in handing over to him, " as his perquisite, a good portion of the revenues of " the Crusade, perhaps also anything else he may ask " for. In past times many concessions might have " been got out of him by sheer intimidation; nowadays " another tack should be followed, for were we to press " him too hard, there is danger of his going over to the " opposite side, besides which some consideration and " respect are after all due to him as supreme head of the " Christian Church."*

Whatever efforts Mai may have made to forward his master's interests at Rome, one thing is quite clear and manifest from the despatches abstracted in both parts of the present volume; they were counteracted, and almost defeated, by the Church party within the Roman embassy itself. It has been said elsewhere† that from the very beginning of his reign, and particularly since his election to the empire, in June 1519, Charles had always two sorts of ambassadors at Rome, one laic, another ecclesiastic.

---

* See Mai's despatches of the 11th May and 4th August 1529, under Nos. 6 and 97.

† Int. to Part I. pp. viii–xvii.

Fray Francisco Fernandez de Quiñones, the general of the Franciscans, better known as Cardinal Santa Croce, shared first the diplomatic duties of the duke of Sessa (Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba). Then came Giovan Antonio Muxetula, a priest, who during Clement's stay at Viterbo, and before the latter re-entered his capital, was employed on a mission, the nature of which is not exactly explained. Cardinal Merino was the next, and after him, in May 1530, arrived the bishop of Osma, Charles' confessor.* With all these—most particularly with Muxetula and Loaysa—Mai was at variance, the consequence being, as he himself says, that "either from selfish motives, "from vanity, or from personal affection to Clement,— "who knew too well how to flatter, and gain them over "to his views,—every one of those ministers thwarted "his politics, and not unfrequently undid the good he "had worked."

Loaysa.

His differences with Loaysa seem to have been very great in 1530. Of that remarkable ecclesiastic, formerly bishop of Osma (1525–32), afterwards of Siguenza (1532–8), and lastly archbishop of Seville, confessor of Charles V. and Cardinal in 1529,† enough has been said in the Introduction to Part I. pp. xii. and xiii. He arrived at Rome in May 1530, and stayed there until the end of October 1532. His original correspondence, at least a good portion of that preserved at Simancas,‡ was

* Ortiz did not arrive at Rome till the 23rd of Jannary 1531, and seems to have worked conjointly with Mai. It was not until Muxetula's departure from that capital in 1533 that his disagreement with that ambassador really commenced.

† His full name was Fray Garcia de Loaysa Mendoza, but in these pages he is generally designated as Cardinal *Loaysa*, Monsignor of Osma, or D'Osma, or Cardinal *Siguenza*, &c.

‡ A few more have since been found both in the Archives at Simancas and in private hands.

published in 1848, at Berlin, with a German translation by Dr. Heine.* Loaysa's despatches to the Emperor bear the stamp of an accomplished prelate and scholar, well versed in political science, and in the manners and ways of the Imperial court. His letters are well written, but perhaps in too familiar a form; his advice, though generally good and sound, is often tendered in authoritative language, more befitting the confessor than Charles' ambassador at Rome; in fact he always assumes the tone of a warm spiritual adviser, and not unfrequently upbraids his Imperial pupil as if he were his tutor, and had charge of his political education. All tends to prove that Loaysa loved the Emperor sincerely, and did his best to ensure the success of the mission entrusted to him. During that momentous period of time, when the Emperor's affairs in Germany were taking a bad turn; when a second and more formidable Turkish invasion was at hand; when the clamours for a General Council resounded everywhere except at Rome, and the Imperial ministers in that court were persistently asking for brisk action and prompt sentence in the English matrimonial cause, Cardinal Loaysa, as well as Miçer Mai, not unfrequently counselled the postponement of the former, as well as the suspension of the proceedings in the latter. And yet with all this Loaysa respected and liked Clement, and had a much better opinion of him than his colleague in the Roman embassy, whose occasional unkind aspersions have been transcribed elsewhere.† On the 16th of February 1531, after the rejection by the cardinals in Consistory of the excusator's

* *Briefe an Kaysar Karl V.*, 8°.

† See above, p. ii., but several more passages might have been adduced from his letters,—not all of which were collected by Bergenroth,—all tending to prove his general dislike and mistrust of the Pope.

application, Loaysa wrote to the High Commander: "The Pope is exceedingly circumspect, and almost timid "in this affair of Henry's divorce, whether from fear "of that king or from excessive prudence I cannot "exactly say. He certainly loves his Imperial Majesty "more than any other prince in Christendom, nay than "all of them put together, and though fear, as I say, "or some other sentiment, that I will not attempt to "describe, may occasionally have caused him to do and "say things open to misconstruction, yet I must declare "to your Lordship that his goodwill is apparently strong, "firm, and decided in all things concerning His "Majesty. Such being the case, as I have no doubt it "is, we must take him at his words, keep him carefully "on such terms, cherish and flatter him, for after all "I do not hesitate to say that the Emperor, our master, "and his brother the King of the Romans, have no "greater friend in the world." After which he adds: "Should Miçer Mai write home contradicting this opinion "of mine, and estimate of his Holiness' qualities and "conduct in the affair, and aver that he is not "friendly towards us, he must not be believed entirely." Again, on the 4th of December, when at the request of the English ambassadors Karne's rejection was about to be re-considered, and a day appointed for the King's proctors to dispute the case, Loaysa exculpates Clement in these words: "My impression is that in this "business of the matrimonal cause the wishes and "intentions of his Holiness are exactly the same as "your Majesty's would be, if you were the judge. He "feels as much for the Queen, and shows as much "compassion for her as if he were her own father; "and yet the affair being so mighty and important, "he prefers proceeding in it with caution, and step by

" step, until he can bring the English King under his " immediate jurisdiction, and persuade him to send " lawyers and canonists to plead for him. Such are " his Holiness' intentions at present, but I cannot help " saying, in pursuance of my duty, that Miçer Mai, " though a worthy man, is no more fit for his task, as " your Majesty's proctor, than I myself am for the " command of one of your galleys."*

No further proofs need be adduced of Loaysa's and Mai's conflicting opinions respecting Clement. The former excused his too frequent tergiversations on the plea of timidity, and fear of England and France, and thought that the Emperor and his brother could not possibly have a better friend, whereas honest and rude Mai entirely disbelieved in his protestations, and saw nothing but duplicity and low cunning in all his acts. No wonder, therefore, that with such elements of discord among the Imperial ministers in Rome, the two grave questions of "Divorce" and "Council" did not take the turn that Charles wished.

Muxetula. Mai's dissensions with Muxetula were still graver, since they took at one time the pro-

* In July 1532, after alluding to the difficulty of procuring money from Clement towards the expenses of the Turkish war, the Cardinal adds: " Muxetula's illness has been a disappointment, as otherwise I take it " that he would have obtained it. As to Miçer Mai speaking to his " Holiness on such matters it is equivalent to his not speaking at all; " besides I cannot say what the reason may be, but as he considers " himself already replaced, I dare say he takes no interest in such " affairs; in fact he is so cold and indifferent about them that his " Holiness thinks that we are flush of money, &c." See also Osma's despatch of the 4th Dec. (p. 319), where he adds: " Had not Mai been so " negligent we should already be in possession of a sentence by contumacy, " and the principal cause might now be tried. Indeed, I make bold to " say that were I to leave Rome to-day, and Miçer Mai to remain in office, " our cause would soon be dragged on the ground, whereas if Muxetula " had charge of it, it would be quickly over the housetops."

portions of a regular feud. Not only did he accuse him of complicity with Clement to defeat the Emperor's views, but charged him once with being positively sold to the Pope, and doing nothing except what was agreeable to him. He it was who first dissuaded Clement from listening to the Emperor's suggestions about the General Council. If the proposed assembly did not take place, "it was as much Muxetula's fault "as the Most Christian King's." So devoted was he to the Papal interests that when Clement's nuncio at the Imperial court, Baldassar Castiglione, died (Nov. 1529), he was, though a Neapolitan by birth, and the Emperor's born vassal, on the point of being chosen as his successor. At Bologna, during Charles' coronation, he was presented by Clement with a "balliato" yielding 3,000 crs. annually, besides a good pension and a rich benefice in the kingdom of Naples, whilst a nephew of his, the son of a "fuoruscito," sentenced as a rebel, and himself attached to the French party, was by him placed about Clement's person, as chamberlain, that he might hear and report the conversations of the Imperial ministers, his colleagues. "In this manner (wrote Mai on the 30th of April) I have "often found the Pope to be perfectly well acquainted "with facts and matters that have been discussed in "his (Muxetula's) presence between Cardinal Loaysa, "Don Pedro de la Cueva, and myself, or else with my "own conversations with Andrea del Burgo in the Pope's "antechamber. As he himself has obtained apartments "in the Papal Palace, if he ever hears that I am having "audience from his Holiness, he immediately presents "himself, and I cannot say a word without his taking "part in the conversation; and, strange to say, if I "happen to transact private business of Your Majesty, "obtain the promise of a bishopric for one of your

" servants, gain a suit at the Rota, get a dispensation, " or make a settlement of any sort, he dispatches forth- " with a messenger, or writes to the interested parties " complimenting them on their success, and attributing " all the merit to himself "!

Such grave charges are no doubt exaggerated, and yet, as both Colonna and Loaysa at one time joined more or less in the accusation, there must have been some ground for it.* That the former of those personages—a sworn enemy of Clement and of the Medici, then ruling with vice-regal authority over Naples—should write disparagingly of an ecclesiastic, who whilst holding benefices, and a high post in the judicature of that kingdom, besides the Emperor's commission at Rome, was reported to be the Pope's trusty friend and confidant, is not to be wondered at,† but that a Spanish cardinal and archbishop, once the Emperor's confessor, should also join in the attack, makes

---

* " If ever the Pope happens to tell me one word more than to either " of us two, Burgo or me, he sells it so dear that we will not have it at " any price, though I must declare that very seldom does he tell him a thing " that he has not told us first . . . . . By exaggerating his influence, " and by visiting Osma almost every day this man has succeeded in " gaining the confidence of that Cardinal, although I know as a fact that " far from being his friend, as he professes, he has on more than one " occasion spoken disparagingly of him, and done him harm behind his " back . . . . His application for a cardinal's hat will never be granted, " for people here find that he is of Jewish descent."

† Among other accusations brought against him by Colonna, one was that he had actually prevented the sacking of Florence by the Emperor's undisciplined bands by persuading Clement to contribute a sum of money monthly towards the pay of the besieging army!! Another no less wilful, and most likely unfounded, was that he aimed at the Pontificate after Clement's death. There can be no doubt, however, that he must have been recommended at some time or other for a cardinal's hat, for in 1532 Mai writes to Covos in exultation: " the cardinals seem to be more " than ever against Muxetula, for they have discovered that he is of " Jewish descent, and not sufficiently advanced in years. If he ever gets " it, he will have enough to do."

us naturally think that there must have been causes for so much vituperation.

On the 30th of April 1532, some imprudent revelations of Muxetula to Andrea del Burgo, Ferdinand's ambassador at Rome, widened still more the breach between them. Upon the latter complaining that Clement's engagements towards his master, the king of the Romans, had not been fulfilled, and that if justice were not done he should be obliged to report home, and complain of the Pope's coldness and indifference, as his colleague Mai had already done upon more than one occasion, Muxetula said, after trying to exculpate Clement: "As "an Italian and a countryman of yours, I will tell you "a great secret, but only on condition that you will "not reveal it to any one." He then proceeded to say that Clement had certainly been the Emperor's best friend at Bologna, but since then his affection for him had greatly diminished. The reasons for such a change were, 1stly: That though the Emperor had promised to his Holiness at Bologna to decide the Ferrara claims in his favour, or else to leave them unsettled as they were, he had actually arbitrated against him. 2ndly. That the Emperor was evidently trying to settle his own affairs with the Lutherans without informing him thereof. 3rdly. That Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, his sworn enemy, was maintained in the vice-royalty of Naples, where he was doing all he could to annoy him, &c.*

Such were Muxetula's revelations to Miçer Andrea del Burgo, revelations which the latter failed not to communicate under reserve to his friend and colleague, and of which the High Commander Covos was hastily

* Notwithstanding Clement's warm recommendations, the duke of Gravina (Ferrante), one of the Neapolitan "fuorusciti," had lost his estate, which was confiscated, and sold.

informed. They must have brought on Muxetula's recall from Rome, for on the 20th of October, 1530, he asked to be allowed to quit Rome, on the plea that the principal business, for which he had gone, was nearly over, and on the 1st of Sept. 1531 Mai wrote to that secretary: "I thank your lordship very much for bringing about Muxetula's recall."* He, however, stayed at Rome till October 1532, in what character is not known, leaving that city some time before Clement started on his second journey to Bologna.

Ortiz.

Doctor Pedro Ortiz, with whom Mai had also to contend, was a man of a different stamp, and sincerely attached to the Emperor; yet his disagreement with the Imperial ambassadors assumed at one time great proportions, and, as may naturally be inferred, contributed powerfully to the confusion and discord reigning in the Emperor's councils. As long as he limited himself, as Katharine's proctor and solicitor, to plead her cause at the Rota, present allegations in her defence, see the Pope, and speak to Cardinals and Auditors of that ecclesiastical court, all went smoothly enough; but when there came a change

* *See* a notice of him in Part I. *Int. p.* xvii.–xviii. Though Ferdinand's ambassador, Andrea del Burgo, helped Mai in his negociations about the Council, the Lutherans, the reluctantly granted crusade against the Turk, and the matrimonial cause of England, in which his master had as much personal interest as his brother, the Emperor, since he was also Katharine's nephew. In September 1532, Burgo had a fit of palsy, which nearly caused his death, upon which Mai wrote to Covos warning him against the appointment in his room of one Fray Geronimo Fonseca, who had once been employed by him, and who called himself in public Burgo's successor in the Roman embassy. "Fonseca (he said) is by no means the "fit man to replace that good and honest Burgo, besides which he is a "priest, and not likely to conduct his Highness' affairs in this court "advantageously for the Emperor, his brother." For a fuller notice of Andrea del Burgo, who in 1529 was created Count of Castil Leone (Castelleone), *see* Part I. *Int. pp.* xvii.–xviii.

in Charles' politics, and he himself was instructed to relax, and not press the matter so hard, Ortiz would not hear of it, disregarding entirely both the Imperial injunctions and the advice of his own colleagues at Rome. If Clement's policy was wavering, that of the Emperor was no less so at times. His desire of conciliation even during his quarrel with England, is notorious and manifest. Had Henry accepted with sincerity any of the compromises offered to him before his marriage to Anne Boleyn, there is sufficient ground to conclude that the Emperor would have quietly pocketed the gross insult, for such it was, offered to his aunt, rather than lose the alliance of England, without which he could not successfully cope with his bitter enemy, the Most Christian King. Hence it was that, when all hope of securing Henry's friendship was lost to him, he turned towards France, and cherishing an idea first started at Rome, of a marriage between Mary, the Infanta of Portugal, and the duke of Angoulême, with the dukedom of Milan as a dower, after Sforza's death, he set about trying to separate both countries from each other's interests. The better to detach Francis from the English alliance, a brilliant offer was made to the former, though in an underhand way. Before and after issuing his brief of excommunication and interdict against Henry and his kingdom, Clement had always insisted upon all the Christian princes in general, and the Emperor in particular, as the most interested party, helping practically towards its execution. Francis, it was suggested, as Most Christian King, would perhaps undertake the charge in union with Charles, and seize Calais. The alliance between England and France would then be dissolved, Charles and Katharine revenged. The idea was first started at Rome by Clement's friends, most likely with his initiative, and communicated to Cifuentes,

who wrote at once to Charles and Covos about it. It was approved in Spain, and there seems to have been some talk of it with the French ambassador at the Imperial court; but Francis did not take the bait, and matters remained as they were before.

Dr. Ortiz was ignorant of these underhand negociations. Proud of his theological lore,* as well as of his position in the Roman Court, as advocate and proctor of the persecuted Queen, with whom and with the Empress Isabella he maintained a correspondence, he could not understand why Katharine's cause, which seemed to him so clear and so just, should be abandoned, and perhaps lost, through official carelessness and change of politics; and though seriously reproved in January 1532, and expressly bidden not to mix himself up with civil and political affairs that did not concern him, without previous consultation with the Spanish ambassadors, he went on as before calling almost daily on Clement, who perceiving the discord found his interest in fomenting it, whilst Ortiz kept doing and saying things which, in Loaysa's words, were highly injurious to the Imperial interests at Rome. With a vanity amounting almost to ridiculous conceit, he frequently took in processions and other ecclesiastical ceremonies the place reserved for ambassadors,† and though severely reprimanded by that Cardinal and

---

* At Salamanca, where he filled for some time the chair of scholastic theology, the Doctor, who was a Franciscan or Minorite friar, was celebrated for his knowledge. In November 1531 he wrote to the Empress complaining that the Rector of that University refused to pay him the salary of his professorship.

† *See* Mai's despatch to the Emperor of the 13th June 1531: "This good "Master of Theology fancies himself Imperial ambassador at this Court, "and so, I am told, he is called by his servants and friends. . . . . I have "no great opinion of him, all those of his cloth being rather vain. Hearing "that Muxetula, who certainly was no more ambassador than he is, had

by Mai, he made himself so obnoxious that they had to complain to the Emperor and to Covos of the nuisance.* He was not, however, recalled, but, as will be seen, continued at Rome until after Katharine's death, and long after the divorce suit had naturally fallen to the ground.

Cueva. In November 1530, Don Pedro de la Cueva, the Emperor's chamberlain and Privy Councillor, as well as High Commander of Alcantara—one of the four military orders of Spain, — arrived at Rome on a mission from Charles. Don Pedro was the son of Don Beltran, first duke of Alburquerque, by his third wife Doña Maria de Velasco.† According to the letter of his instructions,‡ dated Augsburg, the 30th of October, he was to ask Clement for the fulfilment of certain promises made during his coronation at Bologna, among which was the creation

---

" managed, I do not know how, to precede on certain official ceremonies the " ambassador of the King of the Romans (Burgo), the French and English, " and even Don Pedro de la Cueva, he (Ortiz) is trying to do the same," &c.

* The Doctor himself wrote to the Empress in November 1532: " Although in this matter of the Papal briefs against the King of England " I have been the principal mover, and brought the affair to the point at " which it now stands, yet the ambassador Miçer Mai keeps saying that I " usurp his office, and that it is not for me to talk of such matters to is " Holiness. I have given the Cardinal (Loaysa) cognizance of these facts, " and although he acknowledges that the ambassador is in fault with regard " to me, yet he thinks that I ought to let the matter stand until receiving " new orders from your Majesty." Mai pretended that Ortiz' instructions were merely concerning Luther and the General Council, in no wise the English affair, which, he maintained, was exclusively his own province, and had to be tried by civil and canon law, not by theological arguments (ii. p. 116). Ortiz (he asserted) had no mandate whatever for that, nor more right to intervene in the affair than any of the Italian lawyers retained for the suit (ii. p. 117).

† Don Pedro's half brother, Don Beltran II., second duke of Alburquerque, was at the time viceroy of Navarre.

‡ *See* Part I. p. 787, No. 479, and Sandoval, *Historia del Emperador Carlos*, V. lib. xix. § xx., where they are given in full.

of three cardinals, Seville, Capua, and Monaco, to whom another candidate might be added, namely Alfonso de Fonseca, the archbishop of Toledo.* In case of refusal he was respectfully to remind the Pope of his engagements, and tell him that only a few months ago a Cardinal's hat had been bestowed on Gabriel de Grammont, bishop of Tarbes, and Francis' ambassador at Rome, whose nomination had not met with general approbation. He was, moreover, to insist upon the convocation of the General Council according to promise.

Cueva's mission, as regarded the General Council and the Cardinals' hats, proved a most arduous task, inasmuch as Clement's general dislike of the former, his numerous subterfuges, and dilatory expedients to put off its convocation, were notorious, whilst just at the same time the English ambassadors at Rome were strongly recommending Ghinucci and Casale, the Prothonotary, for that high dignity of the Church.

How far Don Pedro was successful in his mission, his despatches to the Emperor and letters to Covos, will sufficiently show. After several consultations and consistories held for the purpose, the convocation of a General Council was agreed upon. Prothonotary Umberto di Gambara was deputed to the Emperor, then in the Netherlands, to inquire about certain doubtful points, such as the place of meeting of the Council, the attendance personal, or by proxy, of Henry and Francis at its deliberations,

* Alonso Manrique, archbishop of Seville, Nicholas Schomberg of Capua, and Agostino Grimaldo, lord bishop of Monaco. Only the first named got his Cardinal's hat in October 1531, during Clement's pontificate. As to Fonseca, his stubborn resistance to surrender the arrears of a pension, which that Pope claimed of the time, when he was only a Cardinal, must have been the cause of the Emperor's strong recommendations not being taken into account. The archbishop of Santiago (Tavera) and Fray Garcia de Loaysa, bishop of Osma and Siguenza, were appointed instead.

and other minor details, which, from the disposition and probable disagreement of the parties concerned, Clement knew too well would effectually mar and impede the meeting of the assembly. Gambara started off on the 20th of December, but made so little progress in his journey that he did not arrive in Brussels till the end of January 1531. "In all probability," said Cueva on the 24th, "the Prothonotary's journey will be a long one; he "will take his time on the road, and therefore unless "proper pressure is exercised on his Highness, both here "and there with his legate, the convocation of the Council "will be put off 'ad calendas Græcas.'"

Soon after this, at the end of 1530 or beginning of 1531, Don Pedro, highly disgusted with the lawyers and churchmen of that capital,—"long-robed gentlemen," as he graphically calls them,—left Rome, to join the Emperor's court, and be present at Ferdinand's coronation as King of the Romans at Aix-le-Chapelle. On the very day of the Prothonotary's departure, who (he says) "takes with him "a good chapter of accidents, besides books to found his "arguments upon, and several treacherous expedients," Don Pedro had written to Covos: "I beg and entreat that "the very moment this matter of the Council is settled, "an express be sent to me with the news, that I may quit "Rome at once, for I can assure your lordship the life I "lead here is not to my taste. I would rather pay down "a good sum of money to our master's exchequer, and be "allowed to share with you the fatigues of the approaching campaign, than have to lead a quiet and luxurious "life among these scoundrels of churchmen."*

---

* These and other passages of Cueva's correspondence with Covos are not generally taken from his papers at Simancas, but from other original sources, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

In October 1532 Cueva was again sent to Rome. This time his mission had no reference, as in the preceding year, to the Council.* The situation of Germany had considerably improved; the Turkish invasion had been repulsed; the German princes, in general, were less refractory, and unless stirred up to arms by Francis and Henry for their own particular aims and advantage, there was some chance of their not interfering with Charles' political views and plans elsewhere, in Europe. The Lutherans themselves, if allowed the free exercise of their creed, felt disposed to waive all other claims. At this time, too, an interview between Henry and Francis at Calais and Boulogne, where a closer alliance of the two kings, designs and plans more or less hostile, would undoubtedly be discussed, was in preparation, or had already begun. To counteract which, and to arrest the impending evil, Charles had written to Clement from Brussels proposing an interview either at Piacenza in Lombardy, or at Genoa. If Clement, still delicate, and wishing to avoid the fatigue of a long journey, preferred Rome, the Emperor had no objection to go thither on his way to Naples, and previously to his return to Spain by sea. At a consistory held for the purpose in October, the majority of the cardinals voted for Rome; Clement, however, chose Bologna, and on the 10th of November, though in indifferent health owing to a return of his old complaint, left his capital, followed by a numerous train of cardinals. Of the conferences, which lasted from the 10th to the 26th of February 1533, we have no special account, but their result may be inferred from the Emperor's letters to Isabella of Portugal; further

* In November 1531 Charles wrote to Mai not to mention the Council any longer. *See p.* 290.

promises and new engagements on the part of Clement, all, or nearly all, being broken in succession.*

Whether Don Pedro, had, or had not, any other charge on this occasion, is not easy to determine. Neither Mai's despatches, nor the instructions, adduced by Sandoval† as a proof of Charles' love of justice and fervid catholicism, of his righteous intentions concerning the convocation of a General Council, and the quelling of German dissensions in matters of faith, are sufficiently explicit on that point; and yet we cannot help thinking that he had also charge of reporting on general affairs, unravelling certain Roman intrigues, and perhaps, too, enlightening Covos, the Emperor's principal secretary, as to the nature and origin of the grave dissensions existing between the Imperial ministers. "It appears" (writes he in October) "that between Monsignor D'Osma and our ambassador "Miçer Mai there is not that harmony which ought to "prevail between the Emperor's ministers abroad, the "reason being, as far as I can conjecture, that the former "is by far too condescending and weak, whilst the latter "is too impetuous and harsh."

But Cueva had accidentally another difficult task to perform during his stay at Rome, namely that of explaining in the best manner he could, and at the same time offering Clement satisfaction for, the sudden arrest of his nephew, Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, in the Friul.‡ What sort of suspicions may have been raised by the Legate's sudden disappearance from the Imperial camp, is still a

---

* *See* No. 1178, at page 917, written at Modena on the 1st March. The date 1532, however, is a mistake, and ought to be changed into 1533.

† Don Pedro had a brother named *Luis*, a gallant colonel of Spanish men-at-arms, whose services in the Turkish war were much commended by Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador*, lib. xx.

‡ At Santo Vito.

matter of doubt, some Italian writers hinting that his arrest was caused by the detection of some dark conspiracy of his against Florence,—where his own brother Alessandro was then ruling as duke consort of Margaret of Austria, the Emperor's natural daughter,—whilst others, like Guicciardini, attribute it to a sudden freak of his restless nature, and disobedience to the Imperial orders respecting the marching and quartering of his troops on their way back to Italy.* However this may be, the fact is that on the 12th of Oct. 1532, the cardinal, and his lieutenant Pier Maria Rosso, count of San Secondo, were arrested, mistakenly, as asserted, by the Imperial officers Leguiçamo and Lecquinghen. The mistake, however, if there was one, was soon discovered, for Don Pedro de la Cueva, ready to start for his Roman mission, had to ride post-haste after the fugitives, order their immediate release, upbraid the captors as if they had made a gross blunder, and exceeded their instructions, and last, not least, offer Clement full satisfaction on his arrival at Rome.†

---

* If credit is to be given to Ippolito's letter to Clement, which was shown by him to Loaysa and Cueva on the 20th of October, the cause of his arrest was his leaving the Imperial camp without informing the Emperor of his departure. He left, he alleged, for fear of the infantry who had risen in mutiny, taking with him the 40,000 ducats which the Pope, his uncle, had given him to pay the troops under his orders. He had met Count San Secondo on the road, and journeyed with him until the Imperial officers and some cavalry overtook him and made him prisoner.

† In Cueva's letter to Covos on the 16th of October, which will be found in the Supplement, p. 917, No. 1180, all the matter is sufficiently explained. Whatever may have been the cause of the cardinal's arrest, there can be no doubt that it was made by the Emperor's orders. Cueva suggests that the Imperial officers should be dismissed from the service and punished, "not indeed for having acted against orders, but because in order "to excuse what we wanted to appear as a blunder of theirs, they have "shown their written instructions to their friends."

Don Pedro's style is both vigorous and concise, more like that of a well-bred courtier than that of a scholar. His despatches to the Emperor are well written, and appropriately temperate. It is in his letters to Covos, which might be called "private and confidential," that he exhibits much of that vein of humour and satire, which with more literary culture might have made him the equal of the festive Quevedo. Not all his letters to the High Commander have been preserved; with the exception of a few at Simancas, of which copies were obtained by Bergenroth, most of those of a private character, and addressed to Covos, are to be found either in the archives of the Alburquerque family, or in those of Camarasa. In some of them, which I have had occasion to peruse, he speaks jocosely, though rather irreverently, of cardinals and priests in general. A soldier and a courtier, he could hardly sympathize with the long-robed gentlemen of Rome, as he humorously calls them. Soon after his arrival at Rome the first time, he wrote home describing his reception by the Pope, which reception, he adds, was much kinder than was anticipated, "for all people here" (says he), "except Muxetula, firmly believe that this Pope will never "allow the Council to be assembled"; and on the 28th of the same month: "For God's sake let me be recalled as "soon as possible, and go back to my usual duties and "pursuits, and serve the Emperor and your lordship "with the sword, for with the tongue and the pen I can do "nothing. I am no scholar, nor statesman, much less "lawyer or priest. These abound so much in these "parts that they cover the earth and darken the sun "like the locusts in Castille. Besides which Rome is "totally ruined, and I have no inclination to live in the "midst of a desert infested by carrion-crows, looking "out for our carcasses, regular vampires, as I call these

" churchmen, whether arrayed in purple or in sable, " in fact the greatest knaves in the world."

After March 1533 we do not hear any more of Mai. His last despatch, in which he describes his conference with the two French cardinals Grammont and Tournon, is dated the 7th. He had long before asked for his recall, and the ambassador appointed to succeed him was already on his road to Rome.

Silva. Don Fernando de Silva, count of Cifuentes, and standard bearer (*alferez*) of Castille,* an hereditary office in his family, was Mai's successor at Rome. A proud and spirited nobleman, better trained to war with the Granadine Moors than to unravel the thickly set webs of Papal diplomacy, he was scarcely the man calculated to promote Charles' interests at Rome. About the same time a Spanish lawyer of some repute, Rodrigo Davalos by name, was especially instructed to watch the legal proceedings in Katharine's case, and work as a co-adjutor to the Count. The former arrived on the 17th of April, the latter shortly after. But according to his almost constant practice, Charles had at Rome another

Merino. ambassador, a bishop and cardinal, whose language to Clement, and opinion of affairs pending in that court, were not in consonance with that of his colleagues. Don Esteban Gabriel Merino, archbishop of Bari, in Sicily, and also bishop of Jaen, in Spain, had already been at Rome (October 1529), as Charles's extraordinary ambassador, to urge the Pope's journey to Bologna, and ask for a crusade against the Turk. This time, in May 1533, the avowed object of his mission was to conduct to Rome Margaret of Austria, Charles's

* That is why he signs some of his despatches "El Conde Alferez." Don Fernando was closely allied to the Silvas of Portugal, whose genealogy in a thick folio volume by Salazar y Castro is considered the most accurate and complete work on Spanish heraldry.

natural daughter, already betrothed to Alessandro de' Medici, Clement's nephew, promote Katharine's cause at the Roman Rota, and press the Pope for a definitive sentence.* Whether the Cardinal had or had not instructions on general matters is not certain; but if he had, they must have jarred singularly with those of his colleagues. After boasting, shortly after his arrival at Rome, that more had been achieved in a few days than for several months before, Merino complains that owing to the count's sudden interference, and injunctions, expressed in a "very curt and dry manner," bidding him to abstain from visiting the Pope and the cardinals, he declined taking charge in future of the Emperor's affairs, and decided to suspend until new orders all negociations, except, perhaps, those relating to Katharine's case, which had been especially intrusted to his care. Merino's despatch is not addressed to the Emperor, but to his principal secretary, Covos, the usual confidant of the Imperial ambassadors at Rome and elsewhere, whenever, as frequently happened, their gossiping complaints of each other were particularly destined for the Emperor's ears. Sylva, on the other hand, was not backward in denouncing what he calls Merino's inopportune interference.

Davalos.

But let us hear Davalos' secret revelations to Covos respecting the quarrel between the two ambassadors. That lawyer's mission as Katharine's proctor† was to call on the Pope, express the Emperor's

---

* *See* Int. to Part I., pp. xv–xvii and 279–81.

† Only in that capacity, for the ambassador resident, as said above, was still Don Fernando de Silva, count of Cifuentes. Of Rodrigo Davalos himself nothing is known, except that his family were originally from a town in Rioja called Davalos, and that he had a brother, who served under the Emperor in Germany, most likely the one named *Luis*, whose death in battle is recorded by Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp.*, lib. xxi., p. 160.

disappointment, as well as his ground of complaint, and tell him how offended he was at his not fulfilling promises so often made with regard to the sentence of the divorce suit, &c. After consulting with the count of Cifuentes and the cardinal of Jaen, Davalos did as he was told, and, in the presence of his colleagues, spoke to Clement in terms which, though respectful and such as befitted the Pope's person and dignity, were still very significative of the Emperor's discontent. His words seem to have made such an impression on Clement that he promised most solemnly to do justice at once. "Yet," (says Davalos,) "I have no faith in his Holiness' asseverations " and promises. In my opinion he will never make up " his mind to act, owing, perhaps, to certain secret briefs, " which he is known to have issued in former times, and " which are the cause of his refusing so often to comply " with our pressing and just demands. He will most " probably keep us in suspense until he has actually " held his interview with King Francis; for our oppo- " nents have made him believe that the Frenchman is " so staunch a friend of the English king, that he " will easily induce him to do anything he likes provided " some fair means of compromise between the parties " be found."*

On the 30th of June he wrote to Covos: "Your lord- " ship may believe me when I say that the Queen's suit " has been carried on as if it were that of the poorest " woman in the world. Since the Count's arrival here " the proceedings have been pushed with the utmost " vigour, and yet the lawyers employed for the defence " have not received their proper fees. At the present " juncture it is more necessary than ever to keep these

* *See* his despatch to the Emperor, No. 1095, p. 729.

" people well baited, that they may take up this affair " exclusively of others by which they earn a livelihood. " I am convinced, nevertheless, that whatever our " efforts, his Holiness will not make a declaration either " this week, or the next. . . (p. 725). The Count and I " intend asking his Holiness to prorogue the holidays, " that the declaratory brief, at least, if not the sentence, " may be issued in the mean time. What effect our com- " mon entreaties may have on him I cannot say, but I fear " the result. . . As to the Cardinal of Jaen, I wish I " was able to say what I think of him and of his scheme, " but that is out of the scope of my official duties. His " plan seems to me good under present circumstances, " and so long as the expected remedy comes from the " Imperial court. . . . (p. 726). Nothing, however, could " be so advantageous for our master's service as unanimity " in our councils; and yet I can assure your lordship " that of nothing that is done in this business is Cardinal " Merino informed, except the little I tell him. So " absolutely determined is the Count not to give the " Cardinal a voice in this affair, but to keep him in " perfect ignorance of what is being done by us; so " jealous of the Emperor's writing to the latter, and " listening to his advice, that I fear things cannot go " on in this manner. The Cardinal, on the other hand, " protests that he cannot guess what has given Silva " so bad an opinion of him, unless it be the jealousy " alluded to. Your lordship knows the Cardinal well, " how active and earnest he is. He tells me that in the " present negociation it never crossed his mind to employ " the means used in former times, but only to bring " matters to such a point that he might leave the nego- " ciation in the hands of the Count, and then retire. " And I can only say that if the Cardinal's views are

" such—and I have no reason to doubt his words—his " opinion seems to me well deserving of some authority, " and that, were his advice followed, things would go on " better than they do."

Again, on the 5th of July, Davalos wrote: " I must " not conceal from your lordship that the quarrel between " Count and Cardinal still continues, to the serious incon- " venience of all the Imperial servants in this city, and " great detriment of our master's interests. Each of them " sees the Pope separately, without previously informing " his colleague: and one of two things must be, either " their individual instructions jar with each other, or " else one of the two ambassadors takes to himself more " authority than is his due. Hence it is that they do " not see each other, nor communicate their plans. In " my humble opinion, an order should come from court, " defining their individual duties and functions, as well as " what our master, the Emperor, expects from each of " them."

Clement's sentence of excommunication, or rather a declaratory brief of it, was at last obtained, and the contest of the Imperial ambassadors put an end to, both Merino and Davalos leaving for Spain, whilst the Count quitted Rome for Marseilles, where the interview between the Pope and Francis, first planned for Nice, was to take place in October.*

Praët.

In France during the years 1531–2 Louis de Flandre, sieur de Praët, filled for some time the post of ambassador, being occasionally replaced by Bonvalot and Secretary Des Barres, until March 1533,

---

* Not all Davalos' despatches are in Bergenroth's collection. Since the latter's visit to Simancas in 1868 several have been found both there and at Madrid, of which the editor has occasionally availed himself.

when Jean Hannaërt, lord viscount of Lombecke, seems to have been appointed.*

Soria.

In Venice Lope de Soria was succeeded by Rodrigo Niño, of whom sufficient notice was given in the Introduction to Part I., p. xix. At Genoa, Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa continued to represent Charles and the Empire. In Siena, Modena, Mantua and Ferrara, Charles had all the time either agents or commanders; in Milan, Caracciolo continued as high chancellor of that duchy; whilst in Naples, Pompeo Colonna filled the viceregal office† till his death, on the 3rd of July 1532, when he was replaced by the marquis de Villafranca, Don Pedro de Toledo. From all these officials, as well as from Leyva, Vasto and the two Gonzagas, who commanded his armies, Charles or his ministers received despatches, which though rarely touching on English history, have been abstracted in this Calendar, as affording a sort of collateral evidence on the important events of the years 1531–3.

Chapuys.

Of Chapuys' despatches enough has been said in the Introduction, as well as in the notes to the first part of this volume, to convey an idea of their merits. Yet that ambassador's correspondence is so important, and so teeming with interest, that a few observations respecting it will not perhaps be considered out of place. Those contained in this second part will be found most interesting and full. His style cannot be

---

* As to Dr. Garay, and his exertions to defeat Henry's plans at the Sorbonne, enough has been said in Part I.

† Colonna was never actual viceroy, but only *luogotenente generale* of the kingdom in absence of Chalon, prince of Orange. Not wishing to offend Clement, the Emperor, after the Prince's death, would not appoint him to the vacant office. He died at Chiaja after eating immoderately of the figs called "gentili."

called elegant or good; in many cases it is both pretentious, affected, and obscure. Himself a native of Geneva, in Switzerland, though educated in Flanders, where he seems to have passed most of his youth, it is no wonder if his despatches in French are not so elegantly penned as those of Francis' courtiers were at the time. If he could speak Spanish, he certainly was no scholar in that language, as otherwise he would not have written in what may be called Flemish French; and yet there are now and then in his letters sentences and idioms savouring so strongly of the Castilian, as to make us think that he must have been acquainted with it. English he could not understand or talk, as he himself assures us, often having to use Latin to converse with such of Henry's courtiers or privy councillors as did not know French. His despatches are generally holograph, and mostly written in cipher, whenever the nature and importance of the information contained in them rendered that diplomatic precaution necessary. Secretaries he had several, principally a Spaniard named Montoya, whom Katharine employed in 1529 on a mission to the Emperor. Owing to the above circumstances, to the complete absence of orthography—not yet fixed by any permanent standard throughout Europe,—and still more to the frequent blunders of the deciphering clerks at Brussels, who very often made him say things he never dreamt of, and changed entirely the meaning of his sentences, it must be owned that the reading of his despatches is at times anything but clear. Hence it is that whenever the passage offered any difficulty, I have purposely transcribed it in full at the bottom of the page, to justify, as it were, my own translation of it, for fear it should happen to differ from that which the late Rev. Dr. Brewer, and after him Mr. James Gairdner, have inserted in their respec-

tive calendars for the same period. I must, however, observe that, as far as Chapuys' despatches are concerned, mine are not mere abstracts, but full translations of their contents.*

It has been stated elsewhere that preparatory to the transfer of the Imperial State Papers to Vienna after the battle of Fleurus, a considerable portion of Chapuys' correspondence was transcribed by the clerks of the Archives in the former city,—with what object I have been unable to ascertain,—and that the unfinished copies, as well as their originals, are now carefully preserved in the latter capital. In some few cases the copies only exist; in others the originals bear no date or indorsement, and now and then one is to be found calendered according to the old style, and naturally enough out of its place in the bundle (*stuck*).

Generally exact in his descriptions of men and things, Chapuys rarely makes a mistake, and if he does, he is the first to acknowledge it in his next despatch. His information, whether it came from Henry's courtiers, or from foreign merchants established in the city, must have been remarkably good, since it is seldom found incorrect. Proper names he disguises and alters in a singular manner, owing no doubt to his ignorance of English, and very seldom, if ever, designates officials otherwise than by their titles, dignities, or avocations, a practice almost universally followed at the time. As to ambassadors residing at Henry's Court, he very seldom, if ever, names them.† In this manner he will mention

---

* The same may be said of those of Le Sauch, Montfort, Rosymboz, &c., about whom the reader may consult the Int. to Vol. iii., Part I., pp. vi.–vii.

† That Mr. de Bayonne and Mr. de Langeais are respectively meant for Jean and Guillaume du Bellay is plain enough; but when he happens to mention the "Venetian ambassador" it is for us a matter of doubt whether he means Falier or Capello, who succeeded him in September 1531.

the bishop of London, the Chancellor, the Controller, the Master of the Horse, the Treasurer, the Duke,—sometimes intending it for Norfolk, at others for Suffolk,—the Cardinal, the Nuncio, &c., without distinguishing them in the least. If to this be added that now and then the deciphering clerks of the Imperial Privy Council in Flanders took upon themselves the task of explaining on the margin of the original despatches, who they thought was the official so designated —and that in most cases they were decidedly wrong,—some excuse will, I hope, be found for the errors, of which I consider myself guilty, and which I have taken the opportunity of correcting in the *Add. and Cor.* to both parts at the end of the present volume.* Thus Tunstall and Stokesly, both bishops of London, Warham and Cranmer, archbishops of Canterbury, More and Audeley,† chancellors, have been in a few instances inadvertently mistaken one for the other. Now and then, owing to Chapuys' most wretched orthography, I myself have been unable to discover, until it was too late, that *Burguen*,

* It will be found upon close inspection that one of Chapuys' despatches, that of October 1st, 1532, has been inadvertently repeated (pp. 253 and 523) owing to its having been copied twice. Both relate to the preparations made in London previous to the departure of King Henry for the conferences of Calais; as they somewhat differ in context, and one of them had no date, but only a most illegible memorandum in the hand of a clerk, it was concluded that they were different despatches. At any rate the date of both is 1 Oct. 1532, and therefore the one at page 253 must be entirely suppressed, as being evidently out of place.

† Audeley did not become Chancellor until long after More's resignation, and was at first Keeper of the Privy Seal, though he may have acted occasionally as Lord High Chancellor; as to Cranmer, whom Chapuys often calls "the Chancellor," he never held the office.

Burgaveny, and *Bourgoing* in that ambassador's despatches were meant for George Neville, lord Abergavenny.*

I will put an end to this too long introduction by mentioning two Spanish historical works bearing on the history of England, one of which was printed three years ago, at Madrid,† whilst the other remains still in manuscript. Neither of them has much historical value, though both may, perhaps, be of use in clearing up certain facts and events of Henry's reign. The oldest of the two,—for it seems to have been written about the middle of the XVIth century, immediately after the attainder and execution of the Protector Somerset (1552),—though anonymous, is evidently the work of some Spaniard then residing in London, and bears the title of "*Chronica de* "*Enrique Octavo de Inglaterra.*" Whether it is to be attributed, as the Marquis of Molins, editor of the book, seems to think, to Julian Romero, or to some other Spanish "condottiero," who after the rupture with France was in receipt of English pay, and fought under the English banner at Boulogne, or to some other Spaniard, of the many who frequented London at the time, is not a question for me to discuss at present. Suffice it to say that whatever information it may contain, and may be

* This and other doubtful points I have since been able to clear through the publication, long after the present volume was in print, of Mr. James Gairdner's *Letters and Papers, &c.*, 1533. Names of foreign ambassadors and others at the English Court, which otherwise it would have been almost impossible for me to verify, have thus been ascertained, such as that of the Danish gentleman who in May 1533 came on a mission from King Frederic, and others.

† Though very common in Spain, since no less than 15 copies of it have been found in various public and private libraries, the Royal Academy of History, at Madrid, considered it worthy of publication, and entrusted the editing of it to one of its members, the Marquis of Molins, late Spanish ambassador in France.

considered useful for the illustration of successive calendars of this reign, will be inserted in the next volumes.

The other work alluded to, and which still remains inedited, bears the title of "*Succesion de los reyes de Ingala-*" *terra desde el Rey Guillermo, el Conquistador, duque de* "*Normandia en Francia, hasta el año de* 1585 *reinando* "*Isabel, la hija de Ana Bolena.*" It is a rude compilation of such historical printed works as the author could at the time procure, and principally of Nicholas Sanders, William Rastall, and other catholic writers. Two-thirds of the manuscript—which numbers 180 closely written folio pages—are occupied by a somewhat unconnected and exceedingly partial narrative of events in England, from the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587.* The author's name is not stated, but there are reasons almost amounting to evidence to suppose it to be the work of Esteban de Garibay y Zamalloa, a distinguished historian of those times, who in 1571 published at Antwerp his well-known *Compendio historial de las Chronicas de España* in four volumes folio, and at Madrid, in 1596, his *Illustraciones Genealogicas.*

About the papers at Simancas, Vienna, and Brussels, no further observations are needed besides those contained in the preceding Introductions. No change has yet taken place in the ruinous castle close to Valladolid, where the State papers of the Castilian monarchy are kept,—exclusively of those of Aragon and Catalonia which are still at Barcelona,—their contemplated, and much

* Most likely it was written at the command of Philip II., who about this time caused several descriptions of England and its resources to be written for his own use.

talked of, removal to Alcalá, Toledo, or the Escurial, as it may be, having not yet commenced. Neither has the wanton spoliation perpetrated by Bonaparte's generals at Simancas in 1810 been repaired, the greatest and best portion of those of the XVIth century, besides all those relating to the War of Succession in the XVIIth, being still unduly retained at Paris, notwithstanding the treaties, and in spite of the numerous applications, renewed from time to time for their restitution. Let us hope, however, that the Minister, to whose department the direction of public education, as well as the keeping of public libraries and archives now belongs, will not leave one stone untouched until the whole of Spain's public records are restored to their original repository.

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS.

SPANISH, HEN. VIII.

1531.

1 Jan. **584.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. *Wien. Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 1.

My despatch of yesterday will inform Your Majesty of events up to this day. Since then nothing new has occurred save that to-day, the 1st of January, Your Majesty's letters of the 5th and 12th ult° have come to hand. I immediately sent word to the Queen informing her of their contents. As she herself intends writing to Your Majesty about her own affairs I need not enter into more particulars, but will only refer to her own letter which goes by this post.

With regard to my relations with the Papal Nuncio they continue to be as good and cordial as ever. He will, I have no doubt, persevere in his good offices, especially after receiving the letter which Your Majesty has caused to be addressed to him, for which he reverently kisses your hands and feet. For my own part I promise to omit nothing likely to keep him sincerely attached to the Imperial service.

The death of Madame [Margaret], whom may God receive into His glory, has been much felt by the merchants of this city most of whom carry on business with Flanders. *As to the King*, not only has he, as I am informed, *shewn pleasure at her demise;* but he was heard to say, when he first received the news, *that the death of the Princess was certainly no great loss for the world*, and to make use of other similar expressions indicating that he was nowise affected by it. And I am not surprised, for it is a general rule with him to consider anything turning to Your Majesty's personal disadvantage as good fortune, whereas your prosperity and success are gall and wormwood to him. But as Your Majesty very wisely and magnanimously remarks in one of your letters to me, these are not things to be taken into account, inasmuch as it is only *the mere impulse of his blind, detestable, and wretched passion* [*for the Lady*] *that makes him speak in so inconsiderate a manner.* I fancy, however, that in future he will be more cautious and guarded in the expression of his sentiments towards Your Majesty, since he* has experienced the promptitude and zeal with which I

* "Puys quil a vehu que pregnoys le frain aux dens, et que ne luy veux riens laysser couler." This, and the other passages in italics, is in cipher.

1531.

take up Your Majesty's defence on every occasion, without allowing a word to pass that may be thought derogatory or injurious. Among other causes that most likely make the King glad of Madame's *death*, one is that he knows very well with what warmth and zeal *the said Princess had taken up the affairs of the Queen*, and also that she was supposed to be the principal instrument through whom the friendship of France would be maintained, which he (the King) would like to see *shaken* to its very foundations. Indeed one of the things which most attracted his attention and excited his curiosity, as well as that of the members of his Privy Council some time ago, was *the occasional arrival of French agents at Madame's court*, for when that happened they never failed to inquire of me what their mission could be, and for what purpose they went thither.

In pursuance of orders received from the Council at Malines (Mechlin), commanding me to announce to the King the death of Madame, I immediately sent one of my secretaries to the duke of Norphorc (Norfolk), acquainting him with the sad news, and begging him to communicate it to the King. His answer to my application was simply that the King had already been informed of it by his ambassadors [in Flanders]; but then he inquired very earnestly from my secretary whether it was true that Your Majesty was coming post-haste to Flanders, and that the Turk had compelled the Imperialists to raise the siege of Buda, and, last not least, where was the money which Your Majesty had received as ransom for the sons of France. To these three questions, which the Duke put in succession, my secretary replied: 1st, that he knew nothing of Your Majesty's movements; 2ndly, that the report about the Turk was untrue; instead of the king of Hungary's army raising the siege of Buda, the intelligence was that the city had been taken by our troops, and that the Vayvod (Zapolsky) had hastily taken refuge inside the citadel, and was about to capitulate for its surrender (hearing which the Duke shewed evident signs of displeasure); and 3rdly, that the ransom money was safe at Medina del Campo, in the very heart of Castille, in Spain. Upon which the Duke remarked that certainly the Spaniards would never consent to the money going out of the country. This assertion of the Duke my secretary denied completely, and explained how the Cortes of Spain had some time before made a loan to Your Majesty of a considerable sum of money, and had offered besides to transmit the same, as well as the ransom money, safely and free of cost wherever Your Majesty might be pleased to have it. Hearing this the Duke remained some time thoughtful, not knowing what to say.

I beg to be excused if I enter into such insignificant details; but having frequently received orders to inform Your Majesty of every event in this country in its most minute particulars I could not do less than mention the above facts, all tending

1531.

to prove what little sensation the death of that wise and most excellent princess has produced among these people.

The Queen told me long ago—and the information has since been confirmed from other quarters—that what *these people hate most, and what keeps them in constant fear, is to see that I make no efforts whatever to court them, and to gain their friendship.* Accordingly the Queen has sent me word that unless I have some very important business to transact, I am *to abstain as much as possible from visiting the King or his ministers,* and that she will let me know when is the fit time to do so. I have, accordingly, followed her instructions, and avoided going to Greenwich for these Christmas festivals.

I beg to remind Your Majesty of my little affairs, and remain, &c.—London, 1st January 1531, "Eustace Chapuys."

P.S.—Since writing the above, a worthy man has come in haste from Greenwich assuring me that he has there heard two or three of the principal courtiers say that *the King's marriage will certainly be dissolved at this next session of Parliament,* and that they hope that after that the King and his friends will *find the means of appeasing Your Majesty.** I cannot guess on what foundation, however slight and frail, the said hope is made to rest, for I have always given them to understand the contrary, and will again make an express declaration to that effect before the game is up. *Lady* [*Anne*] *considering herself already sure of her affair, is fiercer than a lioness.* She said the other day to one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting that she wished all the Spaniards were at the bottom of the sea. And the lady attendant having observed that she (Lady Anne) should not for the sake of the Queen's honour express such sentiments, she replied that *she cared not for the Queen or any of her family,* and that she would rather *see her hanged than have to confess that she was her Queen and mistress.*†

The same man has brought news that the King will come to the Tower of London the day after the Epiphany *in order to inspect the artillery and ammunition there, and shew both to his own people and to foreigners that he is ready for defence.* They are otherwise rather glad of Your Majesty's journey to Flanders, imagining and hoping that the King may perhaps hold an interview with you, and then and there obtain what his ambassador could not get at Bologna. But their joys and hopes are in a measure counter balanced by the fear of Your Majesty coming so near, and of the injury that might be inflicted upon them from those parts [of Flanders] should the

* "Que ma affirme avoer ouy [de deux ou trois des principaulx, qui sans doubte ce mariaige se acheueroit en ce parlement], et dient [ils] quil [s] espoyrent que apres le [fait de aisement rapaiser votre maiesté."]

† ["Le Dame sen tenent asseuree est plus brave qung lion] jusques a dire a vne dame [de la royne] quelle voudroit que tant [dispagniolz quil y a au monde fussent en la mer]; et luy disant lautre que pour lhonneur [de la royne] quelle ne deuroit ainsi parler], elle luy repplica quelle ne se [challoit de la royne ne de siens] et quelle aymeroit mieux que la dite royne fust pendue quelle confessat quelle fut sa maistresse."

1531.

King's application be denied. That is why, should Your Majesty order similar preparations to be made on the coast of Flanders, *and the places on the frontiers to be also well provisioned, much good might be done, as it would undoubtedly inspire confidence in our friends and dread in our enemies.*—London, *ut supra.*

Signed : "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

2 Jan. **585.** The PRESIDENT of VALLADOLID to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 22, f. 134.

Your Majesty's letter and warrant of the 30th September ult° came to hand 20 days after I and the judges of this Chancery Court had forwarded to the Empress our written opinions on the divorce case. No title or preamble was affixed to the said opinions to shew that they had been made out by Your Majesty's commands; but every argument is therein adduced both from Common and Divine Law, to prove the truth and justice of Her Highness' case.—Valladolid, 2nd January 1531.

Signed : "P. Episcopus Pacensis."*

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 1½.

3 Jan. **586.** The EMPEROR to his sister MARY, widow of the KING of HUNGARY.

Lanz. I., 416.

Since my departure from Spires I have received your letter by Mr. de Bredan, and listened to what he had to say in your name. My answer went immediately by the same messenger that I might remove all your doubts and scruples. Did not then write fully, or acquaint you with the death of Madame Margaret, our common aunt, because I presumed that you knew of it through the King, our brother, besides which the subject was too painful to be mentioned again. I have, indeed, sustained a great loss, greater than any other monarch and near relation could possibly sustain, especially in what concerns the government of the Low Countries, which had been for so many years entrusted to her care. Thinking, as I do, that you, my dear sister, are the only princess capable of replacing her under present circumstances, I beg you to accept this charge, and come to me as soon as possible that we may both confer on many points which could not be sufficiently explained in writing. Had I thought that the death of our beloved aunt [Margaret]

* In 1531 the bishop of Badajoz (Pacensis) was Don Pedro Gonzalez Manso, of whom Gil Gonzalez Davila, in his *Theatro Eclesiastico de las Iglesias de España*, vol. iv., p. 34, says that such was his reputation for virtue and learning that the Emperor appointed him to be president of the Chancery Court of Valladolid. He was bishop first of Guadix, in the kingdom of Granada, then of Tuy, in Galicia, afterwards of Badajoz (*Pax Julia*), and lastly of Osma, to which see he was promoted at the end of 1532, in the room of Garcia de Loaysa, who was transferred to Siguenza. *See* Loperraez Corvalan, *Descripcion historica del Obispado de Osma*, vol. i., pp. 407–11.

1531.

would have happened so suddenly, I should certainly, before quitting Augsburgh, have explained my views in that respect, without letting you go so far to have to return so soon, and should from the first have signified in writing my intentions, which are still the same; but I wanted first to hear the advice of my councillors, and consult the will of my subjects in the Low Countries, which has been done, so that there remains nothing more for me to do than again beg you will accept the government of those countries whereby you will do me a favour and a pleasure, as Mr. de Bossu, present bearer, will not fail to represent to you.

Respecting the particular charge brought by Mr. de Bredan, and the excuses he offered in your name, in case you had not sufficiently thanked me for the words I said to you at our parting, I can only say that, knowing as I do know your repugnance to a second marriage, I will no longer insist on that point, and therefore you need not be afraid that I shall ever propose one to you against your will. Indeed, since my determination and your own on this point have been made known, those parties who might again contemplate such an alliance* will lose all hope and desist from further proposals.

With regard to the point of your instructions to Mr. de Bredan, viz., our private conversation touching matters of Faith, and the fear you then had and still have, that the opinions expressed by you on that occasion might have left some scruple in my mind, I do not hesitate to say that, although I am sadly disappointed and grieved at our aunt's death, yet I am glad to be able to shew to you that neither on that score nor on any other is there any reason for the brotherly love and esteem I bear you to be in the least diminished. This I declare to you without reserve of any kind, and beg you to believe that it is the sincere expression of my sentiments. As to your own servants, whom you say you are ready, as Mr. de Bredan informs me, to dismiss from your service, should any of them not meet with my approbation, I can only tell you that such is my conviction of your personal affection and regard for me that I have no doubt all those who are attached to your household must necessarily partake of the same sentiments. You may, therefore, as far as I am concerned, retain them all in your service, sure as I am that should any of them be guilty of infidelity, or of any sympathy with the new doctrines, you will dismiss him and have him punished, for in these matters things and opinions tolerated in Germany cannot be put up with in these parts [of Flanders] where I am now. For this reason I should recommend, my dear sister, that should any of your chief servants be suspected of belonging to the Lutheran sect, or otherwise being

* Among them the Palatine of the Rhine, Frederic, about whose marriage to the widowed Queen there had been some talk. Subsequently he asked the Emperor for the hand of the marchioness of Monferrato, but unsuccessfully. *See* Lanz, *Correspondenz, &c.*, vol. i., p. 419.

1531.

contaminated with the new doctrines in point of religion, they be left behind, that is in case you should, as I sincerely hope, accept the government of the said Low Countries. And that you may know at once which among your principal servants are here suspected of being infected with such pernicious ideas, I may tell you that your own "mayordomo," your chamberlain, preacher, almoner, and lady-in-waiting are among the number. To accompany you to this country, the King, our brother (Ferdinand), will furnish you with gentlemen and ladies to attend on you, and once in this country you may reconstruct your household as you think most proper, after we have talked the matter over together.—Cologne, 3rd January [1531].

Signed: "Charles."

French. Contemporary copy. pp* 4.

6 Jan. **587.** The EMPEROR'S answer to the proposals of the Most Christian King.

S. E. L. 635, f. 104.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 285.

The Imperial ambassador, Mons. Guillen† des Barres, sieur de Veçin, is hereby instructed to answer the proposals brought by the general of Bretagne (Bayard)‡ as follows: Offers were made some time ago to Margaret [of Austria],§ the late governess of the Low Countries, in the names of the Most Christian King of France, and of Madame the Regent (Louise) respecting a matrimonial alliance between the two royal families. Nothing would have been more acceptable to the Emperor than the alliance proposed by the King, his brother, inasmuch as it would ensure perpetual peace between the two countries; but the death of Madame having put a stop to the negotiations, and the Emperor being now on his way to Flanders, he thinks it advisable to postpone the consideration of such proposals until his arrival in that country, which he hopes will be soon. He will then send to his good brother, the King, and to the Regent (Louise) a trusty person to visit them, and communicate his intentions.

In the meantime Mr. des Barres is to assure Mr. Bayard that he may report to his master that the Emperor is desirous of strengthening in every possible way the bonds of peace that unite them both.—Colonia (Kohl), 6th January 1531.

Spanish. Original translation made for the use of the Empress in Spain. pp. 2.

* The original of this letter, which is entirely written in the Emperor's hand, is preserved in the archives of Brussels. *See* Lanz, *Correspondenz der Kayser Karl V.*, vol. i., pp. 416–18. A copy affording slight variations is also at Simancas.

† Guillen is for Guillaume or William, properly speaking Wilhelm.

‡ Gilbert Bayard or Bayart, generally called *L'Esleu*, or the Elect. He was chamberlain and secretary to king Francis. *See* vol. iv., part 2, pp. 48, 50, 374, &c.

§ Margaret of Austria, daughter of the emperor Maximilian, and consequently aunt of Charles; she died on the 1st of December 1530.

1531.

10 Jan. **588.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 35–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 286.

After the application made by the English in their King's name for a cardinal's hat for the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), and another for El Casal (prothonotary Casale)—which application, as he (Mai) informed the Emperor, was refused—a rumour was spread here [at Rome] that the ambassadors had asked for their "congé." The report, however, has proved untrue as far as he (Mai) is aware of, the English still remaining at their post as usual.

Wrote also at the time that El Casal had gone to England with all the signatures and seals he had been able to procure in favour of the King from divines, canonists, and lawyers; but since then advices have come from Venice, and he himself has written this to his colleagues, that the duke of Mantua, (Federigo Gonzaga) had taken them all away from him. He (Mai) does not believe in this last report; most likely if the Duke took away any papers from Casale it was only the opinions of those Mantuan doctors who had written in favour of the king of England, the Duke having ordered that the opinions which each doctor had given under his signature and seal should be recovered.* Has written for copies of them, as it is always useful in such cases to know the arguments of the opposite party.

(*Cipher:*) Miçer Felipo Decio of Siena† has, moreover, been persuaded by them to draw out a new opinion (*consilio*) on eight different points. No sooner did he (Mai) hear of it than he tried to get a copy through Don Lope de Soria, who played his cards so well that the paper is at this moment on his (Mai's) table. In six of the articles that lawyer's opinion concludes against the King; in the two remaining against the the Queen, these being: 1stly, that there was no cause for the dispensation of pope Julius II.; 2ndly, that the dispensation was not valid, because it was not stated therein that the King was under age and only 18 years old at the time.

(*Common writing:*) Rodrigo Niño has sent him from Venice the copy of another opinion (*consilio*) obtained at Padua by the English against the Queen; but as he has not yet had time to examine it, he (Mai) cannot say on what it is grounded.

The Pope brought forward in Consistory the application made by the Imperial ambassadors for a new brief of inhibition forbidding the King to marry again pending the suit, and forbidding also Parliament, the primate of England, or any other civil or ecclesiastical authority to take cognizance of the affair. Accordingly the Commissary of the cause appeared in Consistory, and made his report of the case, and the brief was obtained though with the greatest possible difficulty, owing to

* "Porque no seran sino los doctores de Mantua que havian aconsejado en su favor, que el Duque mandó que cobrassen sus sellos.

† Philip Decius or Filippo Decio, a lawyer of Siena, who died in 1535. *See* part 1, pp. 683 and 717.

1531.

the opposition of some of the cardinals, notwithstanding that the Pope had promised it long ago. It has since been published in the "Audientia de las Contradittas." It is now required that His Imperial Majesty cause it to be intimated in England in the form in which it is now sent.

With regard to the separation from his mistress, the truth is that something more than that must be done judicially, because separation is not easily obtained between private individuals, much less between royal persons, especially when there is no positive proof of adultery, none having yet been produced here at Rome, but on the contrary several letters proving the contrary.* This article of the separation, therefore, the cardinals not only refused to grant, but insisted upon the reporter (*relator*) bringing it first before the Rota, there to be examined and discussed, after which the application may again be renewed in Consistory, for the cardinals to decide for or against it according to the opinion of that tribunal. The necessary legal steps are now being taken to comply with that requisite, but he (Mai) is very much afraid that this point will not be gained.

Of this brief, a copy of which is now enclosed,† two or three more transcripts are being made, which will go by the next courier in order not to delay this present one. It will be for His Imperial Majesty and for the Privy Council to decide whether any of them is to be sent to England (*si les parescerá el aventurar alguna*). The Pope has promised to have one of them forwarded to his Nuncio in that country, instructing him that should the King attempt a new marriage, or should his Parliament or judges make any declaration in the cause, he is at once to intimate the brief, which is binding enough to them, and if he has not the means of doing so in public to do it in secret.‡ Is certain that the Nuncio will do his duty in this respect, because he is an honest man and a good servant and vassal of His Imperial Majesty. Believes it would be very much to the purpose if the Emperor would cause a letter to be written to him (the Nuncio), or that the ambassador (Chapuys) should recommend the affair to him, telling him that Your Majesty is much pleased at what he is doing in behalf of the Queen, and begs him to persevere in so meritorious a work.

(*Common writing:*) Mentioned in his last despatch that the English ambassadors had delivered to the Pope a letter from the King, their master, which letter was read in Consistory the same day that the brief was granted. It is so intemperate

* "Quanto a lo de la separacion a la verdad ay algo mas que hacer de justicia . . . . mayormente que acá no consta del adulterio, antes ay muchas cartas en contrario."

† Not in the packet, though copied at full in the Berzosa collection of transcripts from the Vatican. *See* Introduction to part 1, pp. xx–xxiv.

‡ "Que sy el rey quisiere casarse, ó alguno de aquellos jueces o [el] parlamento declarasen en la causa, que les intime el breve que es harto [fuerte] sino tiene otro horden en secreto."

1531.

and insolent (*tan desonesta y descompuesta*), that he (Mai) considers it his duty to enclose a copy that the Imperial councillors may read it and see how much impudence (*bellaqueria*) and abuse it contains.

It is rumoured that at the interview, which, as publicly reported, the Emperor and the king of France are to hold here in Italy, the king of England is also to be present, in order to treat of these matters. Humbly begs His Imperial Majesty that if the affair can be fairly settled without injury to the queen of England to consent to it at once, not that he (Mai) entertains the least doubt about her justice and right, but to avoid the inconveniences likely to arise from such a trial, and the danger there always is of even the most just causes being lost; for it cannot be denied that in all cases tried by criminal law the issue is often more a matter of chance than of justice, and especially in one like the present, in which so much activity is being displayed and corruption employed by these devils.* Besides which, should there really be a General Council, it is to be feared that the cause will never be taken thither. His Majesty must not think that this is said by his ambassador in order to spare himself the trouble of working in this affair, for he has all his life (*pues desde que nasció*) thought of nothing else but being useful to the Emperor.

The Pope has answered the king of England's letter in a very prudent and grave manner, more befitting a Pope than a secular prince. Candidly confesses that when the Pope shewed him the brief he (Mai) was not at all displeased, for the Pope being a judge in this case, he must needs put up with the insolence of the parties concerned, as often happens.† Should have liked to obtain a copy of it to send to the Emperor, but His Holiness said that he himself would forward one when he heard that his brief had reached England.

Owing to some delay in the proceedings the Imperial lawyers have advised that the king of England should again be cited to appear personally or by proxy. The summons, therefore, has been made and published as well as the brief itself in the audience of "contradittas."‡ Humbly begs that it be intimated at Bruges, as well as at Dunkerke, in the same form that it goes from hence, and that it be likewise sent [to England] as soon as possible, so that the trial may be actively proceeded with. Fully expected from Spain more documentary evidence than has hitherto been sent, but he (Mai) cannot possibly wait longer, since the time for the examination of evidence (*el termino de articular*) has come. The articles, in which all His Majesty's good servants now here have worked

* "Mayormente con las diligentias y dadivas con que estos diablos negocian, y en caso que sa aya de tener consilio (*sic*) seria mas de temer que esta causa no llegase a ello."

† "Pero quando me lo mostró no me desplacio (*sic*), porque siendo juez ha de çufrir la insolentia de las partes como se hace muchas vezes."

‡ This word is equivalent to "contumacy."

1531.

to the best of their abilities, are already prepared, and there is reason to believe that everything will go right. Will do his best to send a copy of them to Spain, as well as the compulsory letters (*compulsorias*) that they may remit from thence as many acts and witnesses (*autos y testigos*) as can be procured. Another copy of the same will be sent thither, and a third to England, though he (Mai) fancies that this last will be of very little use.*

Before all things let an authentic copy of the proceedings formerly carried on in England come as soon as possible, because this present cause is principally one of appeal interposed by the Queen, and without the first acts (*auctos*) to refer to, the indictment (*el indicar*) cannot possibly be made. Two ways in his (Mai's) opinion are available to obtain such acts. One is for the Queen's proctor to ask judicially for them from the notaries in whose hands they may be in England, or else that the Imperial ambassador in that country (Eustace Chapuys) do apply officially in her name, because were they to deny them it would be too infamous.† The other is for His Imperial Majesty to persuade Campeggio, the legate, to write to his notary here [at Rome] to pass them over to the Imperial ambassadors, for he (Mai) has heard that two or three were made at the time, each of the cardinal judges (Wolsey and Campeggio) having one for his own use attested by his own notary.

(*Cipher :*) Hears that the marquis of Mantua really took away from Casale, whilst traversing his territory, all the sealed opinions he had gained at Mantua, and was taking to England. Has, accordingly, written to him, and begged he will send them, that it may be seen how the English are preparing themselves for the defence.‡

(*Common writing :*) Don Sancho de la Cavalleria, who is now here for his own suit, as I have already informed Your Majesty, tells me that his father, who was a great lawyer, wrote once by command of the Catholic King Ferdinand in a case very similar to this one, when the Portuguese marriage was contracted.‖ At his (Mai's) request, Don Sancho has written for it, and the governor of Aragon has received instructions to remit it as soon as possible.

The Emperor's ambassador in England (Chapuys) wrote this last summer to say that in the library of St. Dominic, in Paris, a book was preserved by Petrus de Palude, in which is a

* "Otros [articulos] embiaré ay, y otros en Inglaterra, ahun[que] pienso que estos [ultimos] aprovecharan poco."

† "Porque á negar esto seria un infierno."

‡ "Yo le he scripto y suplicado que me los embie por descubrir tambien en estos de lo que se arman en el secreto de la causa,"

‖ In 1490 Isabella, eldest daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castille, married Alfonso, son of the king of Portugal (Dom João II.) Eight months after Isabella became a widow, and married King Dom Manuel, first cousin of Alfonso. On the death of the queen of Portugal, in August 1498, Dom Alfonso married Isabella's sister, by name Maria, who became the mother of another Isabella, the Empress, married to Charles V. in 1526.

1531.

passage in favour of the Queen's right, though the opposite party maintain the contrary. Has persuaded the Pope to write to his Nuncio in France to procure the book, but it appears that it cannot be found, though another by the same author, which says nothing to the purpose, has been sent. The Pope has again written to his Nuncio to procure an authentic and attested copy of the passage alluded to in the ambassador's correspondence; but all this must be done as soon as possible and in great secrecy, for fear the leaves of the volume should be torn out and taken away, for he (Mai) has heard from the ambassador that some of them are already missing.*

Signed: "Mai.

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

10 Jan. **589.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 852, f. 37–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 290.

Advices from France say that the Most Christian King is rather in favour of the celebration of a Council, but thinks that the interview with the Emperor ought to come first. The news, such as it is, has been well received here [at Rome], for after all it causes delay, and I can assure Your Lordship that there is nothing these people desire so much as obstacles thrown in the way of the Council meeting; indeed, I should not be surprised if the whole thing had its origin here, since for a long time back the proposed interview has been one of the principal objections brought forward by Mr. de Tarbes [Gabriel de Grammont]. I have always been and am still of opinion that unless the Council be speedily convoked the French, who know how opposed these people are to it, will not fail to claim the merit of having done everything in their power to prevent it, and will then ask for a reward.†—Rome, 10th January 1531.

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from the ambassador at Rome to the High Commander."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

10 Jan. **590.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fase.*, c. 427, No. 3.

On Sunday morning, the 8th inst., I received letters from Your Majesty's Council in the Low Countries (*ez pays dembaz*) commanding me to present to the King those announcing the day fixed for the funeral of Madame [Margaret], and also ordering me to ascertain as soon as possible, and

* The passages from this book, which was never printed, were refuted by bishop Fisher.

† "Yo no dejo de repetir lo dicho, que me paresce que a no hazerse concilio, diran que tratamos de mas que del concilio, que he miedo que franceses no lo vendan á este Señor por suyo qualquier estorbo que venga, lo que Dios no quiera."

1531.

inform them whether this King wished to appoint a personage to represent him at that ceremony. After dinner on the same day I went to Grynuys (Greenwich), where I still found in the King's hall (*la sale du roy*) the Duke [of Norfolk] sitting at table with the ambassadors of France, the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire), and some others. Immediately on my entering the room the said Duke and Earl got up from table, and leaving behind them the ambassadors of France and other royal guests, came up to me. They were soon joined by two other members of the Privy Council, namely, the treasurer, and the King's first secretary, when the French ambassadors perceiving that they were left, as it were, to themselves, and perhaps also following the advice of the Duke, who sent them word to that effect, left the room and retired to their chamber (*se retirarent en leur chambre*). The Duke and the rest shewed great pleasure at my coming; asked me the reason why I had not come to Court to spend the holidays, said many flattering things, and assured me of their master's unalterable friendship towards Your Imperial Majesty. Meanwhile the King having dined in state with the Queen returned to the reception room, where I was soon introduced by the Duke himself. I was graciously received by the King, to whom I presented Madame's letters and explained the purpose of my charge; but before he read them he inquired of me who was likely to succeed Madame in the Government of the Low Countries? My answer was that I could not say for certain, but that he (the King) might well imagine that Your Majesty would make a suitable appointment, and such as his good subjects of Flanders and the Low Countries deserved, on whom Your Majesty could in case of emergency, and for any necessary and reasonable enterprize confidently rely,* as they had shewn in the last war of Ghelders, during which they had furnished no less than 1,800,000 florins. My answer, which was so shaped on purpose, could not have been very much to the King's taste, for he remained silent and thoughtful for some time, and then, *as if he wished to put an end to a conversation which was disagreeable to him,* observed: "If so the country must have been greatly impoverished." Then he began to open and read the letters, and observing that the date fixed for the funeral was so near, said that he could not possibly on so short a notice send a personage of his Court to assist at the ceremony, but that he would willingly, after consulting the matter with his Privy Council, send his instructions to Master Johan Acquet (Hacket) to represent him at the funeral, which he (the King) has since done, as I find by the letters he sent me at midnight of the same day.

After this the King said that since no news had yet been received [in England] of the election of the king of Hungary

* "Des quieux en cas d'imprinse necessayre et ragionable (*sic*) vostre maieste en finiroet jusques au bout."

1531.

as king of the Romans, he could but repeat to me what he had said on other occasions, namely, that such election ought not to be made, and that considering the difficulties by which that measure would inevitably be surrounded, his advice was that the project should be abandoned altogether. No one knew better than he did the state of affairs in Germany, and what direction public opinion took there. He then repeated to me what he had said on a previous occasion, as I have informed Your Imperial Majesty in a former despatch, namely, that had he chosen in the lifetime of the emperor Maximilian to become king of the Romans, he would have been preferred to Your Majesty for the said Imperial dignity, as that Emperor had often offered it to him. And then he went on praising the virtues and the many good qualities of the said Emperor, adding that he was a prince who kept always in his memory the services rendered to him, and felt very grateful towards his friends. *He would, I have no doubt, have proceeded to say that Your Majesty was not one of those princes, but recollecting the answer I made him, when he held the same language* [*in London*], *he was more sober and laconic this time,* notwithstanding that I represented to him that Your Majesty was *the rightful heir of the emperor Maximilian,* and that being now invested with the Imperial dignity, it was your right now *to grant such just and reasonable petitions.* His answer was merely that with regard to the justice of the election he (the King) should very much like to be thoroughly convinced, and as to the convenience and opportuneness of it, he referred Your Majesty to those who understood political affairs.* Upon which, having replied to him that Your Imperial Majesty was of all the Christian princes he *who listened most to the advice of his own councillors, and followed least the inspirations of his own will,* the King said nothing more on the subject.

Subsequently to this, and the conversation turning upon France, the King remarked to me that there was a rumour afloat that Maistre Guillem (*sic*) des Barres had gone to Your Majesty on certain differences that had arisen between you and the Christian King, his brother, respecting the lands and property to be consigned in Flanders, and upon my making him a suitable answer, he acknowledged that in reality there existed no cause in the consignation of that property which could in any way impair the friendly relations between the two countries, and yet that small differences of this kind, when they existed, were often a proof of the inconstancy and fickleness of mutual affection between princes.

After this, passing on to the affairs of Hungary, the King said to me, among other things, that it was out of the question

* "A quoy ne me dit aultre fors que [il sen vouldroit bien appercevoir et que de la raisonableté dont luy parloye que vostre maieste sen debuoit remettre a ceux qu'entendoint les afferes.]"

1531.

to procure resistance against the Infidel in those parts, for even supposing the Turk came to Hungary, invaded that country, and was there caught as in a trap, nothing would be gained, for on the ensuing day another Turkish army would be ready to renew the war. The only enterprize of any avail against the Infidel was for the Christian princes to unite their forces and attack him in his own country, and go afterwards to the Holy Land. My answer was that there was nothing Your Majesty desired so much as the said enterprize, as he (the King) ought to know. That was, I said, one of the causes which had determined you to quit Spain, and that since your arrival in Germany you had procured and obtained from the Diet a promise of money and men for the undertaking. His reply was that the greater part of the expense of such an expedition ought naturally to fall on Your Majesty's shoulders, and that for many reasons, the first and principal of them being that you had taken the last penny from his brother Francis (as he simply calls the Most Christian King). And upon my observing to him that, nevertheless, I had not the least doubt that the king of France would have his share of the glory to be reaped by such a laudable undertaking, and that he himself would concur in this, he commended and praised the idea, but he never said either *yes* or *no* to it. With regard to the first point, however, he allowed himself to be persuaded that if a good battle was gained over the Turk the whole of his empire might be conquered, provided Your Majesty was personally at the head of the Christian army.

With regard to German affairs, about which the King interrogated me several times, asking me what news I had, &c., I told him in substance all I knew about them, except the conditions of the agreement, about which I said nothing, for fear he should take this as a footing [for further observations],* and I ended by informing him that everything there went well enough except the affairs of the Lutherans, which did not seem to advance much. To which last observation the King replied "en passant," and half between his teeth, "those the Council will remedy." He then assured me that for a long time he had had no news at all from Germany, and upon my observing to him that the Duke [of Norfolk] had shewn me a letter recent enough from his ambassadors in that country, he denied having seen it, saying and repeating six times over that he had heard from Rome, but not from Germany, which assertion proved to me that what the King wanted was to induce me to ask him for news from Germany, in order to have an occasion of again returning to the subject of the divorce. Perceiving, however, that the more that wretched affair was discussed the more

* "Je luy en dis la substance excepte des conditions pour ce que yl ny prent (prins) pied."

1531.

obstinately attached he seemed to his own opinion, I determined not to give him this time an opportunity of touching on the subject, and avoid all allusion to the Council, should he come to mention it; for evidently whenever it is mentioned in his presence he becomes more suspicious and doubtful about it than willing to admit any representations that might with civility be addressed to him. Thus, though he tried hard to drag me into discussion I did not take the bait.

After some more remarks as graciously made as the former, the hour being much advanced, the King granted me permission to see the Queen, which I did, when she expressed her satisfaction that I had not, as above said, spoken to the King about her affairs. I informed her particularly of the order in which it was necessary to proceed was to counteract the doings of Parliament, at which she was very glad, and promised to write to the queen of France in accordance with what I advised in my last; I left her in better state of mind and more determined than ever to resist, and also to take any steps that may be recommended to her as likely to help on the favourable termination of her suit.

Never were *the ambassadors of France* for a long time past in such close correspondence with these people as they are at present, for since the second day of (Noel) scarcely one or two have passed without their being present at Court, and always, as they say, transacting business of some kind, so much so, that whenever some member of the King's Privy Council is requested to attend to business of mine, and of other ambassadors, he invariably answers that his time is taken up by the French ambassadors, and that until they are dispatched he cannot possibly promise his attention. I did, in my despatch of last December inform Your Majesty of my suspicions respecting these frequent conferences. I have since ascertained, as much from the Queen's servants as from other quarters, that the King is about to confer on Jehan Jocquin one of the bishoprics formerly held by the Cardinal (Wolsey), and that not only is he expected to entangle (*barboiller*) the affairs of the Court of France, but will also go as far as Rome to try his skill there. Indeed, some one told me the other day that Jocquin had proposed to resume the old negotiations for a marriage between the Pope's niece and one of the sons of the king of France. I should not be surprised if another marriage between the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] and the princess of England were also proposed, in order to re-assure the Pope, but I must own that until now I have seen no symptoms or indications of it here.* I am, however,

* "Quelcung ma dit quil avoit mis en avant de reprendre les vielles brisees du [marchief] dont jadis fust porparle [dung des filz du roy de France et la nyece du pape]. Je me doubteroye bien ausy quil ne feist quelque ouverture [de marchief entre le duc Alexandre et la princesse dangleterre pour amuser le pape] de quoy toutesfoys nen ay peu encoures apperçvuoer fumiere quelconque."

1531.

more inclined to think and fear very much that Jocquin has taken charge of doing *both in France and at Rome something to thwart and impede the celebration of the Council*, for though formerly he seemed to be rather inclined to it, yet three or four days ago he said to the *Milanese ambassador* that the Council in contemplation could only be a source of evils and inconveniences of all kinds, such as had resulted from other *councils of the Church*, and that no good could be expected therefrom.

This very morning, whilst writing this despatch, I have received the letter which Your Majesty caused to be written to me on the 3rd inst. In answer to which I can at once state that all the appeals and protests on the affairs of the Queen, to which that letter alludes, have been already made and were entered in due form some time ago; not only has proper provision been made to that effect, but likewise other legal steps much wanted for the Queen's defence have been taken, so much so, that nothing more, I hope, is required for the better direction of the affair, as I shall soon have the honour to inform Your Majesty more fully in a future despatch.

I quite share the opinion contained in the said letter, namely, that Your Majesty cannot think *this king so blind as to proceed "de facto,"* for certainly new symptoms and indications appear daily—stronger even than those of last year—shewing that the King is most likely *to be stopped in his rash enterprize.* The parties themselves see *greater danger than before; even the members of the Privy Council*, and those *whom the affair touches more particularly begin to shew fear*, so that by reasons and conjectures innumerable I am inclined to believe firmly now more than ever that the King will not dare *to proceed "de facto."* I own that the Queen herself is not of my opinion, and that she has at times *wondered at my incredulity, as* likewise several English gentlemen who have come to see and warn me. Yet, considering, on the other hand, *the great fear which the Queen and the nation at large have*, the importance of the affair, and the duties of my especial charge, which cannot be regulated by my own private fancies, the great credit of the Lady Anne, and the passionate love of the King for her, I have been induced to write in the way I have done hitherto, since, after all, excessive caution and fear seem to me far preferable to blind confidence.

I believe that the discussion (*dispute*) in Parliament may still be prevented, but at any rate, if it cannot, measures shall be taken that no injury be done to the Queen through it. It appears that these people do not wish the Queen to defend herself [in Parliament], for yesterday, the duke of Norphorc (Norfolk) wrote a letter to her proctor—who has always and upon all occasions briskly and boldly taken up her defence—bidding him on the receipt of his letter to go to a castle very far from this city, and there await the King's pleasure. The

1531.

good proctor, who is a doctor in Law, and a very worthy and excellent man, is very much astonished at receiving such an order. He cannot imagine what the cause of his exile can be, unless it be to keep him out of the way during these next sessions of Parliament which are to begin at the time I have informed Your Majesty.—London, 10th January [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador Chapuys. Received the 20th."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

11 Jan. **591.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 110.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 291.

Reports a conversation he had with the Pope about the Council. The duke of Albany recommends delay until his master, the king of France, has met with the Emperor in Flanders, or in some city of Italy, whither the Pope may also go, and discuss the matters to be proposed to the Council. His Holiness, however, persists in his determination, though the thing may not be to his taste. For the reasons given in his letter, and which prothonotary Gambara has since had charge to explain verbally, the Council will be convoked without attending to the objections of France or any other country whatsoever, sure as he (the Pope) is that nothing coming from the Emperor's hands can be other than beneficial to him. Such at least were his words at the last audience. Meanwhile, there can be no doubt that every day that passes new fears and suspicions about this Council are instilled into the Pope's mind; such are the difficulties raised, and the dangers announced, that not only the Pope, who is naturally timid and suspicious (*sospechoso*), but any other person might be shaken by them.—Rome, 11th January 1531.

Signed: "Juan Ant°. Muscetula (*sic*)."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæs^{e} et Cath. M^{ti}."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Jan. **592.** The Empress Isabella to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 22, f. 118.

With regard to Her Most Serene Highness, the queen of England, our aunt, every care is here being taken of her affairs, and by the first courier to Rome the opinions of the "audiencias," and other persons who have written on the case since the departure of Dr. Ortiz, shall be forwarded to the ambassadors. The Doctor himself took many with him, as I informed Your Majesty at the time.

Indorsed: "Paragraph of a letter from the Empress to the Emperor."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. ½.

1531.

12 Jan. **593.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 102–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 291.

The necessary briefs have been obtained, and nothing has been left undone on my part to promote Your Majesty's service as far as the Queen's case is concerned. The Pope, moreover, has returned a proper answer to the King's most intemperate letter, so much so, that on reading it he cannot fail to own that he was in the wrong. Indeed his very improper epistle called for such an answer, both in justification of His Holiness' doings, and for the allusions therein made to Your Majesty.

I have also contrived that the Pope should send one of the briefs to his Nuncio [in England], that he may in case of need present it to the King, so that nothing may be attempted in England in the meantime, and pending a suit of which His Holiness is to be the judge. The Pope at first shewed some reluctance at issuing this brief for fear of increasing the King's suspicions, but we (Mai and myself) persuaded him that in issuing a brief of the kind he did nothing but what was proper and needful to prevent any steps being taken to the prejudice of the trial now pending before His Holiness, &c —Rome, 12th January 1531.

Signed: "Juan Ant°. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæs^e^ et Cath. M^ti^."

Indorsed: "Rome, 1531. To His Majesty. From Muxetula, xi January 1531. The whole of this despatch to be carefully read.*

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

12 Jan. **594.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 102–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 293.

The Pope tells him that according to the letters of his Nuncio the king of France is still greatly preoccupied with the affairs of Italy. The duke of Albany persistently wants him to decide about the offer of a marriage between his niece and the second son of France, promising that his master would in that case conclude a new and more favourable treaty with him, and in all other things do his bidding. The Pope answered the Duke in general terms, saying that he was very much flattered by the proposal, but would do nothing without the Emperor's consent.

The Pope himself repeated last night the conversation he had with the Duke. Among other things, he told him that the first thing for his master, the King, to do was to attend to the interests of religion, in common with other princes; that being done he (the Pope) would be glad to treat about

* An English abstract of this letter and of the preceding is to be found in Bergenroth's volume, *Add.* 28,582, ff. 297–8.

1531.

the marriage with the consent of His Imperial Majesty, not otherwise.

The Duke, as it would appear, hinted that if the Council was not to the Pope's taste, he had better refuse his consent at once. If his master had lately written in favour of it, it was merely at the Emperor's suggestion and to please him. He (the King) had no particular desire for the Council, but would act in the affair at His Holiness' will. The Pope answered that the Council was, in his opinion, a most important step; he was in favour of its celebration, provided it did not become a greater source of evil in this matter of the Lutherans. He had certainly written to the Emperor, expressing certain doubts about its expediency and opportuneness, but when the Emperor's answer came back he would at once determine the whole matter, &c.

The king of France is asking the Pope that those bishoprics in his kingdom, which were hitherto bestowed by election among the [French] clergy,* should henceforward be of royal patronage, on the plea that the elections frequently fall on undeserving ecclesiastics. He (the King) is no doubt trying for this because he knows that His Imperial Majesty has obtained a similar grant from His Holiness; but the case is very different, &c. The duke of Albany is treating of this affair with some of the cardinals, telling them that if the Emperor has conferred grants and bestowed pensions on some of them, his master will do still more in that way.

The briefs of inhibition for the English business have been made out, and the Pope has answered the King's last letter in a becoming and fit manner; that is to say, he has plainly shewn him that he (the Pope) and the Emperor feel themselves perfectly justified in acting as they are doing.

One of the briefs sent by the Pope to his Nuncio in England [baron del Borgo], authorises him to make use of it in case of need, *i.e.*, should the King attempt anything "de facto" in prejudice of the suit. The Pope did not much like this measure as he was afraid of increasing thereby the King's suspicions, but could not do otherwise, it being his undoubted right and duty as a judge in this case to see that justice be not rendered impossible.—Rome, 12th January 1531.

Signed: "Gio. Ant. Muscetula" (*sic*).

Indorsed by Idiaquez: "To His Majesty, from Muscetula. 12th January."

Spanish. Holograph entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

* "Tambien pide que las ecclesias de francia, las quales se dan por election de la clerecia de francia, sean de su jus patronato (*sic*), diciendo que acen allá malas elections."

1531.

13 Jan. **595.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 852, f. 49.
B. M. *Add.* 28,352, f. 301.

This very night, as I stated in my despatch to the Emperor, a duplicate of the Papal brief has been made, which is to be sent to the Nuncio in England, together with a letter from His Holiness. The Nuncio is instructed to present it in case of need, and thank God the whole affair seems now pretty sure. However, as it might come to pass that these people should get orders (*cartas*) and counter orders (*contra cartas*), I beg Your Lordship to see that the measures I point out in my letter to the Emperor be taken, and likewise to procure a letter from our master for the Papal Nuncio in England, who knowing perhaps that he can render service, may perhaps feel inclined to extend still further the discretional powers (*alargar mas el arbitrio*) which His Holiness has given him.

After closing my despatch to the Emperor the news arrived that Alberto di Carpi was dangerously ill and not expected to live. However, as the intelligence comes from a servant of the duke of Ferrara I do not attach much credit to it.

Conversation with the Venetian ambassador on general politics—the Turk, France, and the Council.—With regard to this last subject the ambassador told me he had heard *that it would not take place*, and that these Romans were *glad of it*. He (the Venetian) was sorry, because the Pope and the cardinal said that it was with the *Emperor's* consent, and that there were here at Rome letters *from* Your *Lordship* confirming the statement. My answer was that he astonished me greatly, and that never to this day had I heard anything of the sort. "How could I believe (said I) that letters from the High Commander of Leon have been received in Rome containing such a declaration as you say, when I, who am in private correspondence with him, and who am Imperial ambassador at this Court, have not heard a word of it?" The Venetian agreed with me that the report must be untrue. The person from whom he had it was half a Frenchman, and could not be trusted. I then asked him how it was that the wisest councillors in Venice, as the Pope once said to me, were not in favour of the Council. His answer was that *the Pope* had once said the same thing to him; he (the ambassador) could not imagine how the thing originated, unless it was that in the brief which was sent to the Signory concerning the *Council* it was expressly said that it would meet to discuss matters of Faith and Turkish affairs, and to say the truth, these last were very unpopular in Venice; people would have nothing to do with them. This, he added, might be a reason for refusing their consent, but, on the contrary, they wished for it.

I asked him why the Council was acceptable in Venice. "For many reasons," answered the Venetian. "The first, because we are Christians and friends of peace. The second, *because of the great trade we carry on with Germany;* and last, not least, because we are more *afraid of the Turks* than of any other

1531.

power. Our fear (he continued) is not so much *by sea as by land;* by sea the Turk can do us no harm, by land he *could, but only after traversing Germany; which country once reduced to Christianity,* the Signory has nothing to fear."

Has pressed the Pope for Florence to join the league, &c.

A letter has been received from ambassador Figueroa.—Rome, 13th January 1531.

P.S.—Letters from the Court of France of the 28th December have been received. The King was amusing himself at St. Germain. Courtiers there believed that the Emperor would be compelled by sheer necessity to do what they (the French) wanted. The Most Christian King did not approve of the arrangement made for Milan or Mantua, in consequence of which people here rejoice. Still marriages between the Emperor's and King's sons and daughters are much talked of, and that Francis' third son is to marry the princess of Portugal (Maria). Conversing with the Pope on this latter subject, he said to me: "They want the duke of Orleans to marry my niece, and I have just now received a letter from the King to that effect." After which His Holiness laughed, and said "These Frenchmen fancy that we are to believe everything they say, &c."

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To High Commander Covos, the Emperor's principal secretary."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

13 Jan. **596.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, f. 47.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 301.

Has kept back the courier one whole day, owing to the Pope, cardinal D'Osma, and Don Pedro de la Cueva not having their letters ready. Does not regret it, for in the meantime a duplicate copy of the inhibition brief for England has been made; it is here enclosed, together with the Pope's own letter to his Nuncio (baron del Borgho). The affair is now ensured, but as it might be that letters and pressing orders had been given, he (Mai) begs him to take the steps recommended in his despatch to the Emperor, and write a letter to Chapuys for the intimation to be made at once* and another to the Papal Nuncio, who knowing that he can do service [to the King] might perhaps be tempted to keep the brief in his possession longer even than the Pope allows him to do.

Alberto da Carpi and his dangerous illness.

Venice.—Conversation of Mai with the ambassador of the Signory.

The Council and the Pope's intentions respecting it.

* "Pero porque podria ser que esta gente tenga cartas y *sobre cartas*, supplico á V. S. que mande hazer las diligencias que escrivo en la otra para que se intimen."

1531.

French news in cipher.—Rome, 13th January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and gracious lord, the High Commander of Leon, the Emperor's first secretary."

Spanish. Holograph in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

13 Jan. **597.** The EMPEROR to his brother KING FERDINAND.

S. E. L. 1,454, f. 127.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 300.

After squaring accounts, a balance has been found in his, Ferdinand's, favour of 35,000 florins of gold. Should the Venetians not pay the whole of the 200,000 ducats which he (the Emperor) has made over to him in payment of the dower, he acknowledges his liablity to pay him as much as the Venetian payment may fall short of the 200,000 above mentioned.—Aquisgran, 13th January 1531.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

13 Jan. **598.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Ho.-u.-StaatsArch. Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 5.

The day before yesterday, the 11th inst., this King received letters from Rome of the 20th ult°, which were by no means agreeable to him and to the Lady [Anne], as Your Majesty will judge by what I shall say hereafter. Last night the duke of Nolpholc (Norfolk) sent to ask me to go and meet him at the convent of the Grey Friars at nine in the morning, as he wished to speak to me. I went thither at the appointed hour and found the Duke, attended by the Treasurer and Dr. Estienne (Stephen Gardiner), the King's first secretary, Taking me into a secret chapel (*une chapelle bien secrete*) the Duke spoke first and said he had sent for me for the express purpose of acquainting me (both as ambassador of Your Imperial Majesty and as a friend whom he esteemed and knew to be well inclined and desirous of peace) with a statute made by the Estates of the kingdom, and which had been promulgated and preconized, against whomsoever should dare to execute mandates or provisions emanating from the Roman Court to the detriment of the honour, or authority of the King and kingdom. During the last two days they had received advices from Rome that the Pope, at the earnest request of the Queen's people, was on the point of issuing certain decretals very injurious to the King and to them, which should the Pope himself come to England to have them executed, not even they would be strong enough to save him from the popular fury. For which reason, he said, he begged and entreated me that should such decretals come to my hands I would not interpose to have them executed. After which the Duke went on to say that the popes in old times had in vain attempted to usurp in England certain authority and prerogatives; the King's predecessors on the throne had never consented to it,

1531.

and it was not to be expected that king Henry should suffer it at the present moment. He further went on to say that kings were before popes; the King [of England] was absolute master in his own kingdom, and acknowledged no superior. That an Englishman, that is Brennus, had once reduced Rome under his obedience. That Constantius had reigned in England, and that Helen, the mother of Constantine, was English by birth, and several other things as little pertinent to the matter in question as the above.

After warmly thanking the Duke for the good-will he bore me, I told him in substance that my curiosity did not go so far as to inquire into the statutes and ordinances of their kingdom, by which I did not presume that they wished to bind the agents and ministers of Your Imperial Majesty. Respecting the rights which His Holiness assumed to exercise here, in England, though I had read something about them in their national chronicles, I had nothing to say. I did not wish to dispute the right and power which the Pope could exercise against kings and kingdoms disobedient to his authority. That was a notorious fact in full practice in our very days. If they wished to discuss this question in any way, or treat of matters concerning His Holiness, they had better address themselves to his Nuncio in England. In my humble opinion (I said) it would have been far more reasonable and expedient for them to procure the removal and eradication of those very evils which had caused the Pope to decree the mandates to which they alluded, than try by [royal] authority and against all reason to impede the judicial execution of the same, since the Pope proceeding, as he does, by the ways of justice could not do injury or detriment to the privileges of the kingdom or royal authority.

I told them besides that they might be sure that Your Majesty not only would not allow the proceedings to go on, but would never consent to an unreasonable sentence against the King, whose close ally, friend, and relative you were, nor against his kingdom, which you were prepared to protect and defend as well as your own. For my part, if I had orders from Your Majesty to procure the executions of any Papal decrees, they might be persuaded that all their warnings would not stand in the way of my duty, for whatever might be the result of my act, I should faithfully execute the Imperial commands. As to the nation at large, I did not think that they would offer resistance to the Pope's decretals, but on the contrary help on their execution with all their power, for the principal cause for which the English people had begun to hate the Pope was their imagining (as they did at first) that he wished to carry on the King's suit against the Queen. They ought to know that truth and justice had such inherent power that they must reign and rule everywhere, even among thieves (*larrons*), and in Hell itself; and that there is no nation, however uncivilised and rude,

1531.

that does not pay respect to them. "Believe me, (said I to the Duke) whatever fluctuations the Church of Christ may be subjected to, she was never so depressed, nor left so unprovided with defenders (*fauteurs*) as not to have been able, by her own authority, or by the favour and protection of truth and justice, to carry the world with her, nations as well as princes, who are especially instituted for the maintenance of the same." They (the English) had no reason to complain of Your Majesty, if after exhausting all the means of conciliation, and using all manner of gracious persuasions to recall the King to his duty, you caused justice to take her course. His reply was that they did not intend to complain of Your Majesty, but as to the Pope, they expected no justice at his hands, for if he had only chosen to do his duty he might have allowed the King to divorce his present wife and take another, as his predecessors in the papacy had done with other princes. These the Duke did not name, but I, fancying that kings Charles and Louis of France, and Ladislas of Hungary were meant, explained the difference in their case; and on his insisting that the archbishop of Canterbury was the only ecclesiastic to whom the cognizance of this present affair belonged, proved to him the contrary by many legitimate reasons, adding that it was a common saying, but a very true one, that things badly founded and badly begun could not have a good end, and that I wondered much that he (who in all other matters was considered most wise and clear-headed) could be so blind in this particular one (as if God had obscured his understanding) as to make the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates subscribe certain letters addressed to the Pope, by means of which letters the said archbishop and prelates had notoriously rendered themselves suspicious, and incapable of associating with good Christians, a remark to which (though I begged him and Dr. Stephen to give an answer) they knew not what to say.*

Perceiving, however, that they seemed more pleased than annoyed at my speech; thinking also that in the state of fear and doubt in which they were owing to the news lately received from Rome, my preaching to them might be of some avail, I seized the opportunity as a favourable one, and commenced to say: That though until that day I had carefully abstained from entering into a polemic with them on matters connected with the pretended divorce, since I saw that neither remonstrances nor prayers were of any use whatever, and that justice must needs have its course, yet since the occasion offered itself, and they seemed disposed to discuss the subject, I would at once tell them my mind. I did not hesitate to assure them

* "Par les quelles lettres quant yl ny auroit autre rayson du monde les dit contubery et autres prelatz se sont notoyrement renduz suspectz et forclus de toute cognoyssance, a quoy non obstant que le [s] requisse ne me sçurent donner responce."

1531.

that had Your Imperial Majesty, who, owing to your many kingdoms so widely separated from each other, is in more need of a large number of male children than any other crowned prince, found yourself in the situation in which the King is, and likewise free to contract matrimony, but having such a daughter as the Princess [Mary], and should the King request you, as earnestly as you do request him, not to marry a second time, you would not have hesitated one single moment to please him in this respect in order to avoid the scandal and inconveniences whereof the Duke himself had once spoken to me, but that Your Majesty would willingly refrain from taking such a step. On this very topic I made them suitable observations, proving to them that Your Majesty could not possibly have taken another course in that affair, and that you were in duty bound to take up the defence of the Queen, your aunt. I told them that should the Princess marry there was a much greater chance of the King having thus a legitimate successor to his crown than by begetting a natural one in some other way, better able, and with greater hope of seeing very soon a masculine descent. "Besides," I added, "if it be true, as the Duke himself said to me once, that the true and legitimate right of king Henry to the throne of England proceeded from the female line, that is to say, from his mother, it seemed as if God, reason, and honesty counselled such a course, since he was the father of so noble, virtuous, and accomplished a princess." To these arguments of mine the Duke knew not what to reply, except that, nevertheless, if the King *could* marry again he would certainly take another wife, by which expression, if he *could*, I was particularly struck as it was the first time that I heard it from his lips.*

Among other casual remarks which would take too much time to relate, I told them that Your Majesty and the Queen, your aunt, had more reason to be discontented with the Pope in this business than the King himself, whom he had gratified and favoured as much as he could. Upon which the Duke, coming to speak incidentally about the Council, said in plain terms that it might perhaps happen that His Holiness would be a loser by the bargain (*ne sen trouveroit le mellieur marchant*). I replied that they (the King and his ministers), had partly been, without their being aware of it the cause of its convocation, for the Pope wishing to justify himself as to the many slandering and calumnious reports circulated here about his person and acts, and in order to shew to the World that he had never given the King and kingdom cause to proceed against him or the ecclesiastical order, had in fact waived his fears and scruples, and finally given his sanction to the measure. Nothing, moreover, could be better for the King than the meeting of a

* "A ce ne me sçeust le duc que respondre sinon bien froydement que non obstant tout cella, que si le roy pouvoit encoures se voudroit yl bien marier, de la quelle condition (sil pouvoit) ne mavoit encoures usé."

1531.

General Council, wherein he might bring forward his complaints of His Holiness, if he has any, or propose the reformation of the English clergy, of which the Duke had often spoken to me. His Holiness had acted in this case as a good prelate and the shepherd of the Christian flock, since being, as he is supreme judge in such matters, he consented to be judged by others.

The Duke's answer was that the Pope had no business to interfere in affairs of this kind, except to decree and discuss the cases of heresy.

Though the friendship now existing between *Your Imperial Majesty and the Pope,* and the sense of honour and duty by which I consider myself bound, prompted me *to take up the defence of the Pope* in this instance, yet I must confess that had I not been compelled to do so by *the accusations of the Duke and his colleagues I might not have carried my apology so far.*

After the above arguments (which I think were taken in good part) the Duke went on to say that some days ago he had had occasion to shew to the French ambassador a copy of the inscription on the tomb of king Arthur (I could not understand at the time to which of the Arthurs he alluded), which inscription he produced in a parchment roll out of his pouch and handed over to me, adding that he had caused it to be transcribed for my use. I looked at it, and saw only these words written in large letters PATRICIVS ARCTVRVS BRITANNIE, GALLIE, GERMANIE, DACIE IMPERATOR. My answer was that I was sorry to see that he was not entitled also Emperor of Asia, IMPERATOR ASIE, as he might have left the present king Henry for his successor in such vast dominions; but that as all things in this world were so subject to change, it was reasonable that an English monarch of our days should conquer a portion of the provinces above named, since in those very countries men had been found who had conquered and held for a long time this very kingdom of England, where the succession of William of Normandy still lasted. If by shewing me the inscription the Duke meant that the present king Henry might be such a conqueror as king Arthur, I could not help observing that the Assyrians, Persians, Macedonians, and Romans had also made great conquests, and everyone knew what had become of their empire.

In short, I told them that it seemed to me as if the King, their master, had much better allow the Pope's mandates to be intimated to him and to two or three more persons whom they concerned, than follow the example of Philip, the father of Alexander [the Great], who would not dismiss from his service a man who was continually criticizing his own acts and speaking ill of him, because, he said, he preferred the slanderer to remain where he was, and spread his calumnies within the precincts of his palace, to sending him away to spread the same

1531.

through the World. Should the King for the same reason oppose the execution of the Papal mandates here in England, they might perhaps be printed abroad and circulated, thus making the affair food for public scandal, which after all would be worse for him than if he had graciously received the intimations in due obedience to the Holy Apostolic See. This last objection of mine provoked no answer from the Duke or from those present, *and certainly, should the King obstinately persist in his determination, it appears to me that it would be expedient* to have the whole of the Papal decisions (*provisions*) from the very beginning printed and widely circulated.

This very day the duke of Norfolk has notified to the Papal Nuncio the pains and dangers to which any person attempting to have the mandate executed exposes himself. I am told that the notification has been made in rather sharp words, and that the Duke said to him how surprised he was to hear after the fine words and promises of His Holiness to cardinal de Grammont, that the Pope had sent orders to proceed in the suit, and still more to find that His Holiness had already made or was about to make certain provisions and mandates highly detrimental to the supreme authority of the King and kingdom, whereas he (the Duke) had more than once told him that the King would not proceed "de facto" in the affair, in which he assured him there was now less probability than ever of advancing, whatever might be said to the contrary. The Nuncio had no leisure, as he tells me, to respond or make any observations save that he knew nothing about the mandates to which he alluded, but that if the Pope sent them to him for execution there would be no pain or danger that would deter him from doing so, and that he should consider himself happy to run any risk or die for the sake of his lord and master.

The said Nuncio at my request has called to-day on the archbishop of Canterbury, on whom a good deal of the good and bad in the Queen's business principally depends, to remonstrate with him and exhort him to have due regard to God, to his own conscience, to the authority of the Pope, and to the justice, welfare, and tranquillity of this kingdom. I am told that whilst the Nuncio and the Archbishop were together the King's confessor, one of the promoters of this affair, came into the room. Owing to this circumstance the Archbishop had only time to tell the Nuncio that the King had come personally to his private dwelling, to try and win him over to his cause. His answer had been that on no account would he act against the Pope's prohibition and his own conscience, and that next Tuesday he would say more about it; but the arrival of the King's confessor, as I said above, had put an end to their conversation on the subject. I shall not fail to remind the Nuncio and prepare him for his visit, that we may, if possible, unravel the mystery, and learn what the King and his ministers

1531.

intend to do. The Nuncio, however, has not yet received an answer to the Papal brief addressed to the King respecting the convocation of a General Council, and fears that the answer will not come until that of the Most Christian King be known. Neither has the messenger sent to the king of Scotland with a similar brief returned from that country, though he is expected back every day.

I hear from a very good quarter that this King *was never in such a fright and perplexity as since he has had the last news from Rome,* so much so that the gentlemen of his chamber tell me that ever since he passes sleepless nights, and so does the Lady [Anne].

Yesterday the prelates met to deliberate and propose what matters were to be laid before Parliament, but there was no mention made of the Queen's case, which circumstance, added to what the duke of Norfolk said to the Nuncio, is a sign that they do not intend at present bringing it before Parliament, that the session will be a short one, and that the assembly will be prorogued.

I have been told by an eye witness that when Jehan Jocquin was about to leave for France, and had received his last despatches he missed a memorandum which he himself had placed in the King's hands; and upon one of the royal secretaries telling him that it should be sent after him, as the King had not yet perused it owing to his being ill in bed, in consequence of the grief and anger he had lately gone through, the ambassador said "No excuse of that kind will do for me. I must have my memorandum back and will not depart without it."* Upon which they were obliged to go to the King, wake him from his sleep, and bring back the paper which Jocquin immediately threw into the fire, from which I conclude that there must have been something very important in it.

The same informer tells me that 4,000 or 5,000 crs. which were a year ago given to a German, about whom I wrote in one of my despatches, were spent in *procuring the opinions* [*of lawyers and divines*] in Germany, but that Luther and his followers have decided against the King in the divorce case, which circumstance is in my opinion enough to increase his head-ache and prevent his sleep. I beg to be excused if, in pursuance of orders received, and for the better fulfilment of my charge, I have been obliged to enter into such trifling details, &c.—London, 13th January [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 8.

* "Car le roy lavoit questoit au lit, par conclusion bien marry et courrose quil estoit."

1531.

16 Jan. **599.** Muxetula to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, f. 108.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 304.

Has received the Imperial letters of the 30th ult°, and spoken to His Holiness about the affairs of Florence.

Respecting the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) he (and Mai) have justified what has been done, as well as the form of the sentence. His Holiness is satisfied and thankful for the declaration the Emperor has made in that business.

Is in despair at seeing that the Italian potentates will not disburse one "real" of their war contribution. Keeps writing to Naples for the promised money.

(*Cipher :*) Hears that the French are in secret intelligence with the Adorni of Genoa. One of that family has gone over to France, and is now negotiating through the Grand Master (Anne de Montmorency). Galleys are also secretly being armed in France for some undertaking on the coast of Italy.

The lord of Mus* is likewise in treaty with the king of France for an invasion of the duchy of Milan, with an army of Grisons. All that lord asks from France is money to raise troops. The French listen to his proposals, pretending that they are only waiting for the Emperor's answer to their overtures. Should this be unfavourable, and he refuse to give Milan to the daughter of queen Eleanor, on her marriage to the duke of Orleans, then they will help the castellan of Mus with all their forces, since the Emperor rejects their friendship and alliance. They (the French) keep telling the Pope that had it not been for this chance of Milan, they would willingly have asked for the hand of his niece for Mr. d'Enghien,† but that if the marriage of the duke of Orleans is not effected their former proposal will stand good.‡ All these things and many more in the recent advices from France the Pope has told him (Muxetula), begging that he may communicate them to Court.—Rome, 16th January 1531. Duplicate, to-day the 21st.

Signed : "Jo. Ant°. Muscetula."

Addressed : "Sacre Cæs^e et Cath. M^ti."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

19 Jan. **600.** Miçer Mai to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. L. 852, f. 41.

This last courier so took me by surprise that I was really prevented from saying all I knew concerning the matrimonial cause. As I have, however, fully informed the President [Tavera] of everything relating thereto, I need not say any more here,

* Gianiacopo de Medici, at this time marquis of Mus, and of Marignano. *See* vol. iii., part 2, pp. 317–8.

† François de Bourbon, comte d'Enghien.

‡ "Y dizen al Papa que ellos querrian dar á la nieta del papa Muss. de Anghem (Enghien) por no perder esta comodidad de cobrar el ducado de Milan por via del matrimonio del duque de Orliens, mas que si esto no se concierta asi con V. Mt. que tambien le ofrecen para su nieta el duque de Orliens."

1531.

but request Your Majesty to order that all possible diligence be used, and all calls upon the Imperial treasury for this present business attended to, for such is the Emperor's will.

The cause of the Order of St. John [of Jerusalem] has been suspended, the Pope having promised to do what is right in it. Enclosed is account of late events [in Italy]. The ordinary courier will leave in 10 days, and then I will write again more fully.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful lady, the Empress and Queen, &c."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

20 Jan. **601.** The SAME to the ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO.

S. E. L. 852, f. 134.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 306.

His last of the 28th December ult° has been duly received, as well as the papers relating to the church of Compostella, and to the payment of a pension of 2,000 ducats to Don Jorge de Austria.

Is anxiously expecting the arrival of Dr. Ortiz to resume the proceedings with greater vigour. It would appear that the real difficulty now lies *in facto*. If it be true, as the Pope says, that the dispensation brief was granted "ex causa pacis," it will be necessary to look out for the deeds granted at the time of the Queen's marriage to this her second husband (*con este Rey moderno*). Should they be similar to those granted at the time of her marriage with El Arcturo (Arthur), of which we have already a copy, they cannot fail to be most useful for our present purpose.

Enclosed are certain compulsory letters* to procure all deeds required for the defence of the matrimonial cause. Let a fresh copy with all due solemnity be made by virtue of the said compulsory letters of all the papers sent on a former occasion, as well as another of the bull of dispensation, the original brief of which is in the Emperor's hands. Imagines that Lallemand knows the whereabouts of this bull, and of this second marriage contract; without them we cannot absolutely proceed in the defence.

For this very event and purpose, and for any other that may occur, he (Mai) has subrogated Dr. Beltran and Lic^te^. Prada. Let them mount their mules, and ride through the country in search of the papers and documents wanted, and let them also put down in writing all the information they can gather respecting this affair, according to the note herein enclosed.† The said Doctor and Licentiate to be provided with money for all their expenses out of the Imperial treasury, for

* "Aqui embio á V. Sa. unas compulsorias para sacar auctos que hagan al proposito de la causa."

† Not to be found in the packet.

1531.

such is the Emperor's wish. And above all let the information and papers thus procured* come as quickly as possible, for in these matters one hour's delay is equivalent to one year, or rather to 1,000 years; first, because the Emperor being where he is now† it would be desirable to bring this affair to a close; and secondly, because as we are on the eve of a General Council, it is to be desired that the suit be decided before its celebration.

Besides the above, and in order to save time, I send Your Lordship a copy of the articles for the examination of the witnesses, that Your Lordship may have time to make the necessary inquiries and ascertain who has knowledge of the facts. The remissory letters (*remisorias*) for the examination of witnesses will shortly follow. The utmost activity is recommended; the commission being distributed to as many persons as possible, so that the inquiry may be conducted with all possible speed. They tell me here that Doña Maria Manrique will be able to furnish information on these points, or at least name the persons who can, since her mother‡ was with the Queen at the time. And I daresay that at Burgos many persons may still be found living who can give the evidence required.

One thing, however, must be borne in mind with regard to the deeds and papers (*autos*), when obtained, namely, that the expedition must not be delayed until the witnesses themselves are able to come, because the trial is of such a nature and must needs be conducted with such activity that perhaps it might be brought to a close before the appearance of the witnesses.—Rome, 20th January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and most Revd. sir the archbishop of Santiago, president of the Grand Council of Castille, my lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

21 Jan. **602.** The ABBOT OF LLOR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. Pat. R. Trat., c. Ing. L. 4, f. 130.

Dedication of his treatise "Super matrimonio Angliæ et illius validitate inventa veritas," dat. Romæ, XXI Januarii, MDXXXI.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

* A marginal note in the handwriting of one of the clerks of the Council (Vazquez de Molina?) has the following: "On the 13th of June the compulsory letters and instructions from Rome were delivered to Licte. Curiel, in the presence of Dr. Beltran and of Prada, the attorney-general (*fiscal*), besides a memorandum of the archdeacon of Guipuzcoa, and the letter of Miçer Mai which came with the 'compulsoriales.'"

† The Emperor was then on the road to Brussels.

‡ A lady in waiting of queen Katharine on her first marriage.

1531.

22 Jan. **603.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 308.

Has forwarded to the sieur de Grandvela (*sic*) a full account of the proceedings in the cause of England, that he may report upon it to His Imperial Majesty. Has nothing to add except that yesterday cardinal Monte, whilst talking [to another cardinal] on the subject of the Queen, observed: That since God had been pleased to call to himself Madame Margaret [of Austria], Your Majesty could easily confer the government of the Low Countries and Flanders on this other aunt of your's, meaning Her Highness the queen of England. Is certain that the above words were uttered by that cardinal, and being persuaded that this and other similar overtures are in contemplation by these villains (*bellacos*), has thought it his duty to inform His Majesty thereof.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

22 Jan. **604.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 44–5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 313.

The agreement about Modena, as in the preceding despatch. —Death of Alberto di Carpi, announced in letters of the 10th. His Holiness has felt it extremely because he considered him a good friend and servant of his.

(*Cipher:*) I wrote some time since that the French were arming 25 galleys. I now add that the enemy must have some secret understandings in Genoa, and that one of the Espinolas is suspected of being in the plot. Has written to Doria and Figueroa about it. Twenty galleys are already armed and fit for sea at Marseilles, but I do not believe it, nor is the news sent by Rodrigo Niño on the 12th inst. more credible, viz., that the Genoese had appointed ambassadors to France, because had there been anything of that Figueroa would not have failed to acquaint us, just as he has written that 25 fustees (*futas*) and two galleys from Algiers had anchored at the island of Ras.

Don Pedro [de la Cueva] and I spoke to His Holiness respecting the Council in the manner specified in our instructions. The Pope's answer *was so liberal that there is ground for doubting whether he is in earnest or not. I am one of* those who believe that he is dissembling, for only yesterday whilst I was talking to him about the business of the Palatine Henry, which Your Majesty recommended to me, he said: "I think it would be wise to grant the German princes some of their demands; that could be done by way of an arrangement with them, and without so much noise (*estruendo*)." My answer was: "It is now too late; had Your Holiness and the cardinals been more liberal with them last summer, I have no doubt that they would have accepted such an arrangement."

Until fresh orders from Your Majesty we shall temporize with the duke of Albany, &c.

1531.

The Pope, it is said, *wants to go to Bologna* after Resurrection Day, some day in September.

(*Cipher:*) Respecting the marriage of the duke of Mantua the Pope told me the other day that he had done his utmost to persuade the Duke to marry Doña Julia, but could not prevail on him to do so; the case is therefore to be tried in a court of law, but before pronouncing sentence Your Imperial Majesty will be consulted. I have spoken to the advocates and proctor of Doña Julia, but they tell me that very little can be said in her defence.

Luis Gonzaga married Isabella Colonna last Sunday. He sent to invite me to the wedding, but I declined the invitation, not knowing whether Your Majesty approved of the marriage or not. Gonzaga was furious; he said it was a great offence done to him since Your Majesty knew of his marriage and approved it. He then sent cardinal Ippolito de' Medici and others to me and to Don Pedro de la Cueva, and at last after great importunities and many consultations with cardinal D'Osma, &c., it was agreed that I and Muxetula had better attend the ceremony, which we did, though we were too late for the espousals. What decided me to go thither was that I was told that the Pope upon hearing of my refusal was somewhat alarmed.—Rome, 22nd January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

22 Jan. **605.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 852, f. 46.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 312.

Duke of Albany, king of Hungary, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Hears that the king of England has lately quarrelled with his Lady [Anne], owing to her ill-treating a gentleman of his household in his presence, but it appears that they soon made it up again. As usual in such cases, their mutual love will be greater than before.

(*Common writing:*) Archbishoprics of Tarragona and Santiago.—Rome, 22nd January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, first Secretary of State."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 3.

23 Jan. **606.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, f. 51.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 317.

After sending to the sieur de Granvela (*sic*) a full report* on the proceedings in the English cause, I have learnt, both from the letters of the Imperial ambassador in England (Chapuys), as

* The report or memoir here mentioned is not at Simancas.

1531.

well as from those of the Papal Nuncio (baron de Borgo), which His Holiness has lately received, that there is danger of a new folly (*locura*) being attempted in that country *de facto*. I have consequently obtained from the Pope a fresh letter for his Nuncio, more binding and conclusive than the former, which may be forwarded to him along with one of the briefs enclosed in this despatch.

The first letter of the Pope to his Nuncio in England went on the 13th inst. This second one is fuller and more decided, since in the former the Nuncio was instructed not to present the brief unless he saw the King actually bent upon contracting a second marriage, or otherwise felt the necessity thereof, whereas, as I am told, in this second one he is particularly ordered to present the brief in case any attempt at disobedience is made in England.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and most magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

23 Jan. **607.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, f. 51.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 317.

In addition to the report which goes by this post, addressed to Mr. de Grandvella (*sic*) upon the English business, and to what I myself wrote to Your Lordship yesterday, I must state that according to letters received from the Imperial ambassador in London, which I (Mai) have seen, and those which the Pope has received from his Nuncio in that country, there is danger of the King committing some rash and unprecedented act. To guard, if possible, against this, I have obtained from the Pope the enclosed letter* for his Nuncio in that country, which letter might be sent to him along with one of the two briefs which I forwarded yesterday.

The letter is not, as might be supposed, a duplicate of the one sent on the 13th inst. It is more full and explicit, for in the first the Nuncio is instructed to present the brief to the King only in case of his wishing to marry the Lady, whereas in this second one, as I am informed, the Nuncio is expressly told to exhibit it anyhow in case the King attempts to proffer an indictment.†—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

* Not in the volume.

† "Por que en aquella solamente se le dize que presente el breve en casu (*sic*) que el Rey se quiera casar, ó haya necesidad, y de esto me dizen que dice particularmente que lo presente en casu que alla quieran indicar (indiciar ?)."

1531.

23 Jan. **608.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 318.

. . . . . .

The king of England, says His Holiness, is so taken up with the woman he intends for his wife, that having had a quarrel with her, he (the King) sent for some of her relatives, and begged them with tears in his eyes to try and adjust the difference between them. By which act the King has shewn so little regard for his own dignity and authority that scarcely one courtier can be found who does not despise him for it, as well as for what he is doing, or trying to do, against his honour and conscience.

The Pope also says that the King has had printed and hawked through the streets of London and other towns in England a summary of his own reasons and motives, as well as of the counsel he has received, for attempting to obtain the dissolution of his marriage, pretending that he is influenced solely by the voice of his conscience, and that several divines in particular, and almost all the universities of Europe, are of opinion that the Pope could not dispense in his marriage with Katharine. And the fact, says the proclamation, is thus made public to avoid scandal (*para que no se escandalizen*).

This new infatuation (*locura*) of the English king has caused His Holiness to laugh most heartily. He said to me: "It is now more necessary than ever to go on with the trial here, at Rome." His Holiness laughed still more when I said to him: "Perhaps it would have been much better after all that the King's excuses had been admitted and published, for if he has shed tears in consequence of a quarrel with his lady-love, it might be that his divines had counselled him to cry for the relief of his conscience." I confidently hope that His Imperial Majesty will come out as triumphant of this affair as of others.

The new election of king of the Romans has not been much to the taste of the duke of Albany and others here, but for that very reason, independently of others, all the Emperor's true and faithful servants are doubly glad.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesᵉ. Cathol. Mᵗⁱ."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

23 Jan. **609.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 102–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 320.

In my other despatch I informed Your Majesty of the last English news. The Pope tells me that according to letters received from his Nuncio in France (Salviati), the king of that country perseveres in his plans about Italy, and is by no means well disposed towards Your Majesty. His wish is, as he says publicly, that you may spend all the money you received for the ransom of his children, thinking that then, though you may have the will, you will certainly not have the power of defending Italy, and checking his designs.

1531.

On this subject His Holiness said to me: "Were I the Emperor I would have the ransom money put in a tower on the French frontier, and after having the gate securely locked, would throw the keys into the sea, that the king of France might know at once that the treasure shall not be spent except upon a mighty enterprize." Many other things did the Pope say on this occasion, laughing all the time at the extraordinary inkling which he seems to have for Italy.

The duke of Albany has again importuned His Holiness on the subject of his niece's marriage, giving many reasons why it should be arranged now, and some secret agreement made about it. But the answer has been the same as at other times, at which the Duke is very discontented.

The said Duke is going the round of the cardinals, assuring them that if Your Majesty confer honours and pensions upon them, his master is prepared to do as much, or a good deal more, if they will only help him.

The briefs for England have been made out. I have done all I could in that affair, as well as in persuading His Holiness to answer the King's letter in the manner he has, and one of the two briefs shall be forwarded to England that the Papal Nuncio in that country may present it to the King. The Pope at first was rather reluctant, but I persuaded him that things had gone so far that he could not help it, &c.—Rome, 12th January 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæsaree et Catholicæ Mag^{ti}."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 2½.

23 Jan. **610.** Pope Clement to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. Bu. Su. L. 1, 139.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 324.

Not only does he accept the Emperor's excuses for not having been able to settle differently the Ferrara affair, but has on the contrary to thank him for the care he has taken of his interests. He is quite satisfied with the resolution taken by His Majesty in this business, inasmuch as Miçer Mai and the rest of the Imperial agents are urging him to ask only for just and moderate terms. His Majesty may be certain that could he, without injury to the Apostolic See, or to his own honour and reputation, be contented with any other conditions except those which the bishop of Vasone (Vaison) has already proposed, or will hereafter propose in his name, he would willingly have got out of this troublesome affair (*questo fastidio*), and delivered him (the Emperor) from the great nuisance of having to settle that knotty question. But he finds that should he recover now what belongs to the Church, and allow the Duke [of Ferrara] through weakness or condescension to retain what he has usurped, he should be guilty of doing away with the patrimony of the Church, and binding the hands of his successors in the Papacy.

1531.

Thanks him for the settlement of the Florentine business. Condolence for the death of the Lady Margaret, and the loss which all Christendom has sustained.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Addressed: "Carissimo in Chr° filio nrō Carolo Romanorum Imperatori, Semper Augusto."

Indorsed by Idiaquez: "To his Majesty. From the Pope in his own hand, xxiii Jan. 1531. On the affairs of Florence." *pp.* 2.

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

23 Jan. **611.** MUXETULA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 325.

I have received the Imperial letters announcing the election of king Ferdinand as king of the Romans. His Holiness was very glad at the news. He tells everyone who speaks to him on the subject that the son of the duke of Saxony had refused to be present at the Sacrament of the Mass on Nativity Day, had left church at the offertory, and then returned to accompany His Imperial Majesty; that then he was about to sit down to dinner, just as the other princes had done, when the Emperor said to him: "At this my table none but Christians and Catholics dine," and that the Duke's son had to go away. His Holiness has said more things about this than there is time to relate.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

23 Jan. **612.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 852, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 325.

His Holiness has lately had letters from France in which they tell him that the king of England is so passionately fond of the Lady [Anne] whom he intends taking for his wife, that having had a quarrel with her, he sent for some of her relatives and implored them with tears in his eyes to appease her wrath, and induce her to make peace with him. By which action the King has shewn so much weakness and so little regard for his royal dignity and authority that people universally despise him for that, as well as for the things he is attempting against his own honour and conscience.

I was also told by the Pope that the king of England had caused to be printed and hawked about in the streets of London, and of other towns of England, a proclamation stating the reasons and motives which have moved him to seek the dissolution of this marriage, adding that he does it for conscience sake, and because many people in various Christian countries are of opinion that the Pope could not rightly dispense for his union [with queen Katharine], and that in order not to create scandal by his acts he wishes to make the thing public, &c.

The Pope laughs at this new folly of the King. He told me the other day that for this very reason it was more urgent

1531.

than ever to go on with the proceedings, as is being done at present. He laughed still more heartily when I told him that it would have been far better to give publicity to the fact of the king of England having actually shed tears* after a quarrel with the Lady, as this might be made a sort of excuse for his conduct on the plea that his divines had actually advised him to cry for the relief of his conscience.

I hope to God that Your Majesty's good luck will ensure your triumph in this affair as in all the rest.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

23 Jan. **613.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 854, f. 126. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 330.

In favour and commendation of auditor Aragonia (Giovanni Lodovico) and of his brother [Nicolas] the advocate (*advogado*), both of whom have worked with much zeal in the matrimonial cause.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

23 Jan. **614.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 854, f. 128. B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 331.

In favour and commendation of auditor Simonetta.—Rome, 23rd January 1531.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

23 Jan. **615.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 6.

In this Parliament, in which almost all the nobility and clergy of the country, besides a great number of other people, are assembled, no motion has yet been made concerning the Queen's case. Hitherto all that has been done is reduced to certain ordinances to be observed in times of plague, and other police regulations; also to passing a Bill for a composition the Clergy (*pour coumposer les ecclesiastiques*), which seems to be after all the principal cause for the meeting of this present Parliament, this King intending that all priests, who have tacitly or expressly recognized the legatine powers of the late Cardinal (Wolsey), should be arrested, and their property confiscated. And although the priests know very well that in obeying His Holiness' decrees they have neither transgressed the laws of the country, nor done anything to deserve punishment, yet feeling that there is no escaping from the King, they have presented him at the first swoop with 160,000 ducats,†

* "El papa riese de esta nueva locura, y me dixio (*sic*) que tanto mas conviene que se provcha en la causa aqui como se aze, y por cierto riyose el papa quando yo le dixe [que] el Rey segun mis noticias habia llorado, &c."

† "Et combien, sire, que iceux ecclesiastiques sachent certainemant navoer en ce moment meffayt ne transgresse, toutes foys voyant que c'est ung fere le fault, ilz ont presente de premier sault cent et soixante mille ducatz."

1531.

which sum, however, the King has refused to accept, swearing most solemnly that he will have full 400,000 out of them or else visit them with extreme rigour, so that the English clergy will in the end be obliged to grant this King's demands, and sell the very chalices and shrines of their churches, as otherwise they would be quite unable to pay one-fourth of that sum.

Five days ago it was agreed between the Papal Nuncio and myself that he should go to the place where the said ecclesiastics are now holding their congregation, and exhort them to uphold the honour, immunity, and authority of the Church; inform them about the state of the Queen's case [at Rome], shew them the letters which the Pope had written to him thereupon, and also offer his own services, and intercede with the King for the reduction of the tax he wants to levy upon them. And when the said Nuncio entered the room where the ecclesiastics were assembled, they were so astonished and thunderstruck (*escandalizés*) that without giving him time or leisure to say his errand, they begged and entreated him for God's sake to leave them in peace; for they had no permission from the King to hold any communication with him. If he came (they said) for the purpose of having a certain Apostolic mandate executed, against which they had already been sufficiently warned, he (the Nuncio) had better address himself to the archbishop of Canterbury, their primate, who was not present at the meeting. The Nuncio, therefore, left without being able to inform them officially of the object of his visit, though he failed not to acquaint with it the bishop of London, who acted as proctor to the congregation, and promised to report it, though I should think he will do nothing of the sort without first consulting the King and obtaining his permission, he (the Bishop) being, as is well known, one of the principal promoters of these affairs.*

Lately the *bishop of Rochester* sent me word that *the King* had made *attempts to corrupt him*, as well as the rest of those who stand up for the Queen, telling him and them *a thousand lies and also most foolish tales*, and among the rest that the Pope *had promised to cardinal de Grammont* that whatever mien he might put on *of wishing to proceed against the King*, they (the English) were not to be the least alarmed, *for he promised to favour them with all his power*. And, moreover, that *he* (*the Pope*) *was secretly a bitter enemy of Your Imperial Majesty* owing to your insisting *on the convocation of a General Council*, which is the thing in this world which His Holiness hates most, especially since he has heard that *his own deposition from the pontificate and the election in his room of cardinal Campeggio had for some time been in contemplation*.† The King tried also to persuade

* "Que luy dit en feroit le rapport, de quoy yl se gardera tres bien sans en avoer commandemant du Roy, car cest le principal promoteur de ces afferes."

† "Et que plus est pour ce quil a entendu que vostre Majeste avoit dehu desia [machiner et proposer de le depointer et fere pape le cardinal Campeggio."]

1531.

bishop Fisher and the rest that by means of the *marriages* which *Jehan Jocquin was trying to promote*, having lately gone to France for that purpose, as I have had occasion to write to Your Majesty, they would ultimately and without fail *obtain from him* [the Pope] *anything they wished in that respect.*

Having heard the above, and knowing by experience that news of this kind would soon spread about in public places, I thought of putting the Papal Nuncio on his guard, that he might better test the vanity of these people. He told me that he had already heard some vague rumours, but that the report being a nonsensical one altogether he had made no further inquiries. I acquainted him with the answer, which the said *bishop of Rochester* had by my direction made to the King's messages,* and begged him nevertheless, *for the confirmation and corroboration of the said answer*, since I myself was unable *to speak with the Bishop*, to go personally to him, and if he found a fit opportunity convince him of the falsehood of such reports, which the Nuncio has since done with very good grace. For I am told that no sooner did he *meet him*, than without the Bishop opening the subject he related to him in the most minute details how the thing had passed, and what the exact words were which the Pope had said to the Cardinal; so that he left him thoroughly informed and convinced.

Next day, early in the morning, the *King* sent for the *Bishop* to hear what had passed between the Nuncio and him. Eagerly interrogated by the King the *Bishop* answered that nothing particular had occurred, save that the Nuncio had called and told him that the *Pope was exceedingly annoyed at having to assemble a General Council*, and had requested him to use all his influence with the *King* and also with the *clergy of England* [to prevent its celebration].

Immediately after his interview with the King the Bishop called on the Nuncio, that *he might, if interrogated, make his answer agree with his own.*†

It is really incredible *how much intrigue and deceit these people are carrying on for the sole purpose of suborning all manner of people;* but whatever means they employ they do not succeed, which makes most people think that *they will not attempt to bring the Queen's case before this Parliament.*

Some time ago the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) invited to supper Monsieur de la Guiche,‡ for whose amusement he caused a farce to be acted of the Cardinal (Wolsey) going down to Hell; for which La Guiche much blamed the Earl, and still

* "Je luy dis la response quen avoye fayt fere audit [evesque], le priant ce non obstant."

† "Et quil luy avoit prie bien a certes dy vouloer tenir la main de son possible tant envers icelluy [roy] que ausy vers les [ecclesiastiques], de quoy yl advertyt incontinent le dit nonce, &c."

‡ "Claude de la Guiche, more correctly La Guische or La Guysche, a French gentleman, who, after the departure for France of Jean Jocaquin (Giovan Gioachimo di Passano) remained in charge of the French embassy in England.

1531.

more the Duke *for his ordering the said farce to be printed.* They have been ever since [Jocquin's departure] entertaining the said gentleman most splendidly, and making the most of him on every occasion, *and yet* I am told that however well treated by them he still says very openly what he thinks of them, and laughs at their eccentricities in matters of government and administration.*

Lately, at Calais, all the letters of merchants and others which a courier brought were opened, with the single exception of one small packet addressed to me from Flanders, which they could not discover. They took from him a document written on vellum, which he (the courier) believes related to the Queen's business, and about which we knew nothing here. This conduct on the part of the governors at Calais seems strange enough, if we consider that even during the last war such foul and disreputable means were never resorted to. I fancy that this has been done with a view to prevent Roman briefs from reaching this country. They have not yet answered the one relating to the convocation of the Council, and still affect to disbelieve in the election of Your Majesty's brother as king of the Romans. It is not difficult to guess whence this incredulity and the above measure proceed, and therefore something must be done to stop such proceedings.—London, 23rd January [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 4.

28 Jan. **616.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. L. 854, f. 120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 326.

Wrote from Turin stating that he had induced the Councils, Universities (*Estudios*), and lawyers of all the duchy of Savoy to subscribe a true and judicial allegation in favour of the Queen's rights, for the upholding of which he (Ortiz) had come to this country by Her Majesty's orders. Though he found on his arrival that the king of England and his agents had tried to corrupt everyone, yet he was able to obtain from the Duke [Carlo] and the Infanta, his wife, an order to their ambassador [at Rome] to place himself entirely at his disposal, and meet him in consultation when required, the Duke having, as he (Ortiz) has since understood, written at the time to several Roman cardinals in commendation of the affair.

Mentioned at the same time that the university of Toulouse had given opinion in favour of the king of England, though with a good deal of precipitation and without having sufficiently examined the question. Has since learned that those of Bologna, Mantua, and Padua have been strongly urged by the King's agents to do the same; at least so the Imperial ambassador [Miçer Mai] informs him. However, all these

* "Toutesfois ils nen sçauent tant fere quil ne sen gaudisse et ne leur die ce quil pense de leurs folles entreprinses en matieres de gouvernement et conseil."

1531.

steps of the English are of no importance whatever, being entirely founded on false opinions and erroneous arguments which he (Ortiz) will soon, by the favour of God, completely overcome, shewing besides how much the servants and agents of the king of England have, as common report goes, tried by bribery and other dishonourable means to gain their end.

Since his arrival at Rome, on the 23rd, he (Ortiz) has had no opportunity or leisure to go and kiss His Holiness' feet. Hopes to be able to do so to-morrow or after, and that the suit will go on briskly. In the meantime he has written all these particulars to the President of [the Council] of Castille, to whom he refers.—Rome, 28th January 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

28 Jan. **617.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 496, f. 91.
B. M. *Add* 28,582, f. 327.

Closing of the Diet at Worms.—Election of his brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans.—Subsequent coronation at Aquisgran (Aix la Chapelle).

Council, &c.

Shortly before the death of Madame Margaret [of the Low Countries], the king of France sent one of his secretaries to her, proposing an interview, besides the inter-marriages of our children. No sooner did I hear of it than I caused a message to be conveyed to the said secretary, purporting that as the matter required consideration, and I was then on my way to the Low Countries, I could not until my arrival at Brussels give an answer. I have now dispatched Mr. de Praët with it.—Brussels, 28th January MDXXX. años.*

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

29 Jan. **618.** DR. ESCORIAZA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 496, f. 94.
B. M *Add.* 28,582, f. 328.

Though Benavides, the messenger, bearer of this present, will be able to give better verbal account of the Emperor's health than I myself could in writing, I cannot let him go to Spain without saying something to the purpose. The Emperor is in better condition than ever he was, no doubt owing to the air of this his native country, and to the intercourse with people among whom he was educated. This, notwithstanding, he pines for Spain as we all do.

Let the sweets which the Emperor ordered by the last post, and which he tells me he has countermanded since, owing to the people about him taking them away from him, come all the same, such as quince marmalade, of which he eats a good

* Thus in the original, but most likely in this instance the Emperor's secretary in Flanders reckoned in the old style. According to Vandeness (in Gachard's *Journal des Voyages de Charles V.*, p. 98) the Emperor arrived at Brussels on the 25th January, and remained there until the 13th of March.

1531.

deal at night (for dining late he hardly takes any supper), and the lemon or citron peel* preserved in sugar, &c., which he generally carries about with him when he goes out hunting. As to the apple food (*pomada*) there is no need of it, for here at Brussels we have found excellent apples, the juice of which is the principal ingredient of that food not to be procured anywhere in Germany.†—Brussels, 29th January 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Escoriaza."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

31 Jan. **619.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 7.

On Wednesday the 25th inst., Your Majesty's letters of the 11th from Aix la Chapelle, announcing the triumphal and glorious coronation of the most worthy king of the Romans, came to hand; and in pursuance of the orders therein contained I sent immediately and applied for a royal audience. The duke of Norfolk, however, told my secretary that the King being slightly indisposed he could not receive me for the next two or three days, but that if I told him what my errand was he would report to the King, &c. Hearing this I again sent my secretary with the Imperial letters for the Duke's perusal, who, I am told, was by no means pleased at the intelligence they conveyed. Now whether the Duke, who was then playing at cards, would not be troubled with affairs of this kind, or for some other reason, the fact is that he gave my secretary a very cold reception, such as he had never experienced before on the many occasions that he had taken verbal messages from me. Yet to make up for this, and in order the better to conceal his disappointment, the Duke the other day meeting at Court one of my attachés, paid him all manner of civilities, and told him among other things that he begged me to make use of him for anything I wanted, protesting at the same time that nothing would give him so much pleasure as to be serviceable to me.

The very same day on which I sent to ask for an audience the same answer and excuse were offered to the Nuncio upon his making a similar application, *whereas it is well known that the King is just now in very good health.* This circumstance leads me to conjecture, among other things, that the King's refusal to see the Nuncio on this occasion is entirely owing to his *fear that somehow or other he will be served with some summons* (*mandemant*) from Rome, of which he is terribly afraid, however he may swagger about it; so much so that I hear his intention is, as he cannot do otherwise, to give in, and of his own free will, before he is actually com-

* "Como la marmellada que V. Mt. mando proveer, y los mas dias que va al campo manda que le lleven diacitron ó de las costras de las cidras."

† "La pomada no ay necesidad de la enbiar porque en esta villa de bruselas hemos hallado camuesas, y harto buenas, y el çumo dellas es principal parte que entra en ella, y en todo Allemania no la podimos hallar."

1531.

pelled to it, separate from the Lady [Anne]. For which purpose, as I am told, the King has ordered a house which he gave her some time ago to be fitted up and prepared for her reception. It is, however, to be presumed that his intention is not to separate from her altogether, but to recall her soon, though I think that if she is once sent away God and the Queen will take care that she does not return. I have not yet been able to ascertain whether the information received on this head is correct, but hope soon to know the truth.

Notwithstanding the help and protection which the Nuncio has given the Clergy, and the disputes and angry words he has had with the members of this Privy Council on their account, they have at last consented to give 400,000 ducats, payable in five or six years, as composition money. Now that they have been bled in this manner, the King is entertaining them and giving them some hope that they will be reinstated in some of the privileges that were taken from them at the last Parliament. This is not all; in order to carry out the plan he has lately formed, which is to bring about a union between them and the nobility so as to make of the two estates only one body, he is cajoling them. They, however, have not yet consented to the said union, considering that once effected, the nobles who hate and are envious of the Clergy, may give their support in Parliament to measures that will turn out particularly detrimental to their order.

When Parliament first met, the Queen fearing from all appearances and signs that her case would be discussed forthwith, asked the King's permission to have her own Council assembled. Since then, however, perceiving that no motion was made in Parliament, she has desisted from her purpose, waiting until it should be proper time for her said Council to meet. Now the King himself has reminded her of it, authorising her to summon her councillors to Richmonto (Richmond), where she is now staying, or, if she prefers it, to come here (to London) and consult them. *Which courtesy in my opinion is only owing to* the King's fear that she may have secretly received some brief from Rome, which fact he (the King) can easily ascertain by that means; and also to procure that such being the case her councillors should dissuade her from having the inhibition brief executed. Indeed, it appears that on the same day that the King sent the Queen the above permission, the duke of Norfolk told some bishops of the Queen's Council that she was about to send for them and consult them about her case, but that if they valued their lives they were on no account to advise her to bring any execution whatever against the King, and he promised them on his oath and honour that nothing should be attempted against her in this Parliament.

Yesterday *the duchess of Norfolk sent a message to the Queen to say that those of the opposite party (partie adverse) were trying hard to win her over to their opinion,* but if the

1531.

whole world were to set about it they would not make her change. She was and would continue to be one *of her party.* At the same time she *warned the Queen to take courage, for her adversaries were at their wits' end,* being as much amazed and bewildered in this affair as the first day it began.*

The Jew, whom this king sent for, as I informed Your Majesty in a former despatch, *notwithstanding all the precautions taken by Messire Mai to prevent his passage,* arrived here in London six days ago. He has already seen the King twice, and been very well received, though not so well on the first as on the second audience; most likely the graciousness of his reception will gradually decrease unless he has more agreeable news than he brought at first, for I am told that *his opinion is* that the Queen's marriage ought not to be disputed or dissolved, *but nevertheless that the King may and can very well take another wife conjointly with his first,* which opinion the King has found so extravagant and absurd that he has openly declared to the Jew himself that this will not do, and *that he must devise some other means of getting him out of the difficulty, for that he would never adopt, indeed would rather die than resort to such expedient,* as it would be an infamous and blameable act for him to have two wives at the same time. I hear that the pith of the Jew's argument is that although the King's marriage with the widow of his brother was a true and legitimate act, yet he does not style himself properly *husband* of the Queen, inasmuch as according to [Jewish] law the posterity issuing from such a union is ascribed to the first husband; and as it would be unreasonable that in order to preserve the name and race of the deceased, the survivor should be prevented from having posterity of his own and bearing his name, Law allows him to take another wife.† So that the said Jew who pretends to have been baptized some time ago,‡ would now under the cloak of charity, spread his Judaizing doctrines. He said to the Venetian ambassador, who reported it to me, that he had spoken to Your Imperial Majesty at Augsburgh, and had received a present from your hands, which, if it be true, is not likely to promote his credit and reputation in this country. He also pretends to have spoken to Your Majesty at Bologna. —London, the last day of January [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

* Et davantage aduertissoit la dite royne quelle print bon cueur car ses aduersaires estoint au boult de leurs sens estans plus estonnez et nonneaulx en cest affere que le premier jour quilz le commençarent."

† "Le fondement pour le quel soy esmeut [le dit juif], a ce quay peu entendre, est que combien quil soyt [vray et legittime mariaige auec la vesue de son frere] toutesfoys yl ne se dit pas etre proprement [mari] pour autant que selon [la loy la lignee que en sort se dit estre du pere deffunct], et pour ce quil ne seroit raysonable que pour conserver le nom et rasse du mort le suruiuant] ne peust avoer [lignee dicte et reputee a luy] que la dite [loy aussi permect quil pregne autre femme."

‡ "Le dit juif que se dist estre pieça baptizé soubs ombre de charité vouldroit semer telle dragee iudaique."

1531.

31 Jan. **620.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 852, f. 53.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 332.

Cardinal de' Medici.—Ancona.—Duke of Saxony. Has written to Mr. de Granvelle about the English business.—Rome, the last day of January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 2.

31 Jan. **621.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, f. 55.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 330.

Writes in commendation and favour of auditor Aragonia, and of his brother, the barrister, who as he (Mai) had occasion to record at Bologna, are doing much service in the divorce case.*—Rome, 31st January 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

31 Jan. **22.** Muxetula to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 109–10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 333.

No money from Naples, though so often promised by cardinal Colonna. The Pope has done all he could and fulfilled all his promises. Not only has he paid his quota of 10,000 crs. every month, but he has actually given quarters to the men within the lands of the Church.

(*Cipher:*) It appears that king Francis has sent a message to the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) to this effect: That since he refuses to restore the property and lands which he (the King) gave away when he was lord of Milan, he (the Duke) must not wonder if one of these days he takes his revenge some way or other.

It is also reported that the French are in secret understanding with the disaffected at Genoa. Indeed, His Holiness begins to be much concerned about it, for the Genoese have made a certain Spinola,† belonging to the party opposed to the Doria, their Doge (*Duque*). A Frenchman here has been heard to say that there was hope of gaining this last captain over to their side, but I cannot believe it, nor can the Pope either, for although the present Government is certainly more in the hands of the Adorni than Doria would have wished, there is no reason to suspect that captain's fidelity.

The duke of Savoy and the Switzers.

The affairs of Siena are still very unsettled. Believes that Fernando Gonzaga and Lope de Soria have reported thereupon.

Was about to close this letter when he received one from Naples announcing that three days ago, on the 28th instant, the 30,000 crs. mentioned at the beginning of this despatch

* Duplicate of No. 613, p. 38.
† Giovan Battista.

1531.

had actually left, that city 20,000 are still wanting to complete the sum of 90,000 subscribed by that kingdom.—Rome, the last day of January 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

31 Jan. **623.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 54.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 337.

Wrote on the 22nd inst. and gave an account of affairs at Siena. Things are still very unsettled there, and no definitive agreement has been come to with regard to the Imperial troops. Malatesta [Baglione] has sent one of his secretaries to offer the services of his condotta in case an attack on Siena should be decided upon. Has written to him in answer that no force is required for the present.

Saw the Pope about the Modena business, and found him very unwilling indeed to enter into negotiation. He said and repeated many times: "If I am to lose Modena and Rezo (Reggio) through the proposed agreement with Ferrara, I had better leave things as they are at present, and wait for an opportunity and a better chance."

The matrimonial cause of the duke of Mantua has not been tried yet. The Pope says that if the proctor of the Infanta Jullia (*sic*) again takes charge of the affair the trial is sure to last one year or more.

French intrigues.—Duke of Albany and the Pope.

The Milanese ambassador here says that his colleague at the Court of France has been dismissed, the reason is not stated.—Rome, 31st January 1531.

Signed: "Miçer Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

1 Feb. **624.** The Same to the Empress.

S. E. L. 854, f. 120.

. . . . . .

In the matrimonial cause of England I am doing all I can to have it decided; but I am afraid that some great novelty will be started, and that the King of that country will not consent to its being tried here [at Rome], and in fact that without waiting for a definitive sentence, he will take another wife. I have also information from that country, from a very good source, that the King intends to appeal to the future Council before definitive sentence is pronounced. I now write to the President [of the Council of Castille], reporting on the different phases of that affair.—Rome, 1st February 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

1531.

6 Feb. **625.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Pat. Re. Bul. S. L. 1, f. 140. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 1.

Alfonso d'Este, who entitles himself duke of Ferrara, but is only a rebel to the Church, is no longer satisfied with that city and its territory, but has also appropriated to himself the church of Modona, refusing to give possession of it to Giovanni Moron, bishop-elect to that see. The immediate consequence of which usurpation is the disorderly and immoral state of the clergy of that diocese. Hopes sincerely that he (the Emperor) will not favour Alfonso d'Este in his unjust pretensions, and begs him write to his governor at Modona to help the said Moron in taking possession of his bishopric.—Rome, 6th February 1531, on the eighth year of our pontificate.

Countersigned: "Blosius."

Addressed: "To our dearest son, the Emperor Charles V."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

9 Feb. **626.** DR. ORTIZ to the SAME.

S. E. L. 854, f. 102. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 2.

Wrote from Spain, and also from Turin, giving an account of his journey thither. Saw the duke and duchess of Savoy, and obtained the opinions of several eminent lawyers and canonists on the Queen's case, the more so as he heard on his arrival in that city that the opposite party had been for some time at work, and that the English agents had gone thither for this very purpose.

After some trouble and danger he (Ortiz) arrived here, at Rome, on the 23rd ult°. Will set to work as soon as he has had an audience from the Pope, and do his best to convince His Holiness, and all those to whom the trial of the cause has been entrusted, that justice and right are absolutely on the side of the Queen. Indeed this is so evident that, in his opinion, there is no need of debating and pleading, thus disturbing people's consciences and giving the Christian Republic bad example by such delays in the execution of justice.

Of the great many signatures which the agents of the English king are said to have procured His Majesty must not take heed, for in reality they are entirely worthless, and will be of no weight at all when the case comes to be tried. Should be delighted to see here my opponents, those who have subscribed without proper consideration the contrary opinion, and prove to them that the dissolution of this marriage (*la prohibicion de este matrimonio*) is not a matter of divine right but merely of civil law (*derecho positivo*), one in which the Pope could very well dispense, especially having so many reasons for it.

I have not waited on His Holiness yet, but will in a day or two, when I will not fail to advise and report on the state of the process.

The above is only a repetition of my letter of the 28th ult°, which I fear has miscarried, as did many others that went by

1531.

the same conveyance. Since then I have seen His Holiness, who seems pleased with my coming. To the address I made he answered that he was well aware of the inconveniences likely to arise from further delay in the cause, and that he was determined to quicken the proceedings as much as it was in his power to do. I wish there was here on the opposite side some person willing to examine and debate the case in a theological point of view, which is the principal thing. His Holiness ought to compel the king of England to do this, for, as far as I can see in the allegations (*informaciones de derecho*) which have been recently presented (to the Pope and cardinals) by his proctors, he claims not to be obliged to treat this question here, because he says that the case to be tried being so grave and important he must needs appear in it, and that the roads are not secure. This point, which appertains exclusively to lawyers (*juristas*), is to be discussed at the next Consistory, although, in my opinion, there can be no possible doubt about it; the cause having already been determined, (*derechos*) His Holiness is bound to proceed against the refractory parties (*los rebeldes*) whose own fault it is, if they do not appear in court and plead the contrary.

Have since received Your Majesty's orders to prosecute the case with all possible vigour. Nothing on my part shall be left undone, and whenever Miçer Mai tells me to begin I will be at my post. The time for the fight has not come yet, as that ambassador assures me, for the process does not yet touch on the principal point.—Rome, 9th February 1531.

Signed: "Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

10 Feb. **627.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 111–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 4.

Last night His Holiness shewed me letters from his Nuncio in France of the 27th, 28th, and 29th ult°, in which he says that the only news now stirring in that country is that the king of England complains bitterly of the inhibition brief, and wishes him of France to interfere with the Pope in his favour. The ground of complaint is that king Francis having requested His Holiness not to proceed with the cause at Rome, this inhibition forbidding him (the English King) to proceed "de facto" in the new marriage, ought not to have been executed without his (the king of France) having been duly informed of it beforehand.* The Nuncio adds that Francis did not seem to him as if he took the thing much to heart when he spoke on the subject, nor did

* "El rey de Ingalaterra ha hecho mucha ynstancia con el rey de francia que oviesse quesido (querido) quexarsse con el papa porque aya inibido en Inglaterra que no se proceda en alguna cosa de facto en el matrimonio."

1531.

he blame the Pope for decreeing the inhibition. He said, however, that it would be advisable to look out for some means of settling this affair amicably, and that in the meantime the proceedings at Rome might be suspended. This very thing the duke of Albany has already tried to accomplish, as I am told, several times, urging His Holiness to stay the proceedings, but all in vain. The Pope has always answered that he cannot stop the course of justice, especially as these are only devices for the king of England to gain time and act, and besides, observed the Pope, even if the king of France should find means of conciliation that was no reason for his staying the proceedings.

Such was the Pope's answer to the Duke when he said the other day that should the proceedings at Rome be suspended the King, his master, would willingly pledge his royal word that no further steps would be taken in England by king Henry. To which the Pope replied that had the application come from the Queen herself he (the Pope) might have consented to it; as it was he could not possibly stay the proceedings and must needs let justice have its course. With these words the conversation ended and there was no more said about it.*

Some days ago an English excusator appeared before His Holiness and the Rota to explain, as he said, the many reasons there were for not proceeding here [at Rome] with the English cause, which reasons after all are the same which the King himself has alleged in his letters to the Pope. But after several attempts and demands on the part of the English excusator and ambassadors it was decided this morning in Consistory not to admit the excusation, and to proceed with the cause. As the ambassador (Mai) who has particular charge of this business cannot fail to inform Your Majesty thereof I will say no more, &c.

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of a letter of Gio. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

10 Feb. **628.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 111-12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 10.

Wrote on the 31st ult°, but hearing that the courier had met with an accident between Modena and Bologna deems it necessary to repeat a portion of the contents of the said despatch.

[Transcribes the paragraphs relating to the divorce, and then adds:]

The Papal Nuncio in France writes that king Francis had complained to him of having received no answer to a message

* "El Papa le replicó que si por parte de la Reyna se ouiesse instado en la causa [lo uviera concedido], que él no podia faltar de proceder á lo que quisiesse la justicia, y con esto quedó este negocio." The words between brackets have been supplied to complete the sense which otherwise would be imperfect.

1531.

sent by one of his secretaries to Your Imperial Majesty. He (the King) was expecting your arrival in Flanders, and your answer to the proposals of matrimonial alliance made by him: all the cause of which was neither more nor less than an uncontrollable hankering after Milan.

The King, moreover, had made a very good provision in favour of Sigismondo Darimine (da Rimini), and treated him much better than the rest of the Italians at his Court. The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) having sent to ask for a settlement of the arrears due to his son [Ercole], and the dower of his wife, Madame Raynera (Renée of France), the King got into a great passion at first, but the Grand Master (Montmorency) interfering, matters were arranged satisfactorily for both parties. A cardinal's hat has been asked for the bishop of Toulouse (Jean d'Orleans).

Venice and Milan.—The Switzers.—Duke of Lorraine, and the brief about the Council.

Besides the above intelligence from France, conveyed in a letter of the Papal Nuncio, which he has himself deciphered, the Pope tells him that he has letters from Dalmatia stating that the Turk had dismissed the ambassadors of the king of Hungary, now of the Romans, and given orders for his army to collect on the frontiers of that country, and was also arming by sea. Indeed, it was generally reported at Constantinople that this year Puglia would be invaded. "The Venetians (added the Pope) must know something about this, for I hear they have sent orders for fitting out certain galleys in Dalmatia."

Relates a long conversation he had on the 9th with His Holiness about the Turk, the Lutherans, and the Council. Told the Pope that the principal thing to do under present circumstances was to collect at once as large a sum as possible. His answer was that his resources were very scanty, owing to France, England, and Venice having refused to tax their clergy. Spain, once so rich a source, was now exhausted by the "Cruzada" and "Quarta," Italy was impoverished by former wars. He (the Pope) was averse to raising money except by honest and fair means. Pointed out to him that if he did not cast away his scruples he would never after, if he lived 100 years, be in possession of a single "quatrino." He must do (he said) as his predecessors had done, and use all means to get money. The Pope answered very coldly (*frio y respetuoso*): "We shall see."

With regard to the Lutherans the Pope observed that instead of helping him and the Emperor most of the princes in Christendom were inclined to favour them and even the Turks.

Has written to Genoa and to Venice about their respective contributions, but has very little hope as to the latter. The

1531.

30,000 crs. from Naples were immediately forwarded to the camp. At Siena 500 Spanish infantry can for the present be maintained, and some money, not much, is expected from Mantua and Urbino.

Affairs in Siena are getting gradually better; but in his opinion will not be settled until the duke of Amalphi be appointed governor of the place in His Majesty's name, as stated in former despatches.—Rome, 10th February 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

10 Feb. **629.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. Ro. L. 852, f. 112.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 12.

The following are the news sent by the Papal Nuncio in France, as reported in the preceding despatch.* Danger from the Turks and Lutherans.—With the exception of the Emperor and of his brother the king of the Romans all other princes of Christendom keep aloof, nay, rather than help us in this emergency will favour the Infidel. Such were the Pope's sentiments the last time he (Muscetula) spoke to him on the subject. After discoursing together for a while on the best means to be employed to meet the Turkish invasion the Pope himself suggested that the principal thing to do was to collect at once as much money as possible. His resources (he said) were very small, inasmuch as neither France, England, nor Venice would allow him to tax the churches of their respective dominions. Spain, so rich a source at one time, was now almost exhausted by the levying of the "Cruzada" and "Quarta." Italy was impoverished and ruined by the last wars. He (the Pope) was averse to making money in any other way except by thoroughly honest and legitimate means. Told him plainly that unless he did away with his scruples he would never be in possession of one single "real" were he to live 100 years, and that he must do as his predecessors had done, namely, use all possible means to obtain money.—Rome, 10th February 1531.

Addressed: "To His Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 13.

13 Feb. **630.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 69-70.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 19.

I wrote last on the 31st ult°, but as there is every reason to think that the courier dispatched by cardinal Colonna, and who took mine and Muxetula's despatches has met with an accident on the road,† will repeat part of their contents.

* *See* No. 628.

† "Que el correo que venia despachado del cardenal Colonna, y truxo las cartas de aqui havrá *capitado* mal." *Capitado* from the verb *capitar* (in Italian, "arrivato, giunto") is not used in Spanish. *See* above, pp. 49 and 51.

1531.

I then wrote, that in my opinion the feeble arguments adduced by the English* had no foundation at all, and could not be taken into consideration. I have now the satisfaction of announcing to Your Imperial Majesty that on the 10th inst. it was publicly declared in Consistory, after the report of the Auditor and the votes of the Rota had been read, that the English excusator could not possibly be heard unless he brought special powers to defend the cause. This was obtained notwithstanding the efforts of the English agents who had been for a whole fortnight visiting the auditors [of the Rota] one after another, accompanied by two lawyers (*letrados*) and two proctors, taking with them legal opinions drawn up by the most eminent jurists of Italy. These last, however, have been of very little use to them, since the ill success of their application has now been made public. May they be defeated in the principal cause as they have been in this incidental one! I must not omit a circumstance which shews the tenacity of the English ambassadors: they went about Rome soliciting the admission of the excusator, and although they were told that he could not possibly be admitted unless he came furnished with a sufficient power of attorney from the King, they still insisted upon presenting a petition to the Rota, and the consequence was that, as I said above, it was rejected.

Now it remains for us to press the cause in which, thank God, not one minute's time has been lost up to the present through any fault of Your Majesty's servants. But it is, nevertheless, very important to have an authentic copy of the brief [of Julius II.] and also an attestation that the new summons† sent some days ago has been properly affixed. Meanwhile the register-book shall be prepared for the solicitation of a sentence. I have no doubt the English will go on inventing new pretexts to stay the proceedings, but this will make us shorten them as much as possible. Indeed, already through this last step we have gained no less than six important articles over our opponents, though it must be said that only five of them have been obtained in my time, viz., one at Orbieto, when they, the English, petitioned that the divorce should be declared and established without suit (*de plenitudine potestatis*). The second, when the cause was advoked to Rome. The third, when he (the King) asked the Pope to issue a decretal thereupon. The fourth, when they applied for the dispensation brief [of Julius II.] to be declared false, and that the cause should be tried in London. And the fifth, and last, the rejection of their excusator (*exequtor* ?).

* "Y porque scriuia [en aquella] que pensaua que la vanedad que haurian (*sic*) levantado no ternia piez (*sic*) y se haria bien, con esta doi aviso á V^ta M^d."

† "Pero es necesario que se nos embie una copia auctentica del breve y ahun la relation de la affixion de la nueva citacion que sembió estos dias, entretanto se adreza el Registro para sollicitar la sententia."

1531.

Upon every one of which separate articles the English have laid as much stress and pressure, and used as much diligence as in the principal affair, &c.

Festivities in Rome to celebrate the coronation of Ferdinand as king of the Romans.

General Council. The Pope is mightily afraid of it.

I hear that the duke of Albany is doing all he can to prevent the interview of Your Majesty and the king of France taking place anywhere but here in Italy, alleging that if in Flanders everything would be done according to Your Majesty's will, whereas here in Italy, what with his (the Pope's) authority, and that of the other Italian potentates [who might be present], the game would be more equal. This the Venetian ambassador told me with great secrecy, and also that he imagined the whole to be a fabrication and a mere invention of the Pope. Inquired from cardinal d'Osma what could be the cause of such language, but he could not tell me. Went then to the Pope and spoke to him on the subject. He at first tried evidently to shun the conversation but owned in the end that the duke of Albany had no doubt spoken those words to him under the impression that were the interview to take place in Flanders the affairs of the king of England might also be arranged. This, however, the Pope thought would not become him in the least.* I have been unable to learn more particulars either from the Pope himself or from any other source, and therefore beg leave to send by this messenger a rough sketch of the whole, promising, if I should gain further intelligence, to apprize the High Commander (Covos), Your Majesty's principal secretary, of it, though I am very much afraid that having been found out in their game, both His Holiness and the Duke [of Albany] will cause all traces of the intrigue to disappear.†

The Pope says that a paper containing his ideas on the Florentine constitution, and how that city ought to be governed in future, has been forwarded by him to Your Majesty's court; I myself wrote some time ago that the Capuan (Schomberg) had gone with it.

I have seen letters from France stating that, as far as they can judge, the minds of the Florentines are still very unsettled. Indeed, the general opinion here is that Florence is not so peaceful and quiet as might be desired, and that cardinal [Ippolito] de' Medici, who hates his brother Alessandro, has intelligences in that city and is likely to create

* "Y dixo (el Papa) que creya quel duque de albania lo hazia por que pensava que si alla se viesen que se concertaria tambien lo del rey de inglaterra, y que cree su St. que no le estaria bien."

† "El qual me lo desvió, y dixo que creia quel duque de Albania lo hasia porque pensava que sy allá se viesen [vuestra Magestad y el Rey de Francia] que se concertaria tambien lo del rey de Inglaterra, y que cree Su St. que no le estaria bien. Y no pudiendo sacar dél otra cosa ni saberlo de otro hasta agora, lo escrivo assy, rudo, porque [V^{a} Mag^{d}] sepa esto que acá se sabe. Yo trabajaré en saber lo demas como quier que pienso que desharan el rastro, pues es descubierto."

1531.

disturbance. Only a few days ago the Cardinal told his uncle, the Pope, that he would no longer be a churchman, but a layman to carry sword and offer his services to Your Majesty. I was sent for and asked by the Pope to interfere.—Rome, 13th February 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

13 Feb. **631.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 70. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 19.

Since Your Lordship wishes me to report on the Camerino affair I will state what I know about it. The Duchy is worth 12,000 ducats a year. Its capital is well situated on a mountain in the midst of the Romagna, between the estates of the Church and the lands of the duke of Urbino. Owing to these reasons it is considered more important and valuable than it really is. The heiress (Giulia) is nine years old, and a niece of the Pope, for she was the daughter of a brother of cardinal Cibo, the legate at Bologna. Don Joan de Borja, son of pope Alexander [VI.] claims it as his own, and as far as we can judge has justice in his favour. Should things stand thus the Pope ought to marry her to Don Joan, and the better to ensure his claim the latter ought to take her as his wife. This is what relates to the parties, &c.

In the *marriage of Monferrato* nothing is said for the present, and matters are at a standstill.

The news of the Turk Your Lordship will see by a long report I have addressed to His Imperial Majesty.

The Pope is very determined to try and bring to light by whom the bulls for the coronation of the king of the Romans were sent, and to whom they were delivered. If this be done soon well and good, if not I will apply for fresh ones.*

With regard to the 5,000 ducats seized by Scalenga (D'Escalengues) His Holiness is very much hurt at the doubt that has been raised, for he says that the money was certainly his own.

The dispute about Santofemia,† which was on the point of being settled between the proctors of the Viceroy [of Sicily] and those of Fabricio Pignatello, his grandson, those of Fray Perrin, and Commander Urries, is hotter than ever, for those of the Viceroy ask now more than they did at first. The Commander, however, who was at Naples, a convalescent from his

* "El Papa está muy determinado en acordarse por quien embió las bullas de la coronation y saber a quien se dieron, y si sera presto sera bien, otramente (*sic*) yo las sacaré de nuevo."

† A small town in the province of Cordova and the seat of a commandership of the Order of Santiago, which at this time was the subject of a law-suit between Fabricio Pignatello, the grandson of the duke of Monteleone (Ettore Pignatello) viceroy of Sicily, and Pedro de Urries. Who the Frey Perrin mentioned in this passage may be, and what his claims were to the said commandership, I have been unable to discover.

1531.

late illness, has since come back, and is now in Rome; so I hope that the parties will soon agree, and then Urries may be sent to the camp.

The affairs at Siena are just in the same state as they were, as Your Majesty will be able to see by the copy of a letter which is enclosed to Don Fernando [Gonzaga] and to Lope de Soria, begging them to propose terms in Your Majesty's name. We are only waiting for an answer from them, which I hope will be reasonable, for the fact is that the Sienese can in reality do no harm; they cannot offend us, nor can they defend themselves if attacked, though they are, nevertheless, a hot-headed set (*locos*), and some of them perhaps badly inclined, this being our only fear. Until now no rigour has been used under the impression that moderation will serve His Majesty's purpose better than violence; but if it should be necessary to use the latter (which God forbid) let the World know that Your Majesty's ministers have all the time used the mildest and most conciliatory terms to settle the disputes of the Sienese among themselves. Vargas, in the meantime, has taken possession of two or three small villages which had offered resistance, and has slain most of the Corsicans, who were in them, &c.*

With regard to Ferrara the state of the business is, that on no account will the Pope consent to Modena and Rezzo remaining in the hands of the Duke (Alfonso d'Este). He has lately sent to Siena to ask for Philippo Decio's opinion on the affair of the divorce.—Rome, 13th February 1531.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 7.

—. **632.** The conditions under which His Holiness consents to the convocation of the Council.

S. Pat R. Conc. y Disc. L. 2, f. 11. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 158.

"Si videbitur Maiestati Cæsareæ, omnibus rite at recte pensatis, convocandum concilium sanctissimus D[ominus] N[oster] et Sacrum Collegium infrascriptas adjiciunt conditiones," &c.

Latin. Contemporary copy.† *pp.* 3.

13 Feb. **633.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 60. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 27.

Affairs of Florence.

Measures have been taken to arrest and punish the murderers of the Imperial courier sent by cardinal Colonna,‡ and the Pope has written to Mantua and Ferrara about it.

* "Vargas ha tomado en este medio dos ó tres lugarejos que se le defendian con unos corsos, y muertos los mas de ellos, que en verdad ha sido buena obra, ni los seneses pueden quexarse de ella sin que primero no confiesen su culpa."

† The same paper translated into Spanish is in *Add. MSS.* 28,583, fol. 392. The present one is thus indorsed by secretary Idiaquez: "The conditions for the convocation of the Council, as proposed by prothonotary Gambaro in His Holiness' name. The Emperor's answers to each of them, besides the instructions and principal credentials of the Legate." The document itself has no date, and is placed in Bergenroth's volume (the 13th of the collection), *Add.* 28,584, between the account of the Emperor's debts to the Count Palatine (Frederic) and Garay's letter of the 10th January (No. 59). See *catalogue of the MSS. in the Spanish language in the British Museum*, vol. ii., p. 601.

‡ See above.

1531.

His Holiness was very glad to hear that on no account would Your Majesty hold an interview with the king of France without letting him know first.—Rome, 13th February 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty, the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 4.

13 Feb. **634.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER [COVOS].

S. E. L. 852, ff. 62–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 29.

My despatch to the Emperor will sufficiently inform Your Lordship of what has lately been done in the English cause, yet I have purposedly omitted a few particulars which I now beg leave to bring under your notice for the better issue of that affair.

(*Cipher:*) It is of the utmost importance at the present juncture to have an authentic copy of the original proceedings enacted in England before the two cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio. I have several times asked for it, and pointed out the way in which it could be obtained, the latter cardinal sending in his application, &c. These papers being of paramount importance for the success of this cause ought to come as soon as possible, not that they are absolutely necessary, as the suit can well go on without them, but in order to remove all cause or pretence for delay, since it is most probable that these most reverend cardinals will decline issuing sentence in a case of such importance, unless they have before their eyes the original process. Any excuse to cause delay in this matter is likely to be acceptable to people who dislike having to decide in an affair of this sort.

The other day, whilst discussing with one of the cardinals the validity of the dispensation brief, he owned to me that I was right about the brief itself, but that in his opinion pope Julius had no faculty to dispense [in such a case]. I was very much surprised to hear such sentiments from the mouth of a cardinal, and made at once a suitable reply to his objection. I fancy, however, that it will not be difficult to convince him altogether of the contrary, for having afterwards reported this to the Pope, he felt so angry that one of his cardinals should entertain such an opinion, that he promised to send for him and remonstrate. Indeed I hear that His Holiness has already spoken to him, and that the Cardinal is now very sorry for what he said to me, and willing to be fully informed of the case, that he may rectify his opinion, &c.

Doctor Ortiz has arrived. I sincerely hope that he will be successful, for in the disputations which take place every day before the Pope, at his dinner hour, he (the Doctor) has

1531.

already made great shew of learning and talent.—Rome, — February 1531.

P.S.—After writing the above I learned that a courier had come from France, and that the duke of Albany had yesterday been closeted with the Pope for more than one hour. I went this morning to the Palace to inquire what could be the object of the Duke's visit. His Holiness told me in plain words that the Duke had said to him that the Most Christian King wished to interfere in the divorce suit, and try to bring things to a settlement. The King, his master (he said), would have thought this opportunity a most favourable one had it not been for these new inhibitions, of which the English complain most bitterly, saying that he (the Pope) had formally promised them not to proceed in the case for many a day.* The Pope's answer to the Duke was that the English ambassadors had misunderstood him. By *many a day* he did not mean to say that the proceedings should be staid *for ever*.

The Most Christian King (continued the Duke) begged the Pope to revoke the inhibitions, or at least to suspend all proceedings for two or three months, promising that during that time the king of England would do nothing "de facto." To this last petition the Pope had answered that he did not think the Imperial ambassadors (meaning D'Osma, Muxetula, and myself) would ever consent to such a prorogation, but that he would communicate with us and let him (the Duke) know the result. He imagined that it would be easier to obtain from us the total withdrawal of the cause than the suspension for three or more years.

Such was His Holiness' report of the conversation with the Duke. The Pope added: "I have purposedly repeated to you all his words, and what my answer was, that you and your colleagues may have time to deliberate, and tell me how to answer certain fiery letters (*letras de fuego*) I have lately received from England on this very subject."

Thanked His Holiness for his good intentions in this particular, and for his having so dexterously led the Most Christian King to such a conclusion; but I could not help telling him that in my opinion it was far better to try and dissuade him from his purpose than encourage him in it, because (said I) the affair being now in the hands of the Law, and Your Majesty being from just reasons determined not to grant one day's more delay, it might happen that (*cipher:*) in case of refusal the king of France took offence (*se resabiase*). It was prudent (I observed) to remove all occasions of displeasure from people so touchy (*cosquillosos*) as the two kings were. His Holiness could very easily get out of the game (*salirse del juego*) merely by saying that I had no powers from Your Majesty to make such a concession, and that on the contrary my orders were to proceed with the case as vigorously as possible. After so many delays as had been

* "Que no se procederia en la causa por muchos dias."

1531.

granted, without any favourable result for the Queen's cause, I could not possibly take upon myself the responsibility of acting without positive instructions. It was for him (the Pope), if he had any interest in the matter, and wished also to conciliate the affection and good-will of the two kings, to consult the matter directly with Your Majesty. As to me I begged to decline such a charge.

After this, upon His Holiness remarking to me that if a delay of two years was now granted, perhaps the affair would altogether drop and be forgotten, I explained to him that such a course could nowise turn to the Queen's advantage or promote the Emperor's service, owing to the uneasiness and anxiety caused in the minds of people, often more wearing and troublesome than actual evil. The Pope then asked me whether in case of the King's coming personally or by proxy to the trial some sort of accommodation (*comodidad*) should not be allowed to the party. Answered that "I had no instructions whatever to act upon in such case; my orders were limited to urging him (the Pope) to have the suit sentenced at once, whether the parties appeared or not, and nothing more. The suit had already lasted longer than it ought, and we could not wait." Upon which the Pope observed: "If the English come to the suit the cause may be protracted indefinitely, as in the cases of Romaricomonte and the count of Salinas, and other suits which have been pending for these last 15 and 20 years."* My reply was: "I hope that through Your Holiness' love of justice we shall soon put a stop to all the calumnies [of the English]. If we cannot we shall have patience, and neither the Emperor nor Her Most Serene Highness, the Queen of England, will have cause to complain of me, since I have used all possible diligence in this affair."

(*Common writing:*) I have deemed it advisable to inform Your Lordship of all these particulars that I may receive instructions as to my future doings. Until I receive them, I intend following the same line of conduct, though cardinal Agramonte (de Grammont) may, as I know he has already done, call me furiously obstinate (*rabioso*), owing to my insisting on the said refusal, and my having once prevented also count Pontremoli's journey to Florence.

(*Cipher:*) I am in possession of certain facts concerning the last Consistory, which it is well Your Lordship should know. Most of the cardinals there present spoke between their teeth (*hablaron entre dientes*) except Ancona, who carried them all after him like a sweeping net. Your Lordship may believe me when I say that all the rest of the cardinals, nay the Pope himself, would be glad, in order to avoid trouble, to

* "Y por[que] su Santidad me dixo tambien que si venian al pleito, ellos lo pódrian alargar como havian alargado las causas de Romarico monte, y la del conde de Salinas y otras que duran xv y xx años, le respondi," &c. Romaricomonte is the name of an abbey in the kingdom of Naples (?) about which see Sandoval, *Hist. del Emperador Carlos V.*, lib. xix., p. 113. The count of Salinas alluded to in this passage was Don Diego Gomez Sarmiento.

1531.

delay this affair or put it off entirely, for Your Lordship must know that most of them do not look upon it according to the justice or injustice of the case, but merely in conformity with the wishes of the princes, to whose party each of them belongs, and it might also happen that some of them went still further, imagining that as long as this suit is pending they will have the Emperor in their power and use him for the furtherance of their own ends.

(*Cipher:*) I should recommend that a letter be written to cardinal Ancona, and another to his nephew, the cardinal of Ravenna, acknowledging their good services, thanking them for what they have done, and encouraging them to persevere.

My duty compels me to mention a fact closely connected with this case. I sent the other day to thank the Auditor [of the Rota] who has charge of the Queen's defence in that tribunal, for his good offices in this last article, *i.e.*, the rejection of the English excusator (Karne), and told him that the Emperor would keep his services in memory, and reward them as they deserved. His answer was that the English had already tried to bribe him at Orbieto, and had offered him since large sums of money, which he had constantly refused. If he ever took a bribe (said the Auditor) it would only be from the Emperor,* not from anyone else. Had this Auditor not asked so impudently for a reward I should not have hesitated to recommend him, for he has certainly displayed great zeal and activity. He is the senior auditor of the Rota, and now presides as such. Every day we want him, and I must say that he helps us as much as he can. Having told him that the Emperor could not at present distinguish and honour him as he deserves for the sake of his own reputation, he replied that if that was the case some means might be found to allay all suspicions. I mention this to Your Lordship that the case of this Auditor may be referred to the Emperor, and that I may know how to act in future with him.

Rodrigo Niño writes that Dr. Parisio†, who is now at Venice, wishes to write in defence of the Queen's cause without the Emperor's express orders. Being his vassal, and knowing as well or better than anyone else the business he has in hand, I should think that he (Parisio) ought to be encouraged in his purpose.

* "Y que él no queria tomar de ellos, que si de nadie (*sic*) a de tomar que será del Emperador,"

† Probably Paris de Puteo, a Neapolitan, whose work "Solennis et utilis tractatus de re militari, ubi tota materia duelli et singularis certâminis noviter compilatus," &c., was first printed at Milan in 1508 folio, though both Dibdin, *Bibl. Spenc.*, vol. vii., and Brunet, *Manuel de Libraire*, vol. iv., p. 983, mention former editions without date, by Riessinger, of Naples. This treatise, which was much in vogue during the sixteenth century, was translated into Italian under the following title: "Duello, libro de Re, Imperatori, principi, signori, gentilhuomini, &c.," Naples 1518, 4to, and Venice, Marchio Sessa, 1525, 8vo. In 1544 a Spanish version appeared at Seville "Libro llamado batalla de dos que trata de batallas particulares de reyes, emperadores, y principes, &c., Dominico de Robertis," folio

1531.

To the ambassador in England (Chapuys), though a vassal, but not a native of those kingdoms, a present should also be sent, for certainly he displays great zeal and activity, and is a very clever man. I am glad that my prediction about him, when he was on the point of being sent to England, should have turned out true.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander, Francisco de los Covos, first secretary to His Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Supreme Lord.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

14 Feb. **635.** Eutace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 9.

Since my last the Clergy have withdrawn from the agreement entered into with the King, as I had the honour to inform Your Imperial Majesty, owing to his demanding that in case of his, or any of his allies, being compelled to make war, they should be bound to pay at once the sum previously agreed without waiting, as formerly stipulated, for five years. Another cause of disagreement is that the King now refuses to grant them the condition on which they were principally induced to disburse the money, and of which some hope had been held out to them, namely, that they should be restored to their old privileges; that the volition of which they have been deprived by a writ called *Præmunire*, should be restored to them; and thirdly, that the King should have a declaration published on the importance and tenour of the said writ, that they may not act in future against the letter of it. Of this writ called "præmunire" there is no one in England who knows anything; it rests only on the imagination of the King, who comments and amplifies it at pleasure, connecting with it any case he chooses, and subjecting those who in any way infringe the same to confiscation of property and imprisonment. At last, after much negociation, bad blood (*grimasses*) and many threats, the affair has been half settled (*a esté moyenne rabillié*), the King promising not to demand the money before the expiration of the five years, and granting one out of the three points asked by the Clergy, namely, that of the "volition," for the other two the King has flatly denied to grant.

About a week ago the Nuncio presented to this King a Papal brief in answer to his letters, which, as is well known, were couched in rather ungracious terms. I do not send a copy of it, because I am sure Your Imperial Majesty has by this time received it from Rome. The King did not read the brief in the Nuncio's presence, reserving this for such a time as he could consult his Privy Councillors about it. For this reason the Nuncio was obliged to communicate to the King some of its contents, reduced, as he himself tells me, to a

1531.

justification of His Holiness' acts in the divorce suit, and to a sort of credential in favour of himself. I was further told that never, on any former occasion, was the Nuncio so graciously received by the King and his ministers, since among other reassuring and flattering expressions the King volunteered to say: "I am well aware that you have addressed the prelates of this my kingdom, exhorting them not to consent to any measure likely to be detrimental to the Pope; but I can assure you that there was never a question of any measure that could in any way affect His Holiness. I have always upheld the authority of the Church in this my kingdom, and fully intend doing so in future, provided he (the Pope) give me no cause to act differently." Many other flattering words did the King say on this occasion, all tending to prove that he is nowise hostile to Rome, and yet at the very time he is giving such assurances I know for a positive fact that he is trying to obtain from the Clergy in his dominions a declaration highly detrimental to His Holiness, of which I will speak hereafter.

The King told the Nuncio the news he had from Germany, said much about the confusion in which the affairs of that country were represented to be, and also about a handsome present which, he said, one of the king of Hungary's servants had sent him, consisting of two camels, two horses, and two slaves, which present he praised and commended in very high terms, as if he meant to imply that it came straight from the king of Hungary himself, whereas it is an ascertained fact that it was sent by his "Azemilero Mayor."*

After this the King said to the Nuncio: "I have heard that the coronation of king Ferdinand as king of the Romans has already taken place. The information, however, comes not from the Emperor's representatives at this my court, who have not yet given me notice thereof—but from various other quarters which leads me to believe that there is something more to be said about it."

I must here remark that before the Nuncio was admitted to the royal presence the duke of Norfolk came up to him, and fearing lest he should make some sort of intimation or summons to the King respecting the Queen's business, reminded him of what he had said to him on many previous occasions, namely, that the affair of the divorce should not be discussed in this present Parliament, assuring him that no proceedings should be taken against the Queen, which assurance the Duke again repeated, telling the Nuncio that he relied entirely on his discretion and hoped the subject would not be broached. So when the Nuncio, after the King's audience, left the room, the Duke approached him and began to thank

* Azemila in Spanish is a beast of burthen, a pack horse or mule. It is derived from the Arabic zémila (with the art. az-zémila), which means the camel or beast destined for that purpose. *Azemilero Mayor* was, therefore, the officer of the King's household, who took care of the baggage department.

1531,

him most heartily for the good offices he had always done in the discharge of his diplomatic duties, begging him to continue the same, and declaring that ever since the 19th ult° an agent had been dispatched by the Court of France to Rome expressly for the Queen's business, and that the King hoped to have some good news therefrom. The Duke went still further; he said that the King had ordered an answer to be sent to the Papal brief on the convocation of the Council, the substance of which was that he (the King) approved entirely of the said convocation, provided the place appointed for the meeting was a fit one, and that in case he (the King) was unable to attend personally, he would depute fit and proper persons to attend thereat. The point, which as I said before has been lately discussed, and will, if carried out, be very injurious to the Pope's authority, is this: that under the penalty of the said writ of "præmunire" the English Clergy have been induced and compelled to declare, constitute, and accept the King as the chief and principal head of the whole Anglican Church, which amounts almost to making him Pope in England. It is true that the Clergy have added a clause purporting that this declaration is to be understood as far as the thing is compatible with Divine law, but as to the King himself, the restriction is null and void, for henceforward no one will dare dispute with his lord and master.

This last act has taken the Queen so much by surprise that she begins to fear that *since the King is not ashamed of doing such monstrous things, and there being no one who can or dare contradict him, he may one of these days undertake something most outrageous against her own person,* notwithstanding the promises he has made to treat her differently, which promises in my opinion have only been put forward to *lull her and her abettors into security,* and in the meantime treat *the Pope* as they have done. The Queen is the more alarmed from the circumstance that *immediately after the above Act was passed, the King's mistress (La Dame du Roy) made such demonstrations of joy as if she had actually gained Paradise,* besides which it seems as if this Parliament was only kept open for the purpose of *proceeding with the divorce case as soon as the information they expect from France has arrived.* Jehan Jocquin, who is to bring it, cannot be long coming back. La Guiche continues to be feasted and entertained as much as possible by the King. The other day when the King went in great triumph to hear mass at Ouesmostier (Westminster), surrounded by almost all the nobility of his kingdom, no other foreign ambassador was present at the act but the said La Guiche, who dined that day at the King's table with the two dukes and the young Marquis [of Dorset]. Indeed La Guiche, and the three above noblemen have been the King's usual guests whenever he has dined in public during this session of Parliament, *i.e.,* thrice a week. He was likewise conducted by the King's order to

1531.

the House of Parliament, that he might be present at the solemn opening of the same, the King having previously sent order to the members for each to be at his post, splendidly attired and accoutred, for the reception of the said ambassador, as was done. Yet, notwithstanding all this feasting and entertaining, he (La Guiche) having been invited some time ago to dine at Court, received counter-order owing, as it was said, to some business which had suddenly come upon the King, at which La Guiche was, as may be imagined, highly displeased and went to the Nuncio to complain, saying: "These people have very little regard for the favour and good treatment shewn to their ambassador at the court of the Most Christian King, my master, for certainly there, in France, no business, however important, ever prevents him from entering the King's chamber at any hour he pleases."—London, 14th February [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed; "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 21st."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

16 Feb. **636.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 71.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 33.

. . . . . .

With regard to the English business, I hear that efforts are actually being made to persuade the king of England to come to Rome personally, or by proxy, to plead his own cause. The intelligence comes through the duke of Albany, who has written to that effect to the king of France. If so this may be of great advantage to us. His Holiness tells me that the English King's fury is somewhat abated, and that proceedings in Parliament are no longer contemplated; all that body will do for the present will be limited to granting supplies, &c.*

The King had written again and very pressingly for a cardinal's hat for the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), but I hope the application will be as unsuccessful as it was last time.

One step more has been gained in the cause since I wrote last. Remissory letters have been obtained to examine witnesses "in partibus," without delay in the proceedings in case the other party should not appear;† in this way we shall with one hand demand justice in this case, and with the other compulsory letters will be sent to Spain, Flanders, and all the world over, so as to gain time and be prepared with

* See above, Nos. 584 and 588, under the date of the 1st and 10th of January.

† The examination of witnesses in virtue of the "remissory letters" took place in various towns of Spain in the presence of proctors appointed by the Queen. At Saragossa, in Aragon, one Joan de Pilares, *notarius causidicus ac cives Cæsareauyustanensis*, represented her whilst Henry was declared contumacious, no one having appeared for him.

1531.

documentary evidence whenever we are called upon to prove our right.

Yesterday letters came from the Empress, in date of the 2nd inst. With them came also the lawyers' opinions forwarded by the President [of Valladolid], and other papers, all of which will be very useful when the proceedings commence.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

16 Feb. **637.** Cardinal Loaysa to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 854, f. 48.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 19.

I did not shew Your Lordship's letter to His Holiness because there were expressions in it which had better not go beyond us two. The Pope, however, knows your sentiments, and how fully disposed you are to be useful.

This new dodge of the English to remove the cause away from Rome has put us all to great trouble. Your Lordship may easily imagine that I was not inactive when the question was brought into the Consistory, and I can assure you that my presence on that occasion was very useful to the Queen, for the application was rejected. I have already said in my despatches that the Pope is very circumspect (*respetuoso*) and almost timid in this affair, whether from fear or prudence I cannot exactly tell. He loves the Emperor more than all the other princes of Christendom put together, and although fear or some other sentiment that I cannot describe makes him at times say and do things open to misconstruction, yet his will is strong and constant in what concerns His Imperial Majesty. On such terms we must keep, serve, and cherish him, for after all the Emperor has no better friend than him in the world, his brother, the king of Hungary, excepted.

Should the ambassador (Mai) write to Court contradicting this opinion of mine, and saying that His Holiness is not friendly, he must not be believed entirely.

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of a letter from cardinal D'Osma to the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.*

16 Feb. **638.** The Emperor to Doctor Ortiz.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 337.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 34.

His despatch from Savoy has been duly received. Has no doubt that his learning and industry will greatly contribute to make the Queen's right clear. Hopes he has already arrived at Rome, and that Miçer Mai, the Imperial ambassador, has fully acquainted him with the state of the business and what he himself is expected to do. Being quite sure that he will use all diligence and learning, and will conscientiously do his duty, he can from this moment promise not to

* There is another letter to the Emperor dated the 13th, the substance of which is nearly the same as this.

1531.

forget his services on the occasion.—Brussels,* 16th February 1531.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos, Comendador Mayor."

Addressed: "To Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Idiaquez, one of the Emperor's secretaries. p. 1.

16 Feb. **639.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 56–7. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 35.

Had occasion the last time he was at Mantua to report verbally on the tyranny and misrule of those who then governed Siena, and proposed to His Lordship [the Commander] the means which, in his opinion, might be adopted to restore peace between the contending factions. Did then, as he has done ever since, make every effort to adjust the differences of the Sienese with the emigrants (*fuorusciti*), who, like those of other republics, generally ask a great deal more than they are entitled to have. Always objected most particularly to two of the conditions demanded by the Sienese. They were not (he said) to be allowed to extort money from the emigrants on their return, and, on the other hand, those among them who had ostensibly taken part with France were not to be allowed to go back. Mario Bandini then came to Rome, sent by the Sienese, and he (Mai) was enabled, with the assistance and advice of the Pope, to whom these "fuorusciti" generally cling, to make an agreement, the draft of which was accordingly sent to Siena for approval. Don Lope de Soria, who resides there for His Imperial Majesty, found it just and correct, but the Signory delayed under various pretences to ratify it.

Whilst matters were in this state, most of the emigrants having returned to Siena, there happened to be serious riots in that city, during which some of the "fuorusciti" were slain, and the rest had again to leave. Don Ferrando† and Don Lope then consulted us. Cardinal [D'Osma] Don Pedro de la Cueva, Mugettola (Muxetula), and he (Mai) held a meeting, and it was unanimously resolved to use moderation, inasmuch as our instructions were not to attempt anything against Siena without the Emperor's express commands. He (Mai) should have much preferred not giving his opinion in this affair, especially as being away from the place he was therefore unable to judge for himself.‡

A new agreement was then made, the bishop of Massa, and a secretary of the Sienese going from hence to try and

* On the 16th and 17th the Emperor was at Liège en route for Brussels, which he did not reach till the 25th, I, therefore, conclude that there must be some error in the date, and that instead of the 16th the 17th ought to be read.

† Ferrante Gonzaga, at this time Commander-in-chief of the Imperial forces in place of the Marquis, afterwards duke of Mantua (Federico).

‡ "Estando lexos de la negociacion donde ne se puede hablar sino como de talanquera."

1531.

procure its ratification. Don Ferrando and Don Lope approved of it, but the governors of Siena, who evidently are after no good, delayed its ratification, took certain precautionary measures, and created a new military office as in time of war.* The better to excuse their dilatory expedients, they sent here one Ludovico Politi, with whom we have been negotiating. A third agreement (*capitulacion*) was then concluded, of which a copy was duly forwarded to Siena. This having been approved by Don Ferrando and Don Lope, as were the two preceding ones, it was then referred to the governors themselves, who offered to ratify it. Now they appear to have altogether changed their minds, accusing Don Lope of all manner of things, and declaring that they will no longer have him among them. Under these circumstances some propose to yield to the demands of the Sienese, and appoint another Imperial minister, who may be more agreeable to them; but his (Mai's) advice is that the Emperor be consulted thereupon, and that in the meantime Gonzaga prevent the Sienese from raising men and collecting provisions, as if they were on the eve of a war.

His (Mai's) private opinion is that the Sienese are without excuse in thus endangering the peace of Italy, and that moderation being of no avail, coercive measures must sooner or later be employed to bring them to reason. Imperial authority must needs be upheld and supported in Italy, especially now after Barletta has held out for one whole year, and Florence kept the Imperial armies at bay for another. Don Lope ought to be maintained at his post, for were any other minister to be appointed to represent the Emperor in that city, the Sienese will be just as much displeased with him as with Soria, and if we once give way in these and like matters every pigeon-house in Italy will become a fortress against us.†

(*Cipher :*) The Sienese are as much the Emperor's vassals as any other in Spain, though owing to privileges badly acquired the government of the Republic is actually in their hands. Should they disobey they will forfeit those privileges, and return under the natural and direct rule of the Empire. It is a very nice bit of country (*gentil estado*), has important sea ports, and is only 40 miles from the kingdom of Naples.‡ With a good citadel in the heart of it, a strong garrison, and a governor of our own choosing, Siena might become as pacific and as incapable of mischief as Milan itself. A herald ought to be sent to them threatening that unless they agree to the terms lately proposed they will be dealt with most summarily in the manner above specified, and deprived of all their privileges.

* "Pusieron dilaciones en ello y cerraronse y hizieron descripciones y creharon un oficio de oecho (?) como en tiempo de guerra."

† "Si Seneses se salen con la suya, no havrá palomar en Ytalia que no se nos atreva."

‡ "Y no ay del moyon del al moyon del reyno de Napoles mas de xl millas."

1531.

Two objections may be raised against the adoption of such a plan as this. One is the cost and the danger of rekindling a war in Italy; the other the envious feeling which a measure of this sort is likely to stir up among the Italian princes. As to the former, it is very soon answered by the argument that the Emperor, having already an army in Italy, will not be at much expense, and as to the latter, there is no danger of the Italians being alarmed as they really were in the case of Milan, because Siena is neither so large nor so important as the Duchy, nor has such powerful neighbours as the Venetians and others. Siena is bordered only by the Florentines and the Romans, both of whom dislike her immensely. and would be glad to see the dominion of the city pass into the hands of the Emperor, especially the Romans, if what he (the High Chancellor) proposed to the Pope at Bologna be really meant, which was to give it to His Holiness in exchange for the territories and lands he himself holds in Lombardy, which exchange they (the Romans) want though they do not appear to desire it.*

He (Mai) is not of this opinion. Thinks that in case of severe measures being adopted against Siena, the Emperor ought to keep it for himself and not give it to the Pope, or else exchange it for Perusa (Perugia) and other lands close upon the frontier of Naples, which would be a more advantageous bargain than the permutation or sale of the lands of Lombardy.† And though the Sienese, both the faction now in power, and that of the "fuorusciti," might thereby become more intensely hostile to the Emperor, it is quite certain that as matters are now, neither from the one nor from the other shall we get the conditions of stability and peace required.

Notwithstanding the above remarks, should the Sienese agree to admit Field Master Urries with his 500 men, as agreed at first, we shall no longer insist (*sobreseheremos*) on the return of Don Lope to Siena, but shall wait until the Emperor transmits us his orders. Upon Don Lope's return Urries to go away. Is afraid, however, that even these terms will not be accepted.—Rome, 16th February 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, first secretary to His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4.

* "Antes pienso que acá se holgarian dello por las speranças que les queda [n] de que la platica que el Cardenal movió á (*sic*) bolonia de dar este estado al papa al encuentro de las tierras que tiene en lombardia, y paresce que lo quieren aunque no lo dicen ni muestran claramente."

† "Oen caso que se oviesse de dar a la iglesia, se diesse por una perosa, y otras tierras vezinas al rreyno, porque este seria provecho perpetuo y meyor (*sic*) de quanto dinero se podria sacar vendiendo aquellas tierras de lombardia."

1531.

18 Feb. **640.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 115. B. M. *Add.* 28 583, f. 46.

To-day one of the Pope's secretaries has arrived from Brussels. He has brought no letters from the Emperor, but the intelligence is that nothing has yet been decided upon the points which prothonotary Gambari took owing to the Emperor having consulted his brother, the king of the Romans, thereupon, and not yet received an answer. Several captains have left the camp on leave. Ferrante Gonzaga has been written to about it.

Seven Moorish fustees are infesting the coast of Naples as far as this river (Tiber). About Pumblin (Piombino) 22 fustees, and they add two of Barbarossa's galleys, attempted the other day to take possession of an island, but left it immediately for fear of being discovered. Doria's galleys, those of Naples, Sicily, and Rhodes ought all to go together and chastise the insolence of these pirates.

His Holiness does not seem at all inclined to yield in the Ferrara business. He maintains that right is on his side, and that he had far better give up Modena entirely than consent to the rights of the Church being infringed. He has sent to consult Decio, the lawyer, about it.—Rome, 18th February 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant°. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæsa^e^ et Cath. M^ti^."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

21 Feb. **641.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch, Wien, *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 10.

Your Majesty's letters of the 9th inst. have duly come to hand together with various enclosures and a table of contents; the packet was perfectly closed and sealed and bore no signs of having been tampered with. After perusing the papers I hastened to communicate with the Queen, who was greatly comforted and pleased at hearing of Your Majesty's good health and prosperity as well as of the continual care taken of her and her affairs. Indeed, the Queen well needed some such consolation and encouragement, for besides the many annoyances (*fascheries*) she has experienced of late, as I wrote in my last despatch, she was shewn a few days ago some letters which the English ambassador, residing at Your Imperial Court, had written to this king announcing that the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) on his return from [the Diet], had been taken prisoner by the princes of the Lutheran sect, which sad news had caused her so much anxiety during three or four days that she actually dared not send to me to inquire for fear I should confirm the same.

Respecting her own business *she has been disagreeably surprised* to hear what little progress has been made in it at Rome, and how weak the provision is that comes therefrom; for according to the information received there was every reason to expect that the Pope himself, as the Queen wished,

1531.

and *Miçer Mai* and the other Imperial ambassadors at Rome expected, would at once, according to his most solemn promise, declare the King to have incurred the penalties and censures of the first brief, and see that the Lady [Anne] was dismissed from Court.* Now since *these people* have understood the substance and tenour of *the brief lately issued,* which is much less strong and binding than the first, and perceived that the Pope is *so timid that he dares not carry out his point as reason and justice demand,* they have taken *courage and spirit, and instead of sending away the Lady, as there was some talk, they suffer her to remain at Court* as *defiantly and with more authority than she ever had.* The Act which I mentioned in my last despatch has been passed against the Pope, it begins thus: "Hujus cleri et ecclesiæ anglicanæ dominum ac protectorem singularem, eiusque unicum, summum ac supremum caput quantum per legem Christi licet regiam Majestatem agnoscimus et confitemur." By which Act, however moderately and dissemblingly expressed, not only the Queen's interest but the Pope's authority will be affected, as I have frequently had occasion to write to Miçer Mai and explain here to the Nuncio himself.

The Queen and those of her party fancy that His Holiness has no great desire of seeing this question settled, thus justifying the opinion of many here that what *the duke of Norfolk said once to me was substantially true,* viz., *that His Holiness would be delighted to keep up some sort of dissension between the Christian princes for fear lest being closely united they should agree together to reform the Clergy.* And to say the truth, *had His Holiness wished to decide this case,* he might long ago have done it judicially without further *proroguing the affair, under the excuse of asking for a copy of the original proceedings in England, as he is doing just now,* which copy, if not recovered from *cardinal Campeggio, it is quite impossible to procure here,* still more to establish proofs on certain points *forwarded to me by Miçer Mai,* which in my humble opinion are entirely superfluous and irrelevant to this case. For since *the opposite party is contumacious and refuses to bring forward proofs against the legitimacy and authenticity of the bull and brief of dispensation, it is quite plain that no other proof is required.* True, among other articles sent to me from Rome, there is one of such importance that whoever of the parties could prove it or the contrary might gain his suit without difficulty of any sort; I mean if it could be proved that the Queen had never been known by prince Arthur. But then this is itself *almost impossible to prove,* and *all those who know anything about the matter here have already been warned beforehand and corrupted by*

* "[Elle a esté bien esbaye du petit] exployt que a este fayt [a Rome, et de la froide provision] que lon a envoyé de la, ear a ce que la royne vouloit et que [messire may] et aussy les aultres [ambassadeurs] de ce ont plusieurs foys escript] il se tenoit ici pour certain que le [pape] suyvant ce quil avoit dit et maintes foys promis [déclaireroit les peines et censures du premier briefz], et quil porvoyroit que [la dame vuydat de la cour.]"

1531.

the King, so that if it were needful to establish such proof it could not be done without examining those mentioned in the letter of the president of Castille, which would entail much delay. However, as *the justice of the Queen's cause is quite evident without that*, and *as cardinal Egidio has lately written to her that the Pope and the whole Consistory are determined to prosecute the affair vigorously*, nothing more is wanted than to observe the ordinary terms of law, which could be easily done in one month or six weeks at the utmost, and then pronounce sentence without waiting for further proofs.

I have written on the subject *to Miçer Mai*, and also remonstrated strongly *with the Papal Nuncio* here, who has openly avowed to me that there could be no doubt that the Pope has committed an error, not intentionally but through ignorance of *the nature and character of these people*, whom he thought he could reduce by persuasion. There might also be some of the timidity and fear which are constitutional with him, and which now and then overpower his reason and carry him away. To remedy this Your Majesty would do well by all means to *encourage and fortify His Holiness*, bearing in mind that this his *Nuncio* is fully disposed *to write in that sense and co-operate* for the good issue of the matter in question.

Had *His Holiness made a provision for the actual separation of the King and the Lady* [*Anne*], there would have been no occasion or necessity for the King thus assuming the *sovereignty of the Church in England*, as he has done, for as far as I can learn, she (the Lady) and her father too have been been the principal promoters of this measure. Indeed the latter, speaking some days back about this same affair to *the bishop of Rochester* (Fisher), said that he was ready to dispute and maintain with the testimony of the Sacred Scripture that *when God departed from this world he left behind him no successor or vicar on Earth.* No one except perhaps a few who have taken part in this affair *approve of such a step as this.* Indeed, I have heard many worthy individuals speak of it with horror, and have been told of others who have expressed themselves in equal terms. *The Chancellor himself is so horrified at it that he wishes to quit office as soon as possible. The bishop of Rochester* (Fisher) *is quite ill in consequence. He has made, and is still making, as much opposition as he can to the measure; but as he and his followers have been threatened with death, by being cast into the Thames,* they have been obliged to accede to the King's wishes in this respect*, and it is to be believed, *since the bishops have not dared to resist*, and *that Papal authority has been thus disregarded*, that whenever they are called upon *to take proceedings against the Queen they will do whatever they are ordered*, especially when they see the Pope's coldness and indifference in this affair. Many there are who dislike this

* "Mai estant menassé luy et ses sequaces destre mis en la riuiere il fut forcé de consentir a la voulente du roy."

PUBLIC LIBRARY

1531.

measure, not so much out of zeal for religion and its ministers as for the scandal that may arise therefrom, imagining that should the Pope declare this king schismatic and deprive him of his kingdom, which is a tributary of the Apostolic See, England might be in great danger of war, and even if there were no other evil to be apprehended, he (the King) might easily lose for ever the title *which he pretends to have over France*, as well *as all the pensions he receives therefrom, and the payment of other debts owing to him.*

Since the packet of letters came to hand the King has been amusing himself (*a este a l' esbat*) at the country seat of his Grand Equerry until last evening that he returned to town. This morning I went to Court to treat about the affair of the Andalusian merchant, whom Your Majesty was pleased to recommend to me by letters of the 31st ult°, and also to present the letters of the king of the Romans announcing his election and coronation; which letters he (the King) did not open in my presence, nor did he inquire particularly about the health and doings of the said king; he only asked in general terms what news I had from Germany, and upon my replying that it was from him that I expected some since I myself had none to communicate, he related how the Imperial army had, after some loss, actually raised the siege of Buda, and then he remarked that in his opinion, subject to correction, neither the Emperor nor his brother had been very wise in thus irritating and provoking, merely out of a hankering after the kingdom of Hungary, such a dangerous and ferocious beast as the Turk, endangering the rest of Christendom, at a time when the affairs of Germany were as far from being settled as ever, and the Christian princes not so closely united as they ought to be for such an enterprize, especially considering that the Turk himself seemed to be quite willing to withdraw his army and keep aloof (*se tenir coy*) provided the kingdom of Hungary was not invaded.

To these remarks of the King I failed not to make a fit reply, proving with many arguments that neither Your Imperial Majesty nor the King, your brother, could decently, and acting as true Christians, abandon the recovery of Hungary, not out of ambition, as he said, or for the sake of wordly gain (*emolument*) accruing to either of you—as nothing was further from your mind than that—but only for the protection of Christianity thus endangered, and for the defence of a kingdom which has for the last 80 years valiantly withstood all the attacks of the Turks, and saved the whole of Christendom from their furious onset. Indeed, should the said bulwark fall into the hands of the Infidel, which is what the Turk most desires, and is only waiting for a fit opportunity to accomplish, and should his people, who are allowed to visit and inspect the said kingdom at pleasure, become more practically informed of its resources and defences, it would be almost impossible to drive him away, inasmuch as he has attempted to build a

1531.

strong fortress on this side the rivers, on hearing which most of the Hungarians who had in former times followed the party of the Vayvod had now written to the king of the Romans to protect them from the said danger. As to the provocation to which he (the King) had alluded, I observed that certainly none had been given when the Turk this last September had, of his own accord and without any plausible reason, overrun part of Austria, nor when he desperately assailed the dominions of the last king of Hungary [Louis]. And that it was to be apprehended that unless the Turk had some occupation at home he would try to worry and molest Christendom at its weakest points. That for this very reason, even if there were no others, it was advisable to irritate and goad him, and draw him out more on this side than on any other, since his coming to the frontiers of Hungary with an army was for him a work of more labour and difficulty than to cross over to Italy. And also that the elements of defence were much greater in Germany than elsewhere, for however bad the position of affairs in that country, as he (the King) seemed to insinuate, it had nevertheless made very reasonable offers of help. Should the Turk advance on that side it might come to pass that the Germans would unite for the defence, and that like two dogs fighting for a bone they would both fall on a third coming for the same purpose, and perhaps that would facilitate the meeting of the Council, and the settlement of their differences in point of religion and worship. With regard to the want of union among the Christian princes, to which he had also alluded, I observed that I saw no cause for the ties of peace and amity lately sworn to being loosened ; I saw no symptoms of it anywhere ; even if some slight scruple still existed anywhere among them, I had not the least doubt that, if not out of pure and disinterested affection, at least out of repulsion from the common enemy and cruel tyrant of the Church, such scruples would be waived and forgotten. Otherwise, whoever should out of his own private interest or affection impede or retard such a meritorious and more than necessary undertaking, or consent out of envy and other private motives to prepare his own ruin for the sake of working that of others, might, indeed, consider himself unfortunate. As to him, I added, I had not the least doubt that when he saw the rest of the Christian princes uniting in the enterprize against the Turk (as I hoped) he would not be the last to join.

After the above arguments and others, which are too lengthy to relate, the King replied to the first point that the considerations I had just brought forward were certainly just and well put, and yet he could not help repeating what he had said from the begginning by way of friendly advice to Your Majesty. He still persisted in his opinion ; the Turk being then at war with the Sophi [of Persia] would have been glad to make a truce with Christendom, and truce once made one could have trusted him, since it was proved by experience that Solyman was a man of honour and good faith,

1531.

And upon my observing that on many occasions the said Turk had broken his faith and utterly disregarded his promises, the King interrupted me by saying: "No more has it been kept at Florence, where several executions have taken place." I explained to him what had happened in that city; he retorted that he cared not for the Florentines, he had nothing to do with their affairs, and only looked after his own. He wished that other princes would not mix themselves up with other people's concerns. He was most likely going to say that Your Majesty ought not to interfere in his private affairs with the Queen, but he stopped short and said nothing more about it. I paid no attention to this last remark, and only said that I fully agreed with him that the right moment for pouncing upon the Turk was during the Persian war, and when he was occupied at home, instead of waiting until he had routed the Sophi, for then, his forces being increased and united, we Christians could not well cope with him: an observation with which the King, after some more talk, entirely agreed.

I must, however, add that however cutting his remarks about the Turk, and the inopportuneness as he called it, of our demand for help, he was still more bitter when he spoke to the Queen some days ago, for he was heard to dispute with her and say that it was not wrong for him to ally himself with the Turk for the sake of opposing a tyrannical prince.

Respecting the second point, the King said that Germany was not so easily settled as we imagined, and that it was to be feared that on the arrival of the Turk many would go over to him. With regard to the Council he wished it had already begun, provided it should be held at a fit place. Having asked him which city he considered best for the purpose, he said Avignon, and upon my representing to him the many drawbacks of that place, and the greater convenience of Milan, he replied that no doubt after Avignon, Milan was the fittest. He, moreover, stated as his opinion that if the Turk came to Europe the Council could not meet and deliberate, but having stated my reasons to the contrary, he assented and passed on to the third point.

This was, as I said before, the union of the Christian princes. On this subject the King observed that in order to cement and strengthen that union more things were required than the common danger of a threatening Turkish invasion. I declined asking which those were, knowing very well what he meant thereby, and that he only wanted to introduce his own private affairs. Many other things were said, and other topics touched upon of which I will say nothing in this my despatch, for fear of annoying Your Majesty, having perhaps been already too prolix. Neither the duke of Norfolk nor any of the grandees (*grans*) were present at this conference, all being absent from Court at the time or attending the sessions of Parliament.

The Nuncio has gone to day to the King on business connected with the collectorship of Ireland, which the Pope has

1531.

lately given to one of his bishops. The King answered that he would have the bulls examined, and that anything he could do in the business he would most willingly do to help His Holiness. After which the Nuncio having broached the subject of this new pontificate (*ceste nouvelle papalité*) constituted in England, the King asserted that it was nothing of the sort, and that nothing should be attempted against Papal authority provided His Holiness had for him the regard he was entitled to, otherwise he (the King) should know how to act.

At last the King complained to the Nuncio of the Pope having issued certain remissory letters (*remissions*) for Spain with a view to prove that prince Arthur had not carnally known the Queen, and likewise of a provision having been posted up in all the bye-lanes of Flanders, as the merchants of that country had written. I must, however, say that according to the Nuncio's account these complaints of the King were not uttered, as at other times, in violent language, but on the contrary in very mild terms, and that no disagreeable words passed between them at the interview.—London, 21st February [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 9.

21 Feb. **642.** The ABBOT of LLOR* to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 854, f. 147.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 48.

Has replied to his last, and given his answer to the Imperial ambassador (Mai) for him to forward. Inside is a letter from cardinal Egidio, his master, to the Emperor. Having been requested by the ambassador (Mai) to shew what he himself had written on behalf of the Queen to cardinal Trani, that he might know the arguments of the opposite party, and particularly those of the said Cardinal, he did so; and had the satisfaction of meeting all his objections in such a manner, that with all due submission to his red hat (*su cappello rosso*) he (the Abbot) came triumphant out of the contest. Omits repeating what the ambassador kindly said of his insignificant person before several grave men there present, and how he commended the small services he has done the Emperor, because he considers such to be only his duty as servant and vassal of His Imperial Majesty.

Heard a few days ago that the English agents had been tampering with his master, the Cardinal, trying to induce him to quit Rome and go to Viterbo, or perhaps farther still, in order that his vote should not count in Consistory. This was proposed to the Cardinal, in order to ascertain how he opined in the matter, but his answer was such as befitted an ecclesiastic of his dignity and learning. True he (the Abbot) took good care to warn him first to be firm and not yield to the temptations

* This abbot, who was a Catalonian by birth, and signs his name abbot Llor, in Latin *Laurus* and *Lauro*, was promoted in time to a bishopric in his native province; his Christian name must have been Peter (Pedro).

1531.

of the English, but remain at Rome as long as the suit lasted. Told him clearly enough that should he comply with the wishes of the English he might consider him as no longer belonging to his household. The eight years he (the Abbot) has spent in his service at his own cost will be an acceptable sacrifice to God who will fully pay him for them. The Cardinal has promised not to fail in doing the service of Your Majesty,* &c.

Has heard from his relatives in Catalonia that the bishop of Girona is dangerously ill.—Rome, 21st February 1531.

Signed: "Llabat Llor."

Addressed: "To the High Commander Francisco de [los] Covos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

26 Feb. **643.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L 852, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 556.

The Sienese seem determined not to admit Don Lope de Soria within their walls. Opinion of Don Fernando [Gonzaga] on the subject—Commander Urries, on the other hand, makes difficulties, and refuses to take the command of the Spaniards.

The Imperial camp is getting very full in consequence of the many soldiers who flock to it from Sicily, Milan, and Como. This is decidedly an evil, because if the money provided for the Imperia army falls short, some mutiny may be apprehended; already symptoms of it are visible, many of the soldiers asking to go to Naples. Reform is very necessary and must begin with the heads.

Venice and Genoa refuse to contribute; the same is feared of Lucca and Siena. Malatesta has offered his services and those of 2,000 men of his "condotta" if they should be wanted against the latter city. His offers have been refused with many thanks.

All efforts have been made to persuade His Holiness to come to some sort of agreement with the duke of Ferrara, though in vain; the Pope will not hear of it, and the Duke (as Don Alonso writes) is not at all inclined thereto.

Queen Isabella† declares that she will not go on with her daughter's matrimonial suit, and has accordingly revoked her proctor.

Differences between the Pope and the Venetians respecting bishoprics in the Signory's territory.

Is doing all he can to prevent a cardinal's hat being given to the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci). As to the one for the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) the Pope referred him to cardinal Ancona, who said he thought he might have a much better chance when the Council met.‡

* The author with the peculiar orthographv used in Catalonia, says: "y que los otxo anos que con mi gasto le servidc dios me los satisfará y me los paguará."

† The dowager queen of Naples so often mentioned in these pages.

‡ "Que en el concilio se hará mejor."

1531.

Sends brief for the division of the commanderies of Belvis and Benfayan (Benifayó ?), and copy of advices from France.

Spanish. Contempory copy. pp. 5.

26 Feb. **644.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 852, f. 74. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, *f.* 50.

Could not write on the 16th inst. all that passed between His Holiness and himself (Mai), when the former announced that the king of France was ready to attack Alessandria [in Egypt]. Represented to him in terms as strong as possible the fallacy of such an offer, if it was ever seriously made. If he (the Pope) took the French at their word he would find that their object was only to gain time, and that neither conjointly with the Emperor nor by himself would king Francis draw his sword against the Turk. So strongly did he (Mai) and Muscetola, who was also present at the interview, urge this argument upon His Holiness that he seemed convinced, &c.

Owing to the way in which the Turkish pirates are now infesting the Mediterranean, the Pope is of opinion that the Imperial galleys, those of France and Rhodes, ought to join and go in chase of them. Agreed and promised to write to His Majesty about it, but doubts whether the French would consent to serve under Andrea Doria. As to the Imperial galleys being under any other admiral, that was entirely out of the question, &c.

Four days ago the Pope held a congregation of cardinals on this Turkish affair, at which he spoke highly of His Imperial Majesty's power, &c.

A ship from Alessandria arrived the other day at Venice. Great preparations of biscuit and other provisions were being made in that port and throughout the whole of Egypt. The Venetian galleys that went thither had returned empty, owing to the Turk having recently given orders that the Spice trade should be transferred to Constantinople.

Advices have come that Barbarossa has presented a fine galley to the Grand Turk.

Cannot help thinking that this offensive league against the Turk proposed by the duke of Albany may give rise to very serious apprehensions. Is very much afraid that it is only a cunning device of the French either to prevent any agreement with the Grand Turk—which in his opinion would be justifiable under present circumstances considering the conduct of most of the Christian princes—or else to incite the Turk to arms, that being, as they have been heard to say, the only corrective against the Emperor's growing power. Again, it may be for the purpose of informing the Turk of any preparations made against him, for certainly anything may be apprehended from the French.—Rome, 26th February 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1531.

27 Feb. **645.** MUSCETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 116.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 58.

. . . . . .

(*Cipher :*) The king of Sweden (Gustavus Vasa) has sent one of his secretaries to the Pope to ask for the hand of his niece (Catharine). On the other hand, the king of France has also written in favour of his suit, and ordered the duke of Albany to intercede. Yet whilst the latter is treating about the marriage Your Majesty knows His Holiness, the Pope, answers in general terms, because, as I understand, he wishes for no other husband for his niece than the duke of Milan (Francisco Sforza), as he has already written to Your Majesty.

. . . . . .

Rome, 27th February 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

1 March **646.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 11.

The Jew whom the King sent for, perceiving that his opinion of the case has not been considered authentic (*auctentique*) has drawn out another as vain and ill-founded as the former, propounding that it is allowable for a man to take to wife the widow of his brother, provided he do it out of his own desire and will, and with the direct intention of procuring descent to his brother's line. Without such marked intention, he maintains, the marriage is forbidden by Divine Law. God, says the Jew, said so by the mouth of Moses, and cast his malediction on all those who married without such an intention, for if they did so marry no generation could spring forth from them, and if any it could not last long. And as the male children begot by the King in the Queen, his wife, have not lived long, the Jew argues and concludes that he [Henry] must have married his brother's widow without the above express intention, and consequently that his marriage is illegitimate and invalid.

Parliament is still sitting but without passing any important Act, as I have been told by some of its members, which circumstance makes them and me suspect that the King is keeping them assembled for some mysterious purpose. All are preciously tired of it, and every day several members keep asking permission to go home, which permission is readily granted to those *who are known to hold for the Queen, or supposed to be her friends,* though it is generally denied to the others, which fact naturally leads to the conjecture that the King intends one of these fine days to have the divorce question discussed in Parliament, and that he is only waiting for favourable *news from France* to take that step. Meanwhile the King will go on *treating and coaxing La Guiche,* who is still residing here, until he obtains *from that quarter all he wishes for.* Thus, one day in Lent, at a most solemn banquet, where the King dined in public *with the Lady* and several of his courtiers, among whom was the said La Guiche,

1531.

the King *drank his health as representative of the king of France*, saying that if he could be sure for ever of the friendship and alliance of France he should not be afraid of all the rest, and other things to the same purpose.

The King has not attended the sessions of this Parliament since its opening until yesterday evening (*iusques hier sur le tard*). He was about one hour and a half or two hours in the House of the Lords and prelates, but did not go down to the Commons. He said a good deal to them about his love of justice, and his zeal for the good administration of the kingdom and the protection of his subjects. On this topic he spoke for some time, but proposed nothing except that they should discuss and debate certain privileges and immunities of the Church in England under which malefactors in this country had at all times taken shelter, which, as he said, had been the cause of many evils not to be tolerated, and which he was determined to put down for the future. He also requested them to look into the case of the bishop of Rochester's cook, which is a very strange one and happened thus. About ten days ago, in the said Bishop's house, some sort of soup was prepared, of which all who tasted (including almost all the household servants) were on the point of death, though only two actually died, besides some poor beggars to whom the soup (*potage*) had been distributed for charity. All, however, were taken very ill and suffered much pain. Very luckily the worthy Bishop, whom God no doubt considers very useful and necessary in this world, did not taste of the drug (*drogues*), and thus escaped. They say that the cook having been immediately arrested on the application of the Bishop's brother, confessed at once that he had actually put into the broth some powders, which he had been given to understand would only make his fellow servants very sick without endangering their lives or doing them any harm. I have not yet been able to ascertain who it was who gave the cook such advice, nor for what purpose. The King has certainly shewn some displeasure at this, but whatever demonstrations of sorrow he makes he will not be able to avert *suspicion* from falling, if not on himself, for he is too noble-minded to have resource to such means—at least on the Lady and her father.* The Bishop is unwell (*mal dispouse*), and has been so ever since the acknowledgment (*recognoyssance*) subscribed by the Clergy, about which I wrote to Your Majesty on the 31st of January, and which has caused him considerable sorrow and disappointment; but notwithstanding his indisposition he intends leaving to-morrow [for his diocese], having already obtained the King's permission to that effect. I cannot, however, conceive how, being in bad health, bishop Fisher can think of exposing himself to the fatigues of such a journey,

* "Le roy fait bien [semblant] de monstrer quelque malcontent[ment] de ce cas, si ne sçaura tant fere que yl ny aye de [la suspicion] sinon de luy, que tient tropt [bon pour fere telle chose aumoings de la dame et son pere]."

1531.

when by remaining here [in London] he might find better medical advice and more resources than anywhere else, unless it be that he chooses to be absent from the discussion of matters appertaining to the Church, or else that he fears there may be yet some *relics of the powders from which he has so miraculously escaped.* Should the King resume in the meantime his proceedings against the Queen, certainly his absence at this conjuncture, and that of the bishop of Duran (Durham), formerly of London, who is also away, will be exceedingly inconvenient.*

Tallebout (Talbot) has said to a person, who repeated it to me, that to his office in this kingdom belongs the right of holding the Queen's royal crown, and that as neither he nor any of his family had ever anything to reproach themselves with, he would now take care not to fall into dishonour by placing it on any other head but that of the present Queen, in which opinion and determination I should think he is likely to persevere as much on account of his honourable and upright principles as of the *sincere affection he professes towards the Queen.* In this laudable purpose Tallebout is likely to be encouraged by his great friend, the Chancellor, who, as I once wrote to Your Majesty, has always behaved in the most virtuous manner *about the Queen,* and certainly shews such sympathy and affection for all that concerns you that he is justly called the father and protector of Your Majesty's subjects. He has never met at Court one of my secretaries that he has not immediately left those with whom he might have been conversing, and approached him to inquire what his business was, and whether he could be useful in any way. All those I have recommended to him he has invariably received and attended to their private affairs most thoroughly. For all these reasons I should advise that some mention be made of him in Your Majesty's letters that I may shew it to him.

Lately all letters from Rome have been opened and read at Calais, even those directed to the cousin of Sir Gregory Casale, who resides here as agent of that ambassador, and who, as Your Majesty must know, has charge of this king's affairs in that capital. In addition to this some of the letters which the said Gregory wrote to his cousin have also been detained for two or three days, and it is believed that they contained some disclosures (*ouvertures*) respecting the revelations made by the physician of the late Cardinal (Wolsey), who since the receipt of those letters has been kept closely watched in the duke of Norfolk's apartments, without anyone knowing wherefore.

I have this very day procured the copy of certain articles drawn up by the King's order to be notified to and laid before Parliament. I cannot say for certain what the object of the

* "Sil estoit question que le roy vousist [traicter de laffere de la royne labsence du dit evesque et celluy de duran, iaidis de Londres, viendroit mal a point."]

1531.

notification may be, but most probably it will not turn to the Pope's benefit and advantage. As to the articles themselves, Your Majesty will be able to judge much better than I can what direction affairs are taking here, and the poor foundation these people are laying for their consciences to rest upon.—London, the first day of March [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

2 Mar. **647.** The KING of PORTUGAL [JOÃO III.] to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 371, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 61.

Luis Sarmiento,* your ambassador, and Alvaro Mendes de Vasconcellos, my privy councillor, have duly informed me of what you told them respecting the English business and other matters contained in the memorandum you gave them, and which they shewed me. I am fully persuaded that your love and esteem for me is equal to that which I bear you, for I look upon your affairs as if they were my own, and fully intend doing your pleasure in everything, were it for no other purpose than repaying the love and affection you have shewn me and the Infante, my brother,† on this occasion.

I hear, however, from the said Sarmiento and Mendes de Vasconcellos, and have read in the memorandum you gave them, that you would be glad to receive, as soon as possible, an answer on this matter for fear of the inconveniences likely to arise from delay. I must at once tell you that though all the articles in the notes (*memoriaes*) of those ambassadors appear to me well framed, yet I find that the points therein touched did not originate in England, nor are they now mentioned but as so many subjects to be talked over and discussed hereafter, if at all. It seems to me unnecessary at present to treat of them,‡ and since no final determination is to be taken in the affair till after the return of the personage whom you intend sending to the king of England, and when the answer of the latter is known, it strikes me that there is no occasion for me to answer immediately your request. When, however, your ambassador returns from England, and the King's answer is known, you will no doubt inform me thereof, that I may know how you want me to act in this affair, and then we can communicate together and decide what course will most further the service of God.§ I will then appoint a trusty person who together with your own minister may undertake the prosecu-

* Written Sarmento, as if he were a Portuguese, whereas he was a Spaniard and most likely the brother of Pedro, bishop of Palencia.

† Dom Luis about whose marriage to princess Mary there had already been some talk in 1527.

‡ "E porque os pontos que se toquan no dicto memorial naõ forã apontados de Ingraterra, nè agora se apontan senon como coussa em que se podia vẽir (venir) a falar o que pode ser que se naõ falara, me parece escusado ao presente tratar deles."

§ "E vendo a reposta del Rey avereys prazer de me fazer des (*sic*) saber pera eu saber a maneyra em que ele quer entender no negoço, e cõ istõ comunicarmos et asentarmos no que for bẽ e serviço de nosso Señor."

1531.

tion of this business. But let the personage whom you now purpose sending to London take the greatest care to forward the business as much as possible, as well as settle the dowry [which the Princess is to have], and the security for the same. I should advise that the said personage take a letter of credence from me to the king of England. I enclose the draft that you may peruse it, and if approved return it to me, that I may have a fair copy made, &c.

To other matters contained in the memoranda of Luis Sarmiento and Alvaro Mendes a fit answer shall be given in a few days.—Evora, 2nd March 1531.

Signed: "El Rey."

Addressed: "To the very high and very excellent Prince, Don Carlos, by the Divine clemency Emperor of the Romans, 'semper augusto,' king (*sic*) of Germany, Castille, Leon, Aragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, &c., my most beloved and esteemed brother."

Portuguese. Original. pp. 3.

8 Mar. **648.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 12.

After the departure of the last courier the Queen sent me some letters for Your Majesty, which I have kept until now, not so much for want of a trusty messenger, as to wait for the Queen to write to the Pope, as she for some time back had determined to do. This, however, she has not yet been able to accomplish, more particularly now that she is engaged in entertaining the Princess, her daughter, who came yesterday to visit her and spend five or six days in her company. The Queen wishes very much that the examination of witnesses, about which the president of Castille (Tavera) has written to Your Majesty, should begin at once, as that will, in her opinion, remove all scruples and absolutely convince her adversaries. Yet, she would not for the world, her own right being so manifest, that this should be a pretext for staying the proceedings and delaying the definitive sentence, as great inconveniences might arise therefrom.

The English Clergy, perceiving more and more every day the great error they committed in acknowledging this king as chief suzerain of the English Church, are urging Parliament to repeal that Act (*retratter*), otherwise they say they will not pay one farthing of the 400,000 crs. It is not yet known what issue their application will have. Parliament is now forbidding the use of gold and silken cloths except to privileged persons, also that of culverins and cross-bows to foreigners, to whom they want also to forbid that of bows. In passing these and other similar Bills, and adjusting the differences existing between certain towns and villages, also in hearing complaints (*querelles*) mostly against the Clergy, the present Parliament occupies most of its time.

1531.

Three days ago the King received letters from France, fresh enough, and also from Rome of the 13th ult°. *As far as my information goes* the news *conveyed in the latter has been anything but satisfactory or agreeable, for those from Rome* say that the auditors of the Rota had decided by interlocutory that the suit must needs be tried and sentenced in that city, at which decision *the King is very much disappointed, and extremely enraged with the Pope.* Neither is the answer received from France of a more agreeable nature, being *so indifferent and cold that the King said to La Guiche that certainly his master did by no means take so much care of his affairs as he himself had taken of his at various times, with several other like expressions all shewing his disappointment and sorrow at the intelligence.*—London, 8th March [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

9 Mar. **649.** Dr. CARVAJAL* DE VERO matrimonio REGUM ANGLIÆ.

S. Pat. Re. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 117. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 70.

A paper on the legitimacy of the marriage addressed to Fr. Juan de Medina, "Bethicæ Ministro et evangelicæ perfectionis antesignano," with a prefatory letter dated Cordubæ, Dominica tertia Quadragesimæ.—1531.

Latin. Original. pp. 24.

10 Mar. **650.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 496, ff. 181–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 66.

After Benavides'† departure I read once more your last letter, and also the memorandum from the Council of War.

Galleys.—Enterprize on Algiers, &c.

Much consideration has been bestowed on your proposal that I should apply to England for provisions for the fleet which is to sail to Africa. Orders have accordingly been sent to the ambassador in that country (Chapuys), and likewise to merchants of Antwerp. Will not fail to inform you as soon as I get an answer from them.

Bugia and the coast of Africa.—Brussels, 10th March 1531.

Signed: "Charles."

Addressed: "To the most serene and mighty Empress, my most beloved wife."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 6.

10 Mar. **651.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 496, f. 183. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 67.

Money is much wanted, and must be procured by some means; yet the million of crowns paid for the ransom of the sons of France must not be touched, as it is destined for other purposes.

* Most likely Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal.

† An Imperial courier. *See* p. 43, No. 620.

1531.

Doria's galleys must be paid, &c.

Is very much satisfied with the diligence and zeal displayed in the affair of the queen of England. The president* of the council of Castille has sent several opinions from Spain. Has ordered them to be carefully read and examined by competent persons. All have been found good for the purpose, and are already on their way to Rome. As justice is on our side, it is to be hoped that God will cause us to come triumphant out of the trial.

Artillery and stores, &c.—Brussels, 10th March 1531.

Addressed; "To my most beloved wife, the Empress."

Spanish. Holograph in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

10 Mar. **652.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to the KING of BOHEMIA and HUNGARY.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 234.

On Wednesday the 23rd ult°, Mosior de Trento† entered this city early in the morning that he might see and speak to His Majesty that very day, the coronation having been fixed for the next [the 28th]. The Emperor sent his own steward (*maestre de casa*) and guards to receive him; the cardinals sent their mules, and some of them their own retainers and servants. The marquis of Brandemburg, the bishop of Coria‡, Don Jorge,§ the bishop of Badajoz, the provost of Balcrique,‖ and several gentlemen made part of the embassy. The Bishop having previously informed them of the hour at which he expected to be at the gates of the city, which was the 15th hour, he (Salinas) and Miçer Andrea del Burgo went out to meet him, when it was agreed that they should go and tell the Emperor of the Bishop's arrival, that he might fix an hour for his reception, which was done, 2 o'clock in the afternoon, they themselves having been invited for the ceremony. The Bishop accordingly made his entry on horseback, splendidly attired and mounted, and followed by a large retinue of gentlemen and household servants (*familia*). In this way the Bishop rode to the Palace, and after kissing the Emperor's hands and delivering his message, was conducted to the house prepared for the foreign ambassadors who were to attend the coronation. The Emperor and the Court have considered it a great compliment that such an embassy as this should come on the part of his brother [the King], the more so that it is the only one sent from those parts.¶ The Bishop behaved

* The president at this time was Don Fernando Tavera, archbishop of Santiago de Compostela.

† Mr. de Trent or Moxior de Trento, as Salinas calls him, is no other than Bernard de Clesi, bishop of that town.

‡ The bishop of Coria (in Extremadura) was Don Francisco de Mendoza (?); that of Badajoz, D. Pedro Gonzalez Manso.

§ Don Jorgo de Austria, a natural son of emperor Maximilian.

‖ The provost or prepositus of St. Mary of Utrecht.

¶ "Y que tan bien de Alemaña no vino otra cosa salbo lo que V. A. embió y fue muy bien proveydo."

1531.

very well in every respect. As he brought no letter or message from His Highness, one was hastily prepared for him here by Andrea [del Burgo] and him [Salinas] that he might not go to the Emperor empty handed. He was received in His Majesty's private apartments, and having first inquired in what language His Majesty wished to be addressed delivered his message and oration in German in the form and style and with the ceremonies used in that country. After this the Emperor addressed the provost of Balcrique, and made many inquiries about the business that brought him here, to all of which a suitable answer was returned.—Bologna, 10th March 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

10 Mar. **653.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 76–7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 63.

Cardinal Ancona has been for 13 years the protector at this court of the king and kingdom of Scotland; for the last five his nephew, the cardinal of Ravenna, has held that charge thereby gaining such reputation and such credit with the present King and his ministers, that not only is he consulted in spiritual and ecclesiastical, but likewise in temporal matters, and those relating to the government of that kingdom.

The said king has sent here a secretary of his, about whom I wrote the other day to Your Majesty, to inquire about the Council and other matters relating to Scotland. Whilst discoursing with cardinal Ravenna he stated to him the complaints they have of the French, and also of the English, and said that they (the Scotch) were quite prepared to go to any extremity which should bring about a breach between those two nations and themselves.* Considering the opportunity a fine one, the Cardinal said to the Scottish secretary that it would be well for them to make a defensive and offensive league with Your Majesty, which league, he said, would not fail to be, owing to your well-known benevolence, your formidable power, and the proximity of your Flemish dominions to Scotland, extremely beneficial to them. The Cardinal found the Scottish secretary most favourably disposed towards this, indeed he said that before the peace of Cambray was concluded the king of Scotland had been meditating to do this, but that [his ambassadors] had arrived too late. Since then he has had new causes of complaint against the French, such as the little account taken of him at the said peace, and his not being named in the treaty. "For this reason and many others," added the secretary, "my master wishes to revenge himself on the French, for this is not the first time that they have deceived and ill-treated us." The secretary, as the common report goes, has great share in the government of Scotland.

* "Le dixo las descontentaciones y quexas que tienen de los franceses, y la quexa que tienen tambien de los angleses, y que para apartarse de lamistad dellos seguirian qualquiera extremo."

1531.

He is a very wise man ; I know him well, for he was a student at Pavia at the time that Mr. de Granvelle and I were in that city. His name is Thomas Ersquin (Erskine). This circumstance and his having told the cardinal of Ravenna that he did not wish his overtures to be considered official unless there was a chance of their being taken into consideration, was the cause of cardinal Ravenna first coming to me. I immediately informed cardinal Osma thereof, and begged the Cardinal to speak to Don Pedro [de la Cueva]. One day that the latter and myself went to dine at the cardinal of Ravenna's Ersquin happened to be one of the guests, and after dinner, all four of us being closeted in the Cardinal's cabinet, he repeated the same words he had said to him. He went further, he said his master would be glad to marry into the Imperial family, whether a sister or a niece of yours, for his only wish was to ally himself to Your Majesty, whom everyone ought to love and respect.

Don Pedro and myself thought it advisable, since we risked nothing, to praise the secretary's views and encourage him in them, assuring him that we had always known you to be well inclined towards his master, and that we should not fail to write home about him and his overtures. The secretary was very much pleased to hear this, and though he has more business to attend to [in Rome]. and has not yet terminated it, intends leaving post haste for his country in order to prosecute the negotiation, which being secret and confidential he would beg Your Majesty to send here his power and instructions, promising that they will do the same in Scotland. As this arrangement seemed to me strange, and subject to delay, I suggested that it would be better that the whole affair should be treated in Flanders; they might appoint some one to go to Brussels, or say to whom the answer was to be addressed. The secretary remarked that he should be in Brussels almost as soon as our letters, and that the answer could be given there either to him, or else to Mr. de Vere, whom these Scotchmen consider as their trusty friend. It seems to all of us as if an alliance of this sort would be very beneficial to Your Imperial Majesty under present circumstances, since besides weakening both the French and the English it would be a great source of reliance (*descanso*) for Flanders if Scotland were to be so firm, being also so close at hand (*tan de firme y de tan de mano*) for the restoration of the king of Dacia, because should the king of England by his sins lose his tact and judgment—the very words used by the secretary—they, the Scots, might be very useful. To this end he has dispatched an express to the King, his master, begging him by no means to confirm the truce and alliance with England, which is about to expire, until he himself has returned to Scotland.

The only danger I see is that the Scots may make use of this negotiation to get better terms out of the French or English because the Secretary himself says that were the overture

1531.

to come to the ears of our enemies they would at once give the Scotch "carte blanche" and grant them everything they want; but against that contingency we have first of all that our alliance suits them most; and secondly, that the intermediary is cardinal Ravenna, a person whom they (the Scotch) respect and esteem; thirdly, that both the Cardinal and the Scotch secretary have been forewarned by me as to that danger.

However this may be, neither has Don Pedro [de la Cueva] nor have I taken more engagements with the Secretary than the vague promises and assurances contained in this despatch Your Majesty will have there plenty of means at hand to bring this affair to conclusion with due caution, &c.—Rome, 10th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

12 Mar. **654.** MIÇER MAI and Dr. ORTIZ to the ARCHBISHOP of SANTIAGO (TAVERA).

S. E. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 131. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 68.

Having given a full answer to all his letters, and especially to those received in February, he (Mai) has little to say except that the English excusator, Dr. Edward Karne, not having been admitted into court "quatenus non obstenderit mandatum ad totam causam," has now appealed against this rejection. Is now trying to obtain refutatory letters (*cartas refutatorias*) against him.* However, the commissary of the cause having fallen ill the action has been somewhat delayed. Hopes that the excusator will be rejected a second time, but until this be done, we cannot apply for the remissory letters for fear they should be disputed. The articles here have been altered according to Your Reverence's wishes, except in two points: one is that about the Queen's first marriage;† the other the argument brought forward that after the death of prince Arthur king Henry wished for—and his Privy Council strongly recommended—a matrimonial alliance with France. Of the former evidence our lawyers here do not intend making use as an argument, and as to the latter, they say that it would be quite beside the point, and of no use whatever for our allegation to prove that the King's councillors wished for an alliance with the French royal family.

Nevertheless, should Your Reverence think that the articles ought to remain as they are, and be used in the defence, your wishes shall be complied with, though the articles themselves are so general and vague that witnesses can very easily declare anything without touching upon them as they are drawn up.‡

Meanwhile they (Mai and Ortiz) are soliciting the expedi-

* "He appellado desta repulsion, y ando agora para hacerle dar refutatorias," says the copy in Bergenroth's handwriting; but it is evident that instead of *he* in the first person *ha* is to substituted.

† "Uno dellos es lo que dizen: que no dormió mas de cinco ó seis notches (*sic*) la Reyna con el arcturo."

‡ "Los articulos son tan generales que lo podrá muy bien dezir el testigo sin que diga [nada] fuera del articulo."

1531.

tion of the cause by "contradittas," in order to obtain afterwards the remissory letters "sine retardatione processus quatenus nullus compareat ex adverso." Will see that this is done, and as soon as the letters are obtained they shall be forwarded by express messenger to Spain.

He (Mai) attends assiduously to His Reverence's private affairs as the Bachelor and Don Hernando* will no doubt both report.—Rome, 12th March 1531.

Signed: "Mancipius Maius" and "Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and Reverend archbishop of Santiago, president of the Council of Castille."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Mar. **655.** The CARDINAL of RAVENNA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 146.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 100.

Cardinal d'Ancona, his uncle, during 14 years, and himself during three has held the office at Rome of protectors of Scotland. In consequence of which the king of that country, finding himself, as he believes, well served by them, has now sent Master Thomas Ersckin (Erskine), his first secretary and councillor, to consult him (Ravenna) on various affairs of his kingdom, both ecclesiastical and of State. Considering the state of that kingdom, and also the Emperor's present relations with England, it seems to him (the Cardinal) that any attempt to unite the king of that country with the Emperor will be under present circumstances very advisable. After sounding the said secretary (Erskine) thereupon he (Ravenna) decided to consult Don Pedro de la Cueva and Miçer Mai, who not only approved fully of the plan, but were present at various interviews with the Scottish secretary. As he knows that both have written home giving all details of the affair he need not say any more but beg for instructions.—Rome, 12th March 1531.

Signed: "Be[nedetto] card. di Ravenna."

Addressed: "Augustissimo et Invictissimo Cæsari."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From the cardinal of Ravenna."—12th March 1531.

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

12 Mar. **656.** Dr. GARAY to the EMPEROR.

Arch. de l'Emp. Neg. Pap. de Simancas, 1,483, No. 68.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 101.

Has received the Imperial letters commanding him not to write any more on the business of the queen of England for fear of his letters being intercepted, also not to do anything in it without the ambassador's previous knowledge. Will faithfully observe the Emperor's mandate, though he (Garay), is positive he has not written [to the Queen] except through the Imperial ambassadors here or in England, nor taken one

* Probably Don Hernando Davalos, though in another despatch that will be abstracted hereafter, the same individual here alluded to is called Don Alvaro de Bazan. As to the person designated by "El Bachiller," I am unable to determine what his name was, though undoubtedly he must have been the Archbishop's agent in Rome.

1531.

single step in the affair without first consulting the one who resides here, or if absent [from Paris] communicating with him first. It is through the latter that in obedience to orders sent from Innsbruck and Augsburg he [Garay] has corresponded with the queen of England, as well as with Madame Margaret before her death, informing them both of what passed in this Faculty. Besides this there is nothing more to be done here; the only thing is to try and procure an order from this king for authentic copies of all the acts and papers drawn up in this Faculty since the beginning of this affair to be forwarded to His Imperial Majesty, which is no business of his (Garay's) but of the ambassador who resides here.—Paris, 12th March 1531.

Signed: "Garay."

13 Mar. **657.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 103.

The Sienese have told the captain and the men to quit the place immediately. As Don Fernando [de Gonzaga] cannot now go thither he has sent Juan Sarmiento in his stead.

With regard to the English business, what I have to advise is that on Saturday last letters patent* from the Rota rejecting all appeal were delivered to the excusator (*Karne*), who appeared on behalf of the king of England, and that to-day the remissory letters have been obtained, the whole being passed in due form both through the Rota and Consistory. May God be thanked for it! This very moment the Datary leaves my room after a rather warm debate, he having come to announce that the Pope, at the request of the English ambassadors, wished to receive again the excusator, and hear what he had to say.† I returned the Datary such an answer that he has offered to do all he can to prevent the Pope giving the Englishman audience; and if he cannot succeed I myself will go to His Holiness to-morrow and tell him both the dream and its solution.‡

Your Majesty may believe me when I say that there is not one here who would not willingly give some of his blood to have the English cause delayed. Your Lordship may judge from this how difficult it will be to bring it to a close. But I hope all will go well in the end. Your Lordship, however, must not be scandalized at what I say. I would not write at first about it, for I neither fear the censure nor seek the approval of those who have the management of this affair; but have since thought that Your Lordship should be informed of every circumstance of the case.

Andrea del Burgo has had letters from king Ferdinand, of the 28th last, announcing a new invasion [of Hungary] by the Turk. In Germany the duke of Bavaria was arming,

* Dieron apostolos refutatorios al que havia comparescido por el Rey de Ingalaterra."

† "En este punto se va de aqui el Datario, que me he querido messar con él porque vino de parte del papa [á decirme] que a supplication de los embaxadores de Anglaterra," &c.

‡ "Y sino yo [ir] he allá mañana y le diré el sueño y la soltura."

1531.

and the league of Sweden was being made.—Rome, 13th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and magnificent lord, the High Commander of Leon, at Brussels."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

13 Mar. **658.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR

S. E. L. 852, f. 12. *Add.* 28,583, f. 104.

The Pope's new contribution for the maintenance of the Imperial army.—Affairs of Milan and Lucca.

Has spoken to the Pope concerning the new creation of cardinals. He is to create only two, not those asked by the king of England, but those proposed by the Emperor.

Affairs of Naples, &c.—Rome, 13th March 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Muxetula, 13th March."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

16 Mar. **659.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 109. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 110.

Your Majesty's letters of the 15th January and 16th of February have come to hand. I have written twice since my arrival at Rome, and reported fully on the state of the Queen's case. The ambassador, Miçer Mai, has done the same. The king of England has just refused to appear [at Rome] personally or by proxy; but the causes alleged for such a refusal having been declared insufficient and rejected by the Consistory, it has now been decided that unless proper powers of attorney be granted by the King to some person to represent him here the suit will be tried by contumacy (*contradittas*).* As the King, moreover, has as yet taken no notice of this injunction, and seems determined not to appear, it only remains for the Rota, after proving the Queen's intention, to pronounce sentence by contumacy. Such being, as I hope it will be, the case, it is very important that His Holiness should be asked to hear the merits of this cause, and after being, as well as the Consistory, fully informed of them, to determine by an extraordinary "ad perpetuam rei memoriam" that this degree of affinity between brother and sister-in-law is no impediment at all to a marriage except in common law, in which the Pope can very well dispense. In this manner the justice of this cause shall for ever be placed on a solid foundation.

But this second article, for the furtherance of which Your Majesty sent me here, cannot be well argued and carried unless some one come first on behalf of the king of England, and a sentence be pronounced against him as one not appearing

* "Y entonces porque la justicia de esta causa quede perpetuamente fundada conviene que su Santd. sea requerido que oya la examinacion de los meritos desta causa, y despues de bien informado en ella," &c.

1531.

for judgment. In such a case the Pope has the faculty in virtue of his high office to determine the truth, and communicate the same to the whole of the Christian Church. This may easily be done, whilst the Imperial ambassador achieves the first point entrusted to him, which is only a judicial form. The king of England should know that on Your Majesty's side there are doctors and lawyers prepared to shew that his demand has been unjust, and able to reply to the arguments of those by whom he has been deceived. For since up to the present the King's constant aim has been to shew that the suit was instituted merely for the security of his own conscience, how is it that by so many delays and subterfuges he now tries to postpone a sentence which is to remove all his scruples?

Complains of the dearth of provisions at Rome, as well as of the university of Salamanca having refused to pay him the honoraries of his chair, promised to him during his mission.—Rome, 16th March 1531.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

17 Mar. **660.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 13. *Add.* 28,583, f. 132.

The last letters received by this Signory from Constantinople are of the 23rd December. Neither have they had any from Ragusa, as might have been expected. The cause of such a long silence from those parts is not easily explained, and they themselves cannot account for it.

In consequence, however, of the letters of the king of the Romans, and His Holiness' haste in procuring money, the Signory is actually taking certain precautions, although they affect to disbelieve the news altogether. Their proveditor-general of the sea is to be dispatched to the gulph with 18 or 20 galleys, 10 more than during these past years. It would also appear that in consequence of the negligence of their bailli at Constantinople the Signory have resolved to recall him and appoint in his stead Miçer Pero Zen[o], who formerly held that post, and who, though nearly 80 years old, is a fitter man to fill that office, as he knows the country well, and is besides a friend of Abrayn Bassá. His instructions are principally reduced to three points: 1. To dissuade the Turk from the invasion of Italy. 2. In case he decide to come, to confirm the old treaties without introducing new conditions, or asking for the ports in the gulph. 3. To ascertain how far the last overtures of the king of the Romans were received by the Turk, and prevent any settlement between them, because their wish is that the Vayvod do remain in possession of Hungary, whilst the king of the Romans and the Turk are both occupied in fighting for the possession of that kingdom.

The Signory greatly in want of money, and talk of farming out the royal rents of Chiple (Cyprus).

The duke of Milan writes to his ambassador here that the

1531.

Switzers are in treaty to return under the rule of Savoy. The Duke (Carlo) is accordingly negotiating with some Italian captains who are to levy troops for him, though his Swiss friends advise him not to make a new alliance, but simply confirm the former one.

Fifteen galleys from Genoa had sailed in search of the Moorish pirates; the marquis of Fenan (*sic* Final?) was in command, and Erasmo Doria was his lieutenant.

The agreement between the duke of Milan and the marquis of Mus respecting the Baltolina (Val Tellina), had been broken off. The Marquis had asked the Duke (Francesco Sforza) to make over to him any rights he might have on that country. On the other hand, the Grisons had sent an agent to Milan to prevent, if possible, the cession of that territory, but the Marquis had the agent watched and killed on the road. The Podesta, or governor of Bergamo, has written to this Signory that the Marquis has actually made an agreement with the Spaniards of Milan and Como for them to take possession of the Baltolina, he (the Marquis) undertaking to bring 200 light horse, and another band of Italians for that purpose. They were to start on their expedition on the 11th instant. It was also reported that a brother-in-law of the Marquis was sending him 600 horse from Germany.

Has again pressed the Signory to come forward with the proposed contribution, but although they shew every wish to fulfill their engagements, he (Niño) is afraid they never will do so unless positively compelled by circumstances.

Begs for a knighthood of St. James for his brother, Juan Niño.—Venice, 17th March 1531.

Spanish. Original abstract. pp. 4.

— **661.** Francisco de los Covos to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 852, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 114.

By the enclosed letter for cardinal Ravenna you will judge how the Scottish affair has been taken up here, and what we think of it. Granvelle also has been apprized of it, and is of opinion that no decision can be taken for the present. There is, therefore, nothing to be done but temporize and keep the negotiation open without taking any formal engagements.

With regard to the duke of Mantua's marriage, it is true that the "consulta" was duly received; but His Imperial Majesty, owing to the marriage having been effected at his express desire and for other reasons, would much prefer that it were not put aside. He (the ambassador) is to speak to the Pope in the Emperor's name and let him write a letter to the Duke, begging him to marry at once the daughter of queen Isabella.* The Emperor will write to the Duke in the same strain, and prothonotary Caracciolo is to present him with the letter.

Respecting the auditor of the Rota, whom you say the English have tried to gain over, making him all manner of offers, you are instructed to say that the Emperor is well

* That is Giulia, about whom see part I., pp. 731, 755, 762, 785.

1531

acquainted with the services of that ecclesiastic, and purposes to reward him on the first opportunity. It is for you to inquire of him how, and in what manner, his services can be remunerated, that the reward may be public, &c. This paragraph to be shewn to the Pope. You are to thank His Holiness in the Emperor's name for the two cardinal's hats, but must try to get the other two for the archbishop of Capua (Schomberg) and for him of Monaco (Grimaldo), both of which hats he (the Pope) promised at Bologna. Do besides insist upon another one being given to the archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) at the next creation.

Scalenga (De Scalengues) has received orders to prove within two months' time his assertion, and state his motives for seizing the money now claimed by the Pope. At the expiration of the term, which will take place shortly, if not already over, care shall be taken that the money be restored to its owner.

Spanish. Original minute. pp. 3.

20 Mar. **662.** Secret Consistory of Cardinals.

S. E. L. 2,015, f. 123.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 117.

On the 20th of March 1531 a secret consistory of Cardinals was held in the Apostolic Palace at Rome in the usual room, in which consistory the following business was transacted, viz.:

Letters from the king of Scotland, and a pamphlet were read, in which the said king stated certain demands. It was decided that the cardinals should be informed first of the contents of the said letters and pamphlet, and that at a future consistory the claims of the said king should be discussed.

Diary kept by the Chamberlain (*Camerarius*) of the Sacred College. Transcribed by Berzosa.

Latin. p. ¼.

21 Mar. **663.** Dr. Ortiz and Miçer Mai to the archbishop of Santiago.

S. Pat. Re. Trat. c. Ing. L. 4, f. 132.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 118.

As concerning Your Reverence's affairs both the Bachelor and Don Alvaro* de Bassan (Bazan) must already have written home, we shall only refer to their letters, and proceed at once to report on the state of the English cause.

As we had the honour to inform Your Reverence in our letter of the 12th, the English excusator (Karne) appeared in Court, and was rejected because of his not being sufficiently empowered to act in his master's name. He appealed and a new litigation was needed for us to gain "apostolos refutatorios"† against him, which, thank God, have been duly obtained since. Of this the English complained at the time, and we could not avoid the Pope taking cognizance of the

* No. 654, p. 88, where the name of this individual is said to be Don Hernando.
† Letters from the apostolic judges refusing an appeal.

1531.

fact. There was then a dispute with the lawyers of the opposite party, who were again rejected (*repellidos*), after which they most impudently applied for a delay, as they have done at other times; but I (Ortiz) having gone up to the Pope and spoken very resolutely about it, the application was again refused, and there is no longer question of it. Nevertheless, as one of their principal arguments is that remissory letters could not be granted for more than one particular place, there was again a delay. It must be observed that every time a point is contested there is first a debate in the Rota, and thence it goes to a consistory [of cardinals], for these latter dislike deciding cases that do not pass through the Rota first. This last point, however, was also gained, and we shall have no less than eight remissory letters, four for Castille, three for Aragon, and one for Flanders. The one for England they would nowise grant. Not to lose time I (Ortiz) will take those that have been offered, and once in my possession will insist upon their giving me also the English one. All shall be forwarded to Spain in eight or ten days at the latest time, by express messenger, and I will take care that Your Reverence is thoroughly informed of all the incidents of the affair.

I mention this that Your Reverence may be prepared, and the witnesses ready for examination, and that there should be no delay in taking their individual declarations. This is a most important step and one that must be attended to immediately, and with all possible haste, especially in Castille, before even the remissory letters are forwarded to other kingdoms, the evidence to be obtained there being most valuable and important in the present case. Meanwhile, I shall do my best to push on the suit and see whether we cannot gain a sentence by "contradita," since the remissory letters have been granted to us "sine retardatione processus principalis en quatenus ex adverso compareat legitimus contradictor." This, however, they will never grant; at least such is my impression, and that is why I recommend that the utmost diligence be used in procuring the evidence required, &c.

For the rest I beg leave to refer to my despatches to the Emperor and to the Empress.—Rome, 21st March 1531.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz" and "Maius."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and Reverend archbishop of Santiago, president of the Council of Castille."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

22 Mar. **664.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 17.

I heard some time ago by letters of Messire Mai that some parties at Rome, wishing to prolong as much as possible the Queen's cause, had hit upon the expedient of alleging as a plausible excuse that unless a copy of the proceedings enacted in the first instance before messeigneurs the legates (Wolsey and Campeggio)—which proceedings they maintain are the

1531.

foundation of the whole suit—was adduced, the trial could not possibly go on. The said parties thought no doubt, and perhaps they are not mistaken, that this king would not willingly give orders for the recovery of the said process, and that they themselves would thereby be excused from pronouncing sentence, this being, after all, the thing which those who have to judge this matter dislike most. Such an excuse, however, will be of no earthly use to them; for I have since stirred so much in various quarters that I have found the original process, of which I am now having an authentic copy made to go by this courier.* Your Majesty will be pleased to have it forwarded [to Rome] as soon as possible in the safest way, and as the importance of the case demands.

Since my last despatch I have called on the duke of Norfolk to try and learn some news; also to inquire about certain measures now under consideration of Parliament, much to the detriment of Your Majesty's subjects and other foreign merchants; intending to remonstrate as strongly as it is in my power against any imposition of new taxes or burdens in violation of the treaties of alliance and commercial relations established with their neighbours. The Duke said to me that every care should be taken not to affect the interests of parties; the whole case would be placed in the hands of the chancellor and five bishops, all lawyers, besides other learned men, and that as far as the commercial relations and good neighbourhood were concerned he (the Duke) would look to it as to his own personal interest.†

After this the Duke asked me what news I had of the Turk. He himself had heard from the Venetian ambassador that there was none for the present, but no reliance (he observed) could be placed on any intelligence coming from that quarter inasmuch as that Signory were known to be in close correspondence with the Turk. The Duke also told me that he thought the elector of Saxony was rather troublesome in Germany, and asked me for the whereabouts of king Ferdinand. My answer in a few words was that the King [of Hungary] had not been taken prisoner by the Elector, as had been reported at Court; on the contrary there was very good hope of the affairs of Germany being settled through his instrumentality. Respecting the invasion threatened by the Turk (I said), that though I had no positive information on that score, yet I was inclined to believe it on many accounts, and especially because the Infidel was very capable of attempting it were it for no other reason than to please those who seemed to desire it. This last observation of mine was evidently not to the Duke's taste. He either smarted under it, or had some other end in view, for he suddenly changed the conversation and said to me that there were here in London many Lutherans

* "Mays pour cella nauront telle exemption, car jay tant tourné et viré quay trouvé la dite procedure, et la fays mettre en forme auctentique pour lenvoyer avec ceste."

† "Et que ce que touchera a la bonne voysinance yl y aura regart comme a ses propres yeux."

1531.

and that the day before the finest and most learned preacher among them in England had been arrested, and was in danger of being publicly burnt alive; at which he (the Duke), was sadly displeased, for he said the King had no fitter or better qualified man to send abroad on an embassy to a great prince.* Notwithstanding that the Duke aggravated the case of this priest, nothing serious happened to him, for he was next day released from prison, as I will relate hereafter.

The Duke after this entered on the subject of certain trifling Bills (*petites besognes*) about to be discussed in Parliament, such as the estate to be allotted to the duke of Richmond, the King's bastard son† and his son-in-law. Of the Queen's business and other important affairs no mention was made at this interview, that being the reason why for want of materials I have been obliged to fill these pages with minor details.

The preacher above mentioned having been arrested and taken before the archbishop of Canterbury refused to answer the questions put to him unless lay members of the Privy Council should intervene in the proceedings. Owing to which the said duke of Norfolk, the earls of Auxford (Oxford), Vulchier (Wiltshire), and Tallebot (Talbot) were deputed, before whom the said priest proceeded to make his declaration and propounded heresy enough. Two days after, as I am informed, the priest, fearing lest the archbishop of Canterbury should proceed against him, appealed to the King, as chief and sovereign of the said archbishop, and was conducted to the royal presence before several bishops, who disputed with him and asked him to retract [his erroneous doctrines]. Upon which the King taking in his hand a parchment roll (*ung role*), where the priest's errors were stated, his eyes fell on the very first article wherein it was expressly said that the Pope was not the sovereign chief of the Christian Church. I have been told that the King said immediately: "This proposition cannot be counted as heretical, for it is both true and certain." Therefore, after the King had heard what the priest had to say in his own defence, he was set free and sent back to his own dwelling on condition of preaching one of these days a sermon, and retracting some of his doctrines which the King does not consider as thoroughly orthodox (*juridicques*).

The general opinion is that the Lady [*Anne*] *and her father, who are more Lutherans than Luther himself, have been the principal instruments of the priest's release from prison, besides the natural inclination of the King himself* to all those who speak in his favour and *against the Pope.*

Some days ago the Nuncio received orders from the Pope

* "Et me dit quil[s] avoint icy force Lutheriens, et que le jour devant avoit esté prins le plus beau et plus sçavant prescheur dangleterre, le quel estoit en dangier destre bruslé, de quoi luy desplaysoit, car le roy navoit homme plus propice ne mieux qualifie pour envoyer en ambassade devers ung grand prince que celluy."

† "Et quil[s] estoint ausy apres de fere estably [r] par constitution du royaume l'estat du duc de Richemont bastard du roy, et son beau fils (*sic*)."

1531.

to go to the King, and make his excuses respecting the conference (*interlocutoire*) lately held in Consistory previously to the rejection of the English [excusator], who appeared in behalf of this king; also to announce the threatened invasion of the Turk, and beg in His Holiness' name his powerful co-operation against the common enemy. Having communicated with me as to the nature of his instructions, I was of opinion that this was by no means a fit opportunity to speak to the King about his joining in resistance to the Turk. The Nuncio could, if he chose, speak in his own name, but certainly not in that of His Holiness, because the news of what passed at the consistorial conference having reached the King's ears, and he being exceedingly angry thereat, it was not the fit moment to ask him (the King) for anything of that sort, especially at a time when Parliament was still sitting. For should the King come to know that the state of Christendom, owing to the threatened Turkish invasion, was such as to justify a pressing application for his help and assistance, he might perhaps be encouraged to give still further trouble. In a few days Parliament would end its sittings, the King's irritation and anger would subside, and then would be a better opportunity for speaking to him on the subject. Besides which, by mentioning the whole thing now as coming from himself, he would be hereafter in a better position to speak about it in his master's name. This advice of mine was approved by the Nuncio, who promised to follow it, and went accordingly to see the King on Saturday last, at 10 in the morning, which was the hour appointed for the audience. He met in the ante-room the duke of Norfolk, who told him that the King was then engaged and could not receive him; but that if he was unwilling to wait he might declare to him the object of his calling, and he would inform the King thereof. This was no doubt done out of fear that the Nuncio's intention was to make some unpleasant intimation, for no sooner did the Duke hear what the Nuncio's errand really was than he went into the King's chamber and returned, saying that his master was quite disengaged, and would be glad to receive him at once. The Nuncio, therefore, went in, and began to explain the nature of his message. No explanations, however, availed to persuade the King that it was not the Pope's fault that the application of his excusator (*Karne*) had been denied. He began to complain bitterly of the injury done, as he asserted, to his honour and reputation, and referred the Nuncio to his secretary, that he might tell him in full detail what had happened in the affair, how offended he (the King) was, and thus give him ground to write to the Pope and inform him of his displeasure. The King, moreover, said to the Nuncio: "Yesterday I sent a courier to Rome with writs and allegations (*drois et allegations*). I will wait and see how you intend treating me at Rome, and according to the answer sent from thence I shall shape my conduct. The Pope may do what he likes with me; I care but little about his excommunications, for

1531.

God has said : ' *Timebo eos qui diligunt et sequunter me, et non alios.*' " "With regard to the Emperor," he added : "I know very well that he has the power of doing me harm ; but I am not quite so sure that he has the will. Even if it were so I should do my best to defend myself and my kingdom." Respecting the Turk, he (the King) observed that he was far off, and therefore he was not afraid of him ; the resistance was chiefly Your Majesty's and His Holiness' concern, not his ; no help was to be expected from him, for since neither Pope nor Emperor had done anything for him he was not disposed to do anything for them.

It was quite evident (the Nuncio tells me) from the King's manner and words that he was rather glad at the threatened Turkish invasion, and at the Pope and Emperor being thus obliged to ask for help, although, following my advice the Nuncio had spoken in his own name, not in that of His Holiness.

The audience at an end, the Nuncio went away and returned to town. It appears, however, that at the request of the duke of Norfolk he had dismissed the whole of his suite with the single exception of one man intending, no doubt, to dine at Court (*disner leans*). He changed his mind, however, did not dine there, and came back to town accompanied only by one servant, without the Duke, who was aware of the fact, providing him with any escort. I have not yet heard the cause which the Nuncio had for changing his mind and not dining [in Greenwich], as he at first intended.

Your Majesty's letters of the 12th inst., as well as those addressed to Monseigneur the Chancellor, have been duly received. These last I have not yet been able to deliver, but I will be on the watch for the very first opportunity of doing so, and will express to the said Chancellor, and to the rest *who uphold the Queen's rights,* Your Majesty's sentiments towards them.

Respecting the export of wheat from this country I spoke to the duke of Norfork on Monday last. At first he refused the application, saying that he had no orders on this head, and that a similar application made some time ago by Monseigneur de Belgues*—who, he said, was the gentleman out of England whom the King wished most to please—had been refused Though the wheat was evidently destined for the support of Englishmen inhabiting Belgues (Belgium) the King would not allow its export. Upon this I observed that at the time that the said Seigneur de Belgues made his application the result of the harvest in England was uncertain, and therefore that there might be then some reason for the refusal. Now the case was different ; the weather was very fine and the prospects of a good harvest as promising as ever. In refusing to help a neighbouring country in case of need it might happen one of these days that the wheat crop failing in England they themselves might have want of us. These and other argu-

* Thus written Belgues most likely for Bergues or Berghes ?

1531.

ments I put before the Duke as if they came from myself without making any request or application in the name of Your Majesty. The Duke began then to reflect on what I had said, and promised to lay the matter before the King, and return an answer next Tuesday morning, that is to say yesterday. Accordingly I sent yesterday for it, and my secretary, after waiting a long time, came back without the answer, but with a message that it could not be ready until to-day [Wednesday]. Having again sent for it, I have been told that my secretary has been put off till to-morrow. Which dilatoriness in this matter, together with the haste recommended in the transmission of the process mentioned at the beginning of this despatch, lead me to consider it necessary to send off the present courier without further delay, and give at once my opinion of the manner in which our application has been received here, and what the merchants think about it. Respecting the first point, I firmly believe that should the license for the exportation of wheat be granted—which is doubtful—the quantity of grain to be exported will be so small that it will be hardly worth while to apply for it, as most likely the license, if obtained, will only be for 3,500 "fanegas," Spanish measure, at the utmost. Besides which the merchants tell me that after calculating the cost of the wheat—as specified in the note (*billiet*) that goes with this—and the expenses of freight, &c., to Malgue (Malaga), there would be a loss, for according to advices from that port, wheat is there and all along that coast almost as cheap as it is here in England. If to this be added that according to the unanimous opinion of these London merchants, all description of corn, and principally wheat, gathered this year is still very moist (*moelles*), owing to the quantity of rain that has fallen here, and the distance to Malaga being so great, it would be almost impossible to transport the said wheat to that port during the summer months without danger of fermentation, nor is there any merchant here who would dare undertake at his own risk the storing of the said wheat, much less the shipping of it on his own account. As to advancing money for the purchase of the said wheat, shipping and insuring it against the risks of the sea, there is no difficulty at all; as many merchants will be found as wanted. Respecting the danger of fermentation of the grain, should Your Majesty decide upon sending provisions to Malaga, and should the permission to export be granted, there is, in my opinion, no other way of meeting the danger than having biscuit prepared here and sent thither. It is for Your Imperial Majesty to decide and transmit us your orders.

On this occasion the duke of Norfolk spoke to me about the great preparations the Turk was making for a future invasion, adding that but for one single thing Your Majesty would be efficiently assisted in case of emergency. My answer was that it seemed to me as if they (the English) were delighted to see Your Majesty in such a strait, but that

1531.

Saint Martin might come,* and that as far as Your Majesty was concerned you would do your duty towards resisting the Infidel's onset, in which attempt I (Chapuys) was sure that most, if not all, the Christian princes would willingly co-operate; those who did not actually help would pray to God for the success of the Imperial arms. Had Your Majesty consented to this divorce—which was no doubt the single thing to which he (the Duke) had alluded—wishing thereby to secure the assistance of men, you would have irretrievably lost that of God, which has hitherto never deserted you.

After these words, to which he made no reply whatever, the Duke said to me that since I intended returning to London by water he would accompany me to the boat; but he took me first into his garden, and whilst we were walking he observed: "I think that the Emperor will successfully resist the Turk on the side of Germany, but Naples and Sicily are in great danger." I answered him smiling: "If so, will not you help us with the money you have levied on the Clergy? it would, in my opinion, be much better employed in that way than in any other." The Duke's reply was that nobody had yet spoken to the King about it, and upon my reminding him that I myself had solicited the King's assistance the year before, he knew not what to say. Noticing his embarrassment I went on to say that it was quite plain to me that they (the English) had everywhere the reputation not only of having refused to contribute towards the repulsion of the Turk, but of having boasted that they had prevented other Christian princes from entering into an agreement to that effect. God, I observed, would punish them for it. This last sentence I repeated thrice by way of a joke, and the Duke replied in the same manner that not they, but Your Majesty, and all those who upheld the Queen's cause against God and the law of nature, would be punished. After which he added he was aware that Your Majesty and the Queen were urging the sentence at Rome, but that was all time lost, and working to no purpose, for even if the Pope had in store ten thousand excommunications (*excommunemants*) no attention however slight would be given to them; and then he went on to explain and argue that the archbishop of Canterbury was the natural and true judge of the cause, not the Pope, who was known to be by far too much inclined to Your Majesty. He also spoke at length of the great value and weight of the opinions (*les sselz*) obtained from the Universities, on which last point I remonstrated so strongly that he was obliged to say: "I know nothing about these matters, but it strikes me that the Emperor does not acknowledge the favours and pleasures he once received at my master's hands." "Very far from this," said I, "and the proof that he does acknowledge them is that he has been, as you say, urging at Rome that very

* "Je luy dis quil sembloit quil fussent ayses de veoer en necessite votre maieste, mays que le dit Sainct Martin pourroit venir, et que au regard de vostre maieste elle se mettroit en tout et par tout endroyt en debuoir dobuier aux entreprinses de lennemy de la foi."

1531.

sentence which, in my opinion, touches most the honour and conscience of your King, and the tranquillity and happiness of his kingdom—whereas those who counselled the divorce and were its advocates had no respect whatever for their King's honour and reputation. I sincerely hope," I added, "to see the day when the King himself will turn towards those who have tried to dissuade him from this step, and will hate those who have encouraged him in it." This wish of mine the Duke met by simply saying: "You will see ere long the Emperor repent of not having consented to the divorce;" upon which I entreated him for the sake of the affection which, he said, at one time he had for Your Majesty, to declare to me the cause of that repentance, that I might immediately warn you. This the Duke declined to do, though I asked him twice.

In the course of conversation I alluded once or twice to Monseigneur de Praët, mentioning that I had received letters from him of the 3rd inst., and that I was anxiously expecting the return of Jehan Jocquin, to learn news of that diplomatist and of his negotiations in France. But however direct my allusions, the Duke never consented to speak about the Imperial ambassador, saying only that they had received letters from the said Jocquin, stating that owing to the Regent's (Louise de Savoie) severe illness he had been obliged to stay [at the French Court] without finishing his business, but that he hoped to be back in London very soon. I could get nothing out of him on the subject of the future Council, but Your Majesty must know from all I have heard them say, and from my own private misgivings, that these people *will be very glad if the Council never meets, and if the Turk invades Christendom.*

There is a report that Parliament will be closed on the eve of Our Lady, and prorogued for some months.*

The Princess (Mary) is still staying with the Queen, her mother, which is a great consolation for her.—London, 22nd March [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 22nd March. Received on the 28th."

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

23 Mar. **665.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, f. 16.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 120.

The secretary of the king of Scotland has sent to ask through cardinal Ravenna (Accolti), the protector of that kingdom, what probability there is of the Council being held. He has declared to Don Pedro de la Cueva, and to him (Mai) how discontented the King, his master, is with the French and English, and that he is willing to make league with the Emperor, and wishes ardently for it. The king of Scotland (he

* "Il se dit que lassemblee des estatz faudroit la veyllie notre dame, et seront iceux prorrogues pour une autre foys."

1531.

says) would feel greatly honoured by any matrimonial alliance with a sister or niece of the Emperor.

As it is but just that such a negotiation, if commenced, should be kept secret, the King's secretary proposes that His Imperial Majesty send his powers to Rome for some one to treat with him.

Both Don Pedro (de la Cueva) and he (Mai) failed not to praise the secretary for his good intentions, promised to write home, and begged to know where the answer should be forwarded. The secretary observed that he should be back in Scotland almost as soon as this letter reached the Imperial Court, and, therefore, that the answer might be addressed to Scotland or else given to Mr. de Vere, their friend, with whom they correspond. He had (the secretary added) dispatched a courier to the King, his master, advising him not to renew the truce with England, which is about to expire now, until his arrival; as it would appear that the non-renewal of the said truce is most important to the Emperor at the present moment for reasons which the secretary espounded. As the negotiations may be carried on equally well either here, at Rome, or at the Imperial Court, he (Mai) thinks that they ought to be carried on.

At any rate the Emperor must decide quickly and without delay, for fear the negotiation should be bruited about, and other inconveniences arise. At any rate Cardinal Ravenna must be thanked for the trouble he has already taken in this affair. He (Mai) waits for instructions.

Nothing new respecting the Council. The ambassadors try to confirm the Pope in his good purposes.

With regard to the proposed interview, he (Mai) read to His Holiness the paragraph of the Emperor's letter relating thereto. He believes that nothing detrimental to himself will be discussed there; the duke of Albany has made him the same assurance on the part of the king of France, and yet he (the Pope) is not without fear. The same fears Rodrigo Niño writes are entertained by the Venetians.

It has been reported here that the Emperor had very properly undeceived the king of France respecting Italian affairs in general, and Jacopo Salviati has said in secret to some one here that His Imperial Majesty will do the King's pleasure in everything; that Tournay is to be restored to him as well as the superiority of the appellations of Flanders, &c.*

The return of Mr. de Prat (Praët) to France has no doubt had the effect of stopping the mouth of the duke of Albany, and diminishing his bravadoes against the Turk, and offensive war, &c., for he no longer speaks about it.

The king of the Romans (Ferdinand) has written to Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] assuring him of the Turk's warlike intentions, &c.; 40,000 cavalry were already in Belgrade and the [Austrian] ambassadors had returned from the Turkish camp without hopes of peace or truce. He (Burgo) asked the

* Nothing of the kind has ever been in contemplation. *Note by Covos.*

1531.

Pope for money; the Pope promised it, but said that one half was to be spent in the defence of Italy, if attacked, and the remainder in Hungary. Miçer Andrea was not satisfied with this answer, and wrote to his master advising him to come to terms, if he could, both with the Vayvod and with the Lutherans. . . . . —Rome, 23rd March 1531.

Indorsed: "Copy of paragraphs of letters from Miçer Mai, x., xiii. and xxiii. March."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

27 Mar. **666.** KING FERDINAND of HUNGARY to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. *Corresp.* II., p 425.

The advice and instructions contained in Your Majesty's letter of the 4th inst., brought by Mr. de Bossu, respecting the Turkish business have been punctually carried out, and I have tried everything in my power to bring about some arrangement or truce with the Vayvod. When Hieronymo Lasco came to me at the request of the latter, to treat on that subject, I had already taken my measures for peace or truce, and sent orders to my captains on the frontiers to do the same, and, if necessary, to deliver certain castles there in pledge thereof. After this, on Lasco's own proposition—which might after all have been an insidious one—I consented to place in the hands of the king of Poland (Sigismond) and of the duke of Sassa (Saxony) the two fortresses the Vayvod asked for as security during the negotiations. This was the chief cause and origin of the three months' truce which we now enjoy, and which will expire on the 21st of April. Lasco is now gone [to Constantinople] to procure, as he says, the recognition of the said truce, and its further extension for one year. It is to be feared, however, that, considering his former refusals, his great military preparations, and the progress he has already made, the Turk will not sanction this truce, much less consent to its extension, for Your Imperial Majesty must be aware that when my ambassadors last visited the Turkish capital both Solyman and his Grand Vizier, Ibráhim Pashá, positively declared that no peace or truce could be signed until the whole of Hungary was in their hands, for although the Vayvod claims that kingdom as his own, the Infidel pretends that he has conquered it, and will only tolerate the Vayvod as a sort of governor or commissary therein. For these reasons it is to be apprehended that whatever efforts Lasco, if he be sincere in this instance, may make, and whatever arguments he may use, we shall never obtain from the Turk a durable peace. Such being the case, it would be unfair to say hereafter that I had been an obstacle to an amicable settlement of my differences with the Vayvod, for if the negotiations now carried on should not come to a good issue I should be the first to be attacked, and God knows that I desire peace above all things, and would willingly make any sacrifice to obtain it for my own sake and for that of Christendom at large.

Your Majesty also advises and commands me to temporize

1531.

with the Lutherans, and prevent their agreeing together respecting their ceremonies. I will do my best to conform with Your Majesty's wishes; but any attempt in so delicate a matter is so fraught with danger that I really believe there is no man in these my dominions capable of conducting with secrecy and without scandal a negotiation of this sort; no prudence or wisdom would be sufficient to divert the Lutherans from their false opinions; no agents I might employ, though friendly to our cause, would be successful, for the Lutheran sect has already spread so much that it would be necessary to alter the resolutions passed at the diet of Augusta (Augsburg), for which I have no powers unless Your Majesty grants me fresh ones. Besides which such is the obstinacy of these people, and such their pertinacious adherence to the Lutheran doctrines that in the very teeth of what passed at Augsburg, and the resolutions taken at that Diet, they have again sent deputies to Cologne asking for liberty of conscience, and boldly demanding that the Imperial officers should stay all prosecution until the meeting of the General Council, &c.

Respecting my dealings with the dukes of Bavaria, and the advice tendered respecting my interference with the administration of the Empire, and temporizing with the duke of Viertanberg (Wurtemberg) I will carefully follow Your Majesty's instructions; but I must observe that as regards the administration I cannot do much, or exercise any influence in it as long as Your Majesty is within its limits, and especially engaged, as I am now, on this frontier, preparing to meet the Turkish invasion, and attending exclusively to the affairs of Bohemia and Hungary. With regard to the duke of Wurtemberg, if Your Majesty inform me opportunely of the time and place of the meeting, I will appoint some person to represent me at the conferences, and treat the affair in question as cautiously and secretly as possible.

I have hitherto attended to Your Majesty's recommendations respecting the Turk, and kept a number of spies to inform me of his movements. Will forward in future any advices that come from Constantinople and other places. The Hungarians residing at this my court tell me that a meeting has lately been held at a certain place [in Hungary] between some of my own faithful subjects and their countrymen following the fortunes of the Vayvod, wherein it has been resolved to oppose the Turk, and should our army be the first in Hungary, to join us for the defence of that country.

Don Luis de la Cueva is now here with me. He comes from Hungary to inform me of the state of affairs there. Believing that the truce with the Vayvod would last, he was on the point of going over to Your Majesty, but seeing from what I tell him that there is no chance of that, or even of the truce holding good, he has decided to remain here and serve in this war, believing that he will in this manner fulfil exactly the commission he received at Augsburgh.—Přma, 27th March 1531.

1531.

28 Mar. **667.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 832, ff. 82–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 123.

(*Cipher :*) It is said here, at Rome, that Mr. de Prat (Praët) has not yet received an answer from the Most Christian King respecting the Council, and is publicly reported at the Papal Palace that no Council will be held. Has done all he could to ascertain whence the report has come, but they keep it so secret that he (Mai) was some time before he could learn anything. At last an old cardinal told him positively that the Most Christian King objected to it; he knew it well, and trusted that his name would not be mentioned, nor any more questions asked. Believes the Cardinal fully, for the promises of Tarbes must have taken effect.

Has also heard that the Most Christian King has written to the Emperor that he would willingly stand for the Council, but that the Pope had requested him to prevent its celebration, or at least to say that he will not attend it. This assertion the Pope absolutely denies, saying that it is completely false, and that if he wanted to prevent the Council assembling he would certainly not make use of the king of France, whom he knows to be unreliable in such matters. This last information comes from the ambassador of the duke of Mantua who had it from the Pope's own mouth.

Has seen a paragraph of a letter from the cardinal of Trent (Clesi) to Miçer Andrea del Burgo, in which he says that were it impossible at present to come to an agreement respecting the matrimonial cause of England it seemed to him as if a delay of two or three years might lead to a satisfactory solution of the affair. This appears to be likewise the advice of the Imperialists (*Cesarianos*) here at Rome; but he (Mai) cannot but repeat what he has always maintained, and stated at Bologna before the Emperor's Privy Council, that such a suspension would open the way for many an inconvenience. It may well suit the Pope and his cardinals thus to keep the king of France, and generally all those who are not the Emperor's friends under an obligation, but in his (Mai's) opinion the suspension can never be profitable to us, because it will be the forerunner of many class innovations in the political world—(*serà apareio de novedades en el mundo*). Cannot help thinking, however, that if the refusal of the delay demanded should in any way injure our present prospects, the suspicion of the evil to come would be preferable to the actual reality.

Does not hesitate to express the same sentiments respecting the Lutherans, and their practices with the English, of which he (Mai) has heard a good deal of late. Though a staunch Catholic himself, and loving the fame and reputation of his King, and conscience, as much as any other vassal and servant of the Empire, he (Mai) cannot help thinking that since our sins have brought us to this state of things, and one that cannot be remedied so soon as we might wish, it would be perhaps better for us to profit by some delay or stay of arms than to

1531.

allow the others to do it at our cost and risk.—Rome, 28th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious, the High Commander of Leon, His Imperial Majesty's first secretary."

Indorsed: "Deciphered paragraphs from a letter of Mai."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

28 Mar. **668.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 126.

. . . . . .

As far as I can hear the advices from England are that the King has entirely withdrawn his obedience from the Pope, and is doing many things in contempt and discredit of the Sacred Apostolic See, all owing to this wretched divorce suit, he (the King) wishing His Holiness to do his pleasure, not his duty, in that affair. The Pope thinks it would be better for him at once to recall his Nuncio, and say that the duke of Albany has shewn him letters from the king of France, entreating him not to proceed in this affair as he is now doing, for should he persevere in this course the kingdom will be irretrievably lost for him, and the king of England become his enemy.

Many other things did the duke of Albany say to the Pope on this occasion, all more or less in favour of king Henry and his suit; but His Holiness, nevertheless, is determined not to falter in the exercise of his duty or turn from the path of justice.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muxetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

28 Mar. **669.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 18.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 129.

With regard to the creation of two Spanish cardinals he (Mai) refers to the letter of Don Pedro de la Cueva that goes by this post. Many thanks ought to be given to the Pope for introducing the matter in Consistory, as well as for the flattering terms in which he spoke of the Emperor and of his brother the king of the Romans. Both he (Mai) and Don Pedro have already thanked all the cardinals one by one, including Farnese, though this latter is known to have voted against the measure. It would be advisable to write them letters acknowledging their services on this occasion, especially to Medici, who got up from his bed to attend the meeting, and to Ravenna, who persuaded his uncle not to oppose us.

Begs for a speedy answer to his despatch about the Scottish affair. It is now more wanted than ever, for according to the cardinal of Trent the Lutherans of Germany are

1531.

still in treaty with the French and English through Madame the Regent [of France].

King of the Romans and his nomination.—Letters from France say that an answer is being made out to Mr. de Praët's communication, and that whatever it be the Pope shall be acquainted with it as soon as possible; but on the other hand it is publicly stated here [at Rome] that there will be no Council. Has tried to ascertain what could be the origin of the rumour, and has just heard from one of the old cardinals *that the king of France decidedly opposes it.* An ambassador of the duke of Mantua has told him (Mai) on the Pope's authority that the Most Christian King of France had informed the Emperor that he was willing enough to have the Council, but that it was the Pope who did not wish for it, and had written to him to prevent its meeting. His Holiness, of course, denies the fact, and is very angry that such rumours should be spread about him.

The Most Christian King, moreover, is levying troops. He will not receive the Genoese ambassadors, save as subjects of his Crown.

Has seen a letter from cardinal Trent, in which he says that should an agreement of some sort not be made soon in the matrimonial cause of England, it might perhaps be advisable to delay or suspend the trial for two or three years. Almost all the Imperialists residing in Rome are of the same way of thinking, but as to him (Mai) his opinion is the same which he gave at Bologna. Thinks likewise that some sort of compromise should be made with the Lutherans.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Miçer Mai to be submitted to the Emperor."

Spanish. pp. 2.

29 Mar. **670.** The SAME to SECRETARY COVOS, High Commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 852, f. 83.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 128.

. . . . . .

A letter from the cardinal of Trent, which I have this moment seen, has a paragraph respecting the matrimonial cause. That ecclesiastic advises that in case of an agreement of some sort not being shortly made, a delay of two or three years ought to be granted. Such, he says, is the opinion of all the Imperialists there in Germany But on this topic I cannot help repeating what I said once before the Emperor's Council at Bologna. This suspension of proceedings so often applied for cannot but be the gateway (*agujero*) to a thousand inconveniences. It may well suit the Pope and his cardinals to be in favour of the suspension, inasmuch as once obtained there will no longer be a pressure exercised by the king of France and by the disaffected to the Empire, which circumstance has always been and is still a source of trouble and revolutions; but at the same time I cannot help thinking

1531.

that if the suspension recommended is to cause injury to the present state of European politics, the fear of future contingencies, however deplorable, is less dangerous than the reality of the evil likely to arise from it.—Rome, 28th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

28 Mar. **671.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 81.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 127.

. . . . . .

In the cause of England begs leave to refer the Emperor to his letter to Mons. de Granvelle.

With regard to auditor Capisuchio (Capisucci) he (Mai) must again recommend him most warmly, for it is very important under present circumstances and for the success of the affair that some notice should be taken of him. Keeps encouraging the said Auditor with hopes of His Majesty's favour, but feels that more substantial proofs of such acknowledgment are needed.—Rome, 28th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 Mar. **672.** The SAME to secretary COVOS.

S. E. L. 852, f. 20.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 128.

Siena.—The bulls for the coronation, &c.

During the sack of Rome the books of cardinal Ancona (Accolti) disappeared. It would be advisable to write to the Empress [Isabella] in Spain, and ask her to institute a search for them, and if they turn up have them restored to the owner at Rome.

Money, &c.

With regard to the matrimonial cause of England he (Mai) has nothing to add to what he writes to Granvelle on the subject. Refers him entirely to his letters to the Chancellor. Auditor Capisuccio ought not to be forgotten. His services are very valuable.—Rome, 29th March, 1531.

Spanish contemporary abstract (relacion) *for the Emperor's inspection.*

29 Mar. **673.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 84.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 131.

. . . . . .

The opinions (*votos*) of Sicily in the matrimonial cause of England have come to hand, also those of Valencia, with

1531.

which the enclosed letters were received.—Rome, 29th March 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

2 April. **674.** The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL OF RAVENNA.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 357.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 133.

Has received his letters of the 12th ult°; learns from them and from what his ambassador, Miçer Mai, writes that a negotiation is now being carried on with the secretary of the Scottish King. Feels sure of his sincere desire to render service, as is very natural, he (the Emperor) being his warmest friend. The Imperial ambassadors have been instructed to speak with him on this business.—Ghent, 2nd April 1531.*

Indorsed: "To the cardinal of Ravenna, Ghent, 2nd April."

Spanish. Draft in the hand of Francisco de Idiaquez, Secretary of State.

2 April. **675.** The SAME to MIÇER MAI, his ambassador at Rome.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 358.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 134.

His despatch of the 23rd ult° has been duly received.

Answer to the bishop of Tortona.

The Pope's contribution towards the expenses of the Turkish war.

Galleys &c.

(*Cipher:*) Has attentively read the proposals made by cardinal Ravenna to the secretary of the king of Scotland. Feels sure that the Cardinal means well, and intends doing service. He is to be thanked in his name; yet the affair is one which requires mature deliberation. Cannot, therefore, send a definitive answer just now. The Cardinal to be amused as long as possible with fair and friendly words until new instructions are forwarded.

Creation of cardinals.—Siena and Don Pedro de la Cueva. —Gante (Ghent), 2nd April 1531.

Spanish. Oiginal draft in the handwriting of Francisco Idiaquez.

4 April. **676.** The ANSWER made to the LEGATE'S Memorandum.

S. E. L. 854, f. 154.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 138.

The Emperor has considered the proposals which the Papal Legate has made respecting the part to be taken by France in the war against Turkey. In his opinion this is not the time for such a measure, nor have the preparations been made to carry on an offensive warfare. In order to do that considerable delay and much money would be required. That and all similar plans are the invention of those who do not choose to help in the undertaking. What is wanted is money, and

* "Del presente mes," says the minute; but the answer was probably written in March, though dated the 2nd of April, because of its being signed on that day, when the courier was leaving.

1531.

men to defend the frontiers of Christendom; the sooner the better. If the enemy is repulsed it will then be time to attack him in his own dominions. He, the Emperor, and his brother, the king of the Romans, will not fail to do everything in their power to check the current of Turkish invasion; but without the co-operation and help of His Holiness, and of the whole Christian Church, thus imperilled, they despair of success.

Respecting the galleys, the Emperor thinks that if those of His Holiness, of the king of France, Genoa, and the Order of St. John, were to join the Imperial fleet, and scour the Mediterranean and Adriatic, so as to clear those seas of pirates, and do the Infidel all possible harm, much good might be done to the general enterprize. The Emperor entirely approves of the plan, and is ready to second His Holiness' views in this respect.—Ghent, 4th April 1531.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

3 April. **677.** The SAME to the SAME.

28,583, f. 134.

With regard to the divorce, since the said Most Christian King and his Council persist in their refusal not to surrender the notarial acts and papers, which we instructed you to demand, it seems advisable to desist from all further pursuit, which in our opinion would be unavailing, for it is to be apprehended that in case of any measures being taken in that quarter the result would be injurious rather than beneficial to the cause of our aunt, the Queen. All that can be done in her favour for the present is to obtain, if necessary, sufficient proof and attestation of the various requisitions, instances, and demands made in our name, as well as of the refusals and impediments set up by the King, and by those who have mixed themselves up with the affair, as well as the intrigues, the coercion, and the violence employed in gaining the votes of the Parisian Faculty of Theology to our aunt's detriment, as we have frequently been informed by Doctor Garay himself. We doubt not that you will insist on proving the Queen's right, or at least in preventing any favour being shewn to the King.—Ghent, 3rd April 1531.

Spanish translation. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

5 April. **678.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

852, f. 23. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 140.

Siena, Ferrara, duke of Albany, &c.

The news from Genoa is that the galleys of the king of France have returned to Marseilles.

Respecting the English business, refers him to his enclosed despatches for the Emperor. If the *remissoriæ* have already been forwarded to Spain, it would be advisable to write to the President of the Council,* the viceroys of Aragon, Valencia, and

* The president of Castille at this time was the archbishop of Santiago, Tavera.

1531.

Catalonia to do everything in their power to have them executed at once.

Has seen a letter from France in which it is said that king Francis is very much offended, and so is king Henry of England, at the Pope having forbidden the Parliament of the latter country to proceed *de facto* in that affair. In consequence whereof there is a report that the king of France has used very strong language against the Pope, and speaks of the possibility of the Church of that country (England) renouncing its obedience to the Holy See.

Ferdinand, king of the Romans, &c.—Rome, 5th April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon, Francisco de los Covos."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

5 April. **679.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 88.–9
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 141.

His letter of the 23rd ult° has been duly received.

The more the affair of the Council is discussed the more is he (Mai) convinced that it will not be convoked, as he has had frequent occasion to write. Has been told that the king of England objects strongly to its being held in Italy, and asks that the place of meeting be Flanders, or the north of France.

Siena.—Bulls for the coronation of Ferdinand as king of the Romans.

The duke of Albany is now negotiating a marriage between his brother and the duchess of Camarino. When he (Mai) asked the Pope whether it was true or not he owned that it was, and added with a smile on his lips that the Duke had also proposed a marriage of his niece to the king of Scotland, or to the duke of Orleans, thereby intimating no doubt that in these matters the Duke acted lightly, and was not much to be relied upon. Such was His Holiness' declaration on this point, but he (Mai) is not quite satisfied with the answer.

Naples, &c.

Sanga has just come to tell him that the Pope is very much excited about Ferrara—Gonzaga, &c.—Rome 5th April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander, Francisco de los Covos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

5 April. **680.** The ADMIRAL of CASTILLE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 22, f. 241.

Your Majesty's protracted absence from your Spanish kingdoms, though indispensable perhaps for the safety of threatened Christendom, and the furtherance of your own

1531.

political views, is a thing to which your Spanish subjects can hardly reconcile themselves; all desire most ardently Your Majesty's return.

To the queen of England I am so much indebted of old, that, being unable to serve her personally as I might otherwise have done, I have thought of helping with all my power in the the defence of her case at Rome. For this purpose I have caused my nephew, Don Alonso [Enriquez] to study her case for the last six months. He is now completely master of the subject, and I am sending him to Rome, that he may there be employed in her service, and help the other lawyers.

Angelo, my servant, will inform Your Imperial Majesty of an affair in which I am much interested.—Valladolid, 5th April 1531.

Signed: "El Almirante."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

5 April. **681.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 22, f. 145.

As the ambassador residing at this court will duly inform Your Highness of what has passed in this session of Parliament I will only mention here the advice I have received from those who wish for the tranquillity and welfare of the King, my Lord, and the good issue of the present cause. They tell me that the seals and votes of the Universities, which he has shewn to his subjects, have been procured for two chief purposes: one is that he may live with the woman he has under his roof, without the least particle of shame; and the other, in the hope that the endeavours he has hitherto made to justify his conduct will be enough to obtain the consent of this kingdom [to a second marriage], which is the thing he has been aiming at so resolutely of late. Indeed, I believe that this last consideration, coupled with the dishonour likely to fall on Your Highness and the rest of the Imperial family, are the only impediments standing in the way of his unruly passion, and which have hitherto prevented the execution of his plans, as most of my personal friends assure me.

I have been told that the king of France has been asking His Holiness to grant a delay. If so, Your Highness must be certain that the means now employed by these people to procure the will and consent of this kingdom, are such that they will ere long obtain all they wish for, and accomplish my ruin at the next session of Parliament. If the delay has not yet been granted I beg Your Highness not to consent to it in any way, but to insist upon the Pope giving sentence before the month of October next, when Parliament is to meet again; otherwise the justice and truth of my case are in great danger of being overlooked, sure as I am that

1531.

the delay they have lately solicited from His Holiness is for no other purpose than that of working my ruin.

Let Your Majesty forgive me if I have been, and am still, so importunate, knowing, as I do, the interest you take in what concerns me personally; but I shall not desist from my prayer until I see full justice done unto me, for, as Your Highness well knows, I have truth and right on my side. To uphold and defend these is a meritorious work in the eyes of God, and the greatest service man can do, and I sincerely hope that God Almighty will amply reward you in this world and in the other.

For God's sake I again entreat Your Highness to cause the sentence to be pronounced before the said period, and that evidence to be collected in Spain to prove the integrity of my body before I married the present King, my Lord, which is the thing I have so long wished for.* That evidence once obtained I confidently hope that the whole matter will end satisfactorily for me and mine.

The ambassador here resident shews very good will, and is disposed to give notice of the Papal briefs (*recaudos*) which we have by us. I myself, if necessary, shall go to Parliament and declare before its members the justice of my case, which, as Your Highness well knows, is founded on truth.—London, 5th April 1531.

Signed: "Katherina."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful lord the Emperor, my nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

7 April. **682.** The Emperor to Antonio de Leyva.

S.E.L. 1,558, f. 47. B.M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 143.

We hear from Venice that Jorge (George) Gritti has arrived in that city from Turkey, and that he is about to go to France under plea of certain moneys which the king of that country once lent to the Vayvod, but as there is reason to think that his journey to those parts has another object, and as it is highly important for our interests to stop him on his passage, and try to discover what plans and intrigues he may be connected with, I therefore pray and charge you that if the thing can be done, you manage his arrest without however saying that it is done by our orders, and once in your power that you take possession of all the papers he may have, and send them to us, letting us know whatever else you think most convenient to gain the said aim.—Gante (Ghent), 7th April 1531.

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés and countersigned by Idiaquez.

11 April. **683.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 27, No. 19.

The great wish, which as I wrote in my despatch of the 8th ult°, the Queen had of addressing a letter to the Pope, has been considerably increased of late, through the annoyance she

* "Y mande proveer para España a que se aga mi provança cerca de la yntegrydad de mi cuerpo quando vyne al Rey, mi señor, que es lo que por tanto tiempo es por my deseado."

1531.

has felt at the King being in constant communication with Rome, and having sent thither several couriers with despatches. She has therefore written to His Holiness the letter of which the enclosed is a transcript.

Since my last nothing important has taken place here. The ambassadors of France have just presented to this King in their master's name a very fine and artistic clock, on the dial of which the movement of several celestial spheres and planetary systems can be distinctly observed.* I fancy that if Jehan Jocquin has been the inventor of this device, Mars is sure to predominate over Mercury. I cannot say whether the report comes from Jocquin or not, but the fact is that the very day that the clock was presented to the King *the Grand Esquire said to the Queen that the king of France had declared to the Imperial agent at his court that he (the French king) could never be a true and sincere friend of Your Majesty, owing to the very rude manner in which he had been treated.* The said ambassadors went again to Court yesterday for the sake of one of them, La Guiche, taking leave before his return home; but they were not invited to the King's table, owing to his dining with the Queen on that day. The Princess has been for the last eight days suffering from indigestion (*passion destomac*), so much so that she can hardly retain what she swallows, but the physician who attends her tells me that, God willing, she will soon be free from this affection.

The Venetian ambassador has newly strengthened by some words that escaped him my very firm belief that these people *desire above all things* the arrival of the Turk in Germany. The *Chancellor* himself complained some days ago to one of my secretaries, in a very piteous tone, of the blindness of those princes who refused to assist Your Majesty against so cruel and implacable an enemy, and upon my secretary observing that perhaps those very princes, seeing Your Majesty engaged in the repulse of the Turk, intended to engage in some undertaking by themselves, or solicit and procure something else, the Chancellor replied that there was no actual danger of that on the part of this country at least, for there were no preparations or power to do so; which statement I really believe to be the fact, since their will is evidently stronger than their power.—London, 11th April [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

* "Les ambassadeurs de France ont ces iours presente a ce roy de la part de leur maystre ung orologe fort artificieux, la ou lon voyt le mouement de plusuers (*sic*) spheres celestes et le cours daucungs planetes. Ie pense que si Jehan en a este le deviseur que mars [sera] plustot le predominateur que mercure. Ne sçay sil procede du dit Jocquin ou non, mays le jour meme quil fust [en court] fere le dit present le grand escuyer dit a la royne," &c.

1531.

[—April.] **684.** CONSULTA of the COUNCIL respecting the Scottish affair

S. E. Ro. L. 582, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 142.

According to what Miçer Mai, the Cardinal, and the rest wrote, the negotiations opened in His Imperial Majesty's name by the cardinal of Ravenna* with the secretary of the king of Scotland have had this result, namely, that the king of Scotland shews readiness to accept a wife from the hands of the Emperor, a daughter or a niece of his, as it may be, and that his secretary (Erskine) has already left [Rome] post haste, saying that the Emperor may at once either send his orders to his master, the King, or else declare his intentions to Mr. de Veyre. The above-named ambassadors beg that some qualified person be sent to Rome to continue the negotiations.

The Council is of opinion that it would be perhaps better that the negotiations should be carried on here at the Emperor's court, and that letters of thanks should be addressed to cardinal Ravenna, and the others.

Cardinal Cesarini, &c.

Queen Isabella and her daughter's marriage.

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

11 April. **685.** MIÇER MAI and DR. ORTIZ to the ARCHBISHOP of SANTIAGO [TAVERA].

S. Pat. Re. Trat. C. Ing. L. A. f. 133.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 147.

Have sent by another messenger a copy of the articles presented by the queen of England in the matrimonial suit in order that Your Reverence may have time to look out in those kingdoms for witnesses to prove the said articles, or most of them, and that no time be lost. The remissory letters go to Spain by this post, but as the style of this court is not to trust them to the parties themselves, only to bankers, I have agreed with the manager of the bank of Simon Centurione, that they will first of all deliver this my letter into the hands of Your Reverence and ascertain to which of the judges the remissory letters are to be entrusted. In this manner the judges, before whom the examination of witnesses is to take place, will know beforehand what they are to do in this business. I beg Your Reverence to issue orders accordingly, and have this present copy of the articles well looked into, for after all Your Reverence may be said now to be the real judge in this case, since the success of it depends almost entirely upon the evidence that is to come from Spain. I say this much because the suit itself offers no difficulty at all in a legal point of view; the rub lies in proving the causes of suspicion that we have brought forward, and on such proof depends entirely the success of the cause, &c.—Rome, 11th April 1531.

* There is on the margin, the following note in the handwriting of secretary Covos: "A gracious letter to be written to the Cardinal [of Ravenna] asking him to entertain the Scots with fine words until we can see more clearly through the English affairs. *Nota bene.*—The whole of this to be communicated to Mr. de Granvelle before making out the despatch that he may give his opinion thereupon." *Covos.*

1531.

P.S.—The judges, as I said before, ought to be selected by Your Reverence; to them the banker's correspondent (*el mercader*) will give the remissory letters. The same to be done respectively at Santiago, Valladolid, and Burgos, where the despatches are also to be addressed in the manner Your Reverence may point out, taking care that there should be *two* judges in each place.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz et Maius [Vestræ Reverentiæ], Mancipui."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and most Reverend archbishop of Santiago, president of Castille, at Valladolid."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

11 April. **686.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. Pat. Re. Trat. C. Ing. L. A. f. 133.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 144.

Although some time ago I made up my mind not to mention what I am about to state, yet, as duty compels me to report on all and every one of the incidents connected with the Queen's case, I must make an open breast, and inform Your Reverence that ever since my arrival in this city I have found in the Imperial ambassador, Miçer Mai, a certain reluctance to my prosecuting the Queen's suit, on the ground that my instructions are simply to negotiate about Luther and the General Council, not to mix myself up with the English affair, which, he says, is exclusively his own province, and must needs be tried and decided rather by Civil and Canon Law, than by Theology. It is true that he has procured me audiences, and also helped me, as was his duty, to put into his hands the letters I had for him; but those I had for the Consistory, and for the cardinals individually, he (Mai) never allowed me to deliver. When I begged and entreated him to let me fulfil at least this part of my official charge, threatening, if he did not, that I should be obliged in obedience to Your Reverence's commands to do it myself, he answered: "You may do what you like, I shall not present them." However, as some of the cardinals in consequence of the debates which daily took place before the Pope wished to communicate with me on the subject I felt bound to act against the ambassador's wishes. I called and gave the cardinals all the letters I had from the Empress and from Your Reverence. This was done, though late, entirely on my own account without having (as I say) ever obtained the ambassador's consent. Those for the Consistory I kept by me, in the hope that sooner or later the Imperial ambassador would see the advantage of acquainting that body with the Emperor's wishes. At last, through the intervention of Don Pedro de la Cueva, who kindly interposed his influence, the ambassador was prevailed upon to let me execute this part of my charge, though only two months after my arrival in Rome.

I need scarcely say that His Holiness has always shewn

1531.

very good will in this business, and that he receives me most affectionally whenever I attend at his dinner hour, and argue the case in his presence; so do the cardinals. Yet I can easily perceive that the ambassador will not employ or consult me in this matter when in pursuance of the Emperor's orders he himself has to address the Pope or his cardinals; so much so, that on my entreating him some days ago to make use of me in this business whenever he happened to have to speak to His Holiness or his cardinals, he coldly observed that I had no mandate whatever for that, nor any more right to intervene in the affair than any other Roman lawyer retained for the case, for that my credentials were insufficient, and nowise empowered me to treat of this business conjointly with him. I have hitherto taken no notice of this for fear I should in any way prejudice the affair; but I cannot help feeling hurt and surprised at the conduct of the Imperial ambassador when he thus opposes and disregards the particular orders given by Your Reverence, and when I see that His Holiness and his cardinals, to whom I delivered the letters, are quite prepared to treat me as the person officially appointed by the Emperor to take charge of the Queen's defence.

I have entered into these details for no other purpose than that of faithfully acquainting Your Reverence with all the incidents of this affair, as I consider it my duty to do. Should Your Reverence deem it advisable to provide against this difficulty, let such step come at once in the shape of a letter from the Emperor, since those I brought from Your Reverence, as president of the Council of Castille, have evidently produced no effect on this Imperial ambassador.

Remissory letters to examine witnesses in Spain are now forwarded by this post. The ambassador has always been of opinion, that both the sentence which I am soliciting, and the prohibition of marriage between brothers and sisters-in-law are not matters of Divine right but of Canon Law. This, however, I cannot ask for until after the evidence of the witnesses has been produced. It is on that account that Miçer Mai is now sending the said remissory letters to Spain; meanwhile he wants those among the witnesses who happen to be at Rome to be examined. I wish this had been done long ago; God knows how much I regret the time that has already been lost. I feel more than I can say for that poor Queen whose husband, the king of England, has now been iniquitously living with a concubine for such a length of time, to the great scandal of the universal Christian Church. To obviate such evils no counsels are needed; all that is required is that the articles for which I have come here be once for all discussed, proved and declared, as I sincerely hope they will be, and then the whole matter will be cleared up.

Business of Fr. Francisco Ortiz, his brother, &c.

1531.

Yesterday the news came to His Holiness that a truce to begin this month of March, and to last for a whole year, had been concluded with the Turk.—Rome, 11th April 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious and Reverend the cardinal archbishop of Santiago, president of the Council of Castille."

Spanish. Original. Partly holograph. pp. 5.

13 April. **687.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 131.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 149.

. . . . . .

The news is that Mr. de Tarbes is coming here post haste and that his mission is entirely about the English marriage. I am of a different opinion; I think that he comes for something more. My impression is that as he (Tarbes) has evidently been the principal instrument in preventing the convocation of the Council, and fancies he has thereby done the Pope and his cardinals both a service and a pleasure, he comes now to Rome to reap the fruits of his labours, and induce His Holiness to grant the things the French king wants. I shall be on my guard, but I think that Tarbes will not gain his aim, for, as far as I can see, though the Pope's natural timidity has no doubt prevented his consent to the Council, a measure always odious to popes, yet the perfect knowledge he has of Your Majesty's rightful intentions does so far encourage and comfort him that he will in the end do your pleasure in this matter as well as in others.

Another reason I have for thinking that Tarbes will not succeed is that I have not failed, whenever there was an opportunity, to warn His Holiness against the French king's designs, for it is evident to me that the latter is not now aiming at the Pope's welfare and convenience but working entirely for his own unjust ends, very different from those which Your Majesty has in view. Indeed I keep telling him that for the sake of Christendom, and also for the sake of the Italian peace, and likewise for the maintenance of that sincere friendship existing between Your Majesty and him, it is imperative that any like proposals of that monarch should be rejected. The Pope has answered me that he is resolved not to grant any of Tarbes' requests.—Rome, 13th April 1531.

Indorsed: "Copy of original paragraph in Muxetula's letter of the 13th."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

14 April. **688.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 156.

Wrote on the 5th inst.; since then letters have been received from the marquis [del Vasto] and Don Pedro de la Cueva announcing the agreement made with the Sienese.

1531.

Believes that those gentlemen have done for the best, and yet in his humble opinion there still remain several causes for further disturbances.

Quarters to be provided for the Imperial army, &c.

Letters have been received from Venice about the prorogation of the truce with the Turk. Cannot help thinking that it would be advisable to profit by the circumstances, and come to terms with the Lutherans, and bring that affair to an end, either by granting them some delay or by obtaining a modification of their claims, because in this manner the Turk himself, and the Christian princes would become more moderate and reasonable in their demands, for experience has shewn that the Emperor's enemies have at all times settled their hopes on them (the Lutherans) for their own wicked ends and views, in which they still persevere and will remain in future, and also because wisdom counsels when one has the remedy at home not to look out for it elsewhere.*

Begs the Emperor's forgiveness for proffering his advice on matters which do not concern him; his zeal for the Imperial service carries him away.

(*Cipher:*) A rumour is current here that the Emperor and the Most Christian King are soon to meet His Holiness, some say at Milan, others at Nice. The Pope himself said so the other day to one of his most confidential servants. He (Mai) cannot conceive why the Pope or any Italian can wish for the conferences, (if they are to take place at all), to be held in this country, unless it be that His Holiness wishes to put off the convocation of the General Council, or to prevent the meeting of the Emperor with the king of France; or, again, because they imagine that the duke of Albany's predictions will be fulfilled, for, as I have already informed the Emperor, he is known to have said to the Venetian ambassador that if the interview was held here [in Italy] Your Majesty would derive greater advantage than elsewhere.†

Cardinal de Grammont is coming here post haste, some say to negotiate with the Pope about the English business; others to obtain the hand of the Pope's niece (Catherina de' Medici) for the duke of Orleans. The former supposition appears the more probable, for some time ago a letter came from the court of France saying that Tarbes was very much affronted (*afrentado*) in consequence of his having promised in the Pope's name when he went from hence much more than he was authorised to do. As after that the inhibition brief was gained, and the rejection of the English excusator

* "Pienso que seria su servicio que se aprovechase [del calor de esta tregua para con lo de los lutheranos, y que se tomasse con ellos ó conclusion final, ó alguna dilacion y temperamento de sus cosas, porque con esto el mismo tureo y todos los otros christianos se pornian mas en razon como avemos visto por experiencia, que ha tenido esperanças en ellos para sus vanos y malos pensamientos en los quales han estado, y estan y estaran siempre, y es gran cordura podiendo tomar el remedio en su casa no quererlo de la agena]."

† "Que teniendole aqui en Italia á V. M. sacaria del mayor partido."

1531.

took place, the kings of France and England naturally turned against that ambassador and complained of him, upon which he at once offered to come back and remind the Pope of his promises. All this happened more than six weeks ago, and although he (Mai) paid no attention to the fact at the time, it might be that it is somewhat connected with Grammont's mission. Will be on his guard and try to ascertain what he comes about. Suspects that His Holiness has some sort of secret understanding with them, but is inclined to believe that it is sheer diplomacy, for the Pope knows the French as well as he knows the Emperor.

(*Common writing:*) Letters have been received from the court of France of the 27th and 30th ult° reciting the answer given to Mr. de Praët [about the Council], at which answer all those who are against the Council have greatly rejoiced.* Also that the King had given money, though in a very small quantity, to Sigismondo Malatesta and to Stephano Colonna, and that the Neapolitan emigrants (*foragidos*) had lost all hope of success (*andaban perdidos*). Has also heard that cardinal de Grammont having said in France that he was coming to Rome purposely for the English business also expressed his firm conviction that the king (Henry) would never appear at Rome, and that he (the Cardinal) was coming for the sake of saving that king and kingdom from perdition.

The duke of Mantua's matrimonial suit, &c.—Rome 14th April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

14 April. **689.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 159.

Affairs of Siena. Guevara to remain in command of the Spaniards there.

Quarrel of Andrea del Burgo with the Venetian ambassador. High words were exchanged between them in consequence of the latter having spread the rumour that the Turk was not coming at all this year. He (Mai) managed to interfere and set them at peace together. Andrea wishes to go back to his master and spend this year of truce (in Germany), as he says that his services are no longer required at Rome. Is trying to persuade him (Burgo) to remain at his post, for he is a very wise and prudent diplomatist, and may be of use on many occasions (*cipher:*) the more so that there is one Fr. Geronimo de Fonseca, who goes about saying that he will be appointed ambassador in the room of Andrea, and if so it will be a very grave inconvenience.

After closing his despatch to the Emperor he (Mai) heard that a squire of the king of France had come to the duke of Albany. Has not yet been able to learn what he comes

* "De la qual se han alegrado aqui los que no le quieren."

1531.

about and fears there is some intrigue, for the thing is kept very secret. Will not be long before he knows what the Squire's mission is, but this he can affirm, that if through the exertions of the French the Council is not convoked the Pope will have to acknowledge himself under great obligation to the king of France, and that they may treat together as announced in his (Mai's) despatch to the Emperor, though not much to the purpose. Yet I would entreat Your Lordship to look sedulously to and procure or even purchase an agreement with the Lutherans, for these people confess, and the duke of Albany has lately repeated it to me, that there lies all our glory.*

Petition of the bishop of Calis (Cadiz)† nephew of the Nuncio, archbishop of Cosenza.

Permission for himself to bring from Naples two horses.

Suit at Rome of prothonotary Gatinaria (Gattinara).—Rome, 14th April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

14 April. **690.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, f. 95.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, ff. 150–6.

After writing the enclosed to the Emperor and to Your Lordship, I have ascertained that the messenger said to have come from France was an ordinary courier (*cipher:*) but I have heard from Lord Leonelo del Carpio (Lionello Pio), that (*cipher:*) Tarbes was soon expected from France with great overtures to make the Pope prevaricate, and set the whole world in confusion with new devices.‡ Was greatly inclined to believe this, inasmuch as there is now news from the court of France that a secretary of the duke of Saxony (George) had arrived there with powers and letters. Having inquired from His Holiness what he thought of it, he answered that he believed it to be true, that he had received some intimation of the object of the Frenchman's mission, and had already begun to counteract him by means of the duke of Albany. He said more; he told me that I was on no account to think seriously of the affair. These were mere reports without foundation. Replied in conformity that this was generally the nature of the rumours spread by the French, and yet suggested that His Holiness ought to undeceive them at once, and not encourage them in their views.

---

* "*Que a no hazerse el concilio el papa queda prendado al rey de Francia*, y trataran, como digo en la carta cesarea, ahunque no cosa de efecto. Con todo querria suplicar mucho a V. S. que parase mientes no solo de procurar, pero *de comprar el assiento con lutheranos*, porque estos mismos confiessan y a mi me lo ha dicho dias ha el *duque de Albania, que de allá depende nuestra gloria.*

† This bishop's name was Hieronimo Teodolo; the cardinal archbishop of Cosenza was Thaddeo Gaddi. See *Emporio del Orbe Cadiz Illustrada*, by Fr. Geronimo de la Concepcion, Amsterdam, Joan Bus, 1690, fol., and Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ* (Ratisbonæ, 1873), pp. 18 and 878.

‡ "Y que viene con grandes partidos para hacer prevaricar al Papa."

1531.

Such is the intelligence alluded to in my despatch to the Emperor as most likely existing between His Holiness and the French. Great care should be taken there, at Court, to persuade the Emperor to come to terms (*tomar concierto*) with the Lutherans, and since the king of Hungary (Ferdinand) purchases truce so dear as to relinquish part of his own, let the Emperor do the same with the Lutherans, for after all the sacrifice will not be as great.

The Pope further told me that Marechal Triurcio (Trivulzio)* was also about to come [to Italy] on a mission from the king of France to the duke of Savoy (Carlo), the object of which was to ask for Piedmont in exchange for equal territory in Burgundy. It appears, however, that either the Marshal has died or resigned his commission since; the fact is that another ambassador is come in his room, for the French think they have now a good chance, the Duke being very much molested by the Switzers on his frontiers. The application, however, was (I hear) refused. All which proves, if I am not mistaken, that the French have still their eyes fixed on Italy, and that by creating all manner of difficulties to the Emperor, and proposing alliances, they will again try to put their foot in it.

The duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) is levying troops lest the marquis of Mus (Ma) should snatch Como from him. The latter captain has now in his pay 3,000 lanskenets, 1,000 Spaniards, and 1,500 Italians, notwithstanding which it appears that the Grisons the other day gave him a good thrashing.

Told the Pope my information about Tarbes, and the promises he (the Bishop) had made in his own name concerning the English cause. His answer was that the report (*informacion*) had been corrected, and the whole matter set right (*estaba ya saneado*); what he (the Pope) had promised was to have the divorce trial suspended for three *weeks*; he (Tarbes) had wrongly understood three *months*. Replied that this ought to be an example of French exaggeration and boasting, and induce him to do justice at once.

The execution of Captain Montanyes by order of the marquis of Vasto has been much applauded by the Pope that it may be an example to others.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

14 April. **691.** KING FERDINAND to the EMPEROR.

Arch. d. Roy^me^. d. Belg. Ref. rel, 11, f. 41, p. 438.

Encloses advices from Ragusa, sent by his agents in those parts, shewing that, notwithstanding his immense preparations, the Turk is not likely to come down this year. It may be so; but as the enemy is so powerful, he may send on some of his bashaws, and, therefore, one ought to be on the alert. Encloses the letters received that the Emperor may judge for himself.—Budbays (Budweiss), 14th April 1531.

Spanish. Original.

* Theodor Trivulzio, marshal of France, who died in this very year.

1531.

— April. **692.** MEMORANDUM which the LEGATE put into the EMPEROR'S hands at Brussels.

S. E. L. 854, ff. 151–4. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 132.

The Turk threatens Christendom more than ever; he has broken the truce, invaded and conquered part [of Hungary]. The only safety consists in the union of all the Christian princes. A common army and a common treasure must needs be collected.

It is difficult to persuade all princes to obey one head; it will be advisable to undertake various enterprizes headed by the Emperor, or perhaps by the king of the Romans and king of France. It is to be decided to which enterprize each prince will be bound to contribute oxen and money.

Venice is reluctant, and must be gained over.

As the Turks are likely to make an attack before the general enterprize is prepared, the Emperor, the king of the Romans, and the Pope, besides such princes as would join them, ought to conclude at once a defensive league.*

Indorsed; "The Legate's memorandum concerning the enterprize against the Turk. Delivered at Brussels. Answered at Ghent."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

14 April. **693.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 91–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 153.

A rumour is afloat here that Your Imperial Majesty and the Most Christian King [of France] are to hold an interview with His Holiness, some say at Milan, others at Nice. I cannot persuade myself that the Pope or any Italian can wish for such an interview; if they treat of it it must be in order to prevent the Council taking place or to put off the other interview of Your Imperial Majesty with the king of France; or perhaps they imagine, as the duke of Albany once said to the Venetian ambassador, that if they once had you in Italy their common affairs would go much better.

The duke of Albany has sent forward all his heavy luggage and suite to the baths of Loretto, whither he himself intends going in a few days, and from thence to France; meanwhile he is staying at the Palace. Cardinal Agromente (de Grammont) is coming post haste to replace him, and his people are already trying to get him apartments within the Pope's Palace, as he writes that he will not stay long. Some say that he comes entirely for the English business, others for the conclusion of the marriage of the Pope's niece with the duke of Orleans. But the French are so light-headed and easy in all their doings that there is no knowing what his mission may be. When

* There is no date whatever to this paper, which seems to be a translation from the Italian. The Emperor was at Brussels from the 28th of January to the 13th of March; on the 16th he was at Louvain, from the 17th to the 20th at Mechlin (Malines), and on the 20th at Antwerp. On the 24th he was at Ghent, where he signed the answer to the above memorandum which must have been presented before he left Brussels.

1531.

Albany came we were all of us upon thorns, and after all it turned out that he achieved next to nothing.

Some time ago I heard that a letter had come from France stating that Tarba (Tarbes) had been very much blamed because whilst here, at Rome, he promised more than he ought to have done in the matrimonial cause of England, and because after that we gained the inhibition and the rejection of the excusator. The kings of France and England naturally complained of his having exaggerated and outstripped his commission. On this very account Tarbes is, they say, now returning to Rome for the purpose of reminding the Pope of what he had told him on the subject. This was related to me more than six weeks ago, and I paid no attention to it at the time, as it seemed to me that the report had no importance. It might be after all that it had some foundation.

I will be on my guard and try and ascertain what Tarbes comes about. I have no doubt that His Holiness is in secret understanding with the French, and perhaps with the English too; but I fancy that all this is sheer diplomacy on his part, and that he wishes to take advantage of them in the negotiations, for after all he knows both kings well, and understands what they are about.

Letters from the same country (France) of the 28th and 30th of March mention the answer given to Mr. de Prat (Praët) about the Council, at which Your Majesty's enemies are heartily glad. It is also reported that king Francis has given money, though in small quantity, to Sigismondo Malatesta and to Stephano Colonna, and that the "fuorusciti" of Naples were very much broken down (*perdidos*).

Will put an end to this long letter by adding that the other day, upon the cardinal of Agramonte (Grammont) saying in France that he was coming here (to Rome) on purpose to have this English affair settled, he added that the king of England himself would never come and appear in judgment, and that he (the Cardinal) was now coming to save that king and his kingdom from perdition.*—Rome, 14th April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. C. R. M^{t}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

— April. **694.** The PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL (TAVERA) to the EMPEROR.

S. E. Cast. L. 22, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 154.

(*Cipher:*) By Your Majesty's letter of the 10th March I am commanded to specify any suspicions I may have or rumours that may be afloat about the loyalty of certain people here [in Spain]. I must declare that when I mentioned the fact I had no idea that I should be called upon to particularize

* "He sabido que diziendo el Cardenal de Agramonte allá que venia por las cosas de Inglaterra dixo tambien que venia para que aquel Rey y aquel Reyno no se perdiesen."

1531.

those rumours. Such as they are, however, they seem to have no solid foundation, and I myself attached no faith to them at the time. Yet in obedience to Your Majesty's commands I will say that a servant of the duchess of Medina* told me some days ago that a number of knights were endeavouring to form confederacies and alliances with the said Duchess, as well as with Don Juan Alonso and other grandees of Andalusia, and that it was agreed between them that they should meet together and discuss their own affairs. I attached no importance to the news, and therefore did not mention it in my letters. But since then a canon of Seville, once a servant of the Archbishop,† my uncle, an honest and well-meaning man, has written to me what Your Majesty will see by the paragraph of his letter which I transcribe.‡ I must own that though the canon's report confirmed me in my former suspicions, yet the guilt of the parties did not appear to me as clear as I thought it at first, though on the other hand it is very strange, and I should say reprehensible, that in a country like this, at peace with everyone, and where Your Majesty is universally obeyed, the interviews, meetings, and confederacies alluded to in the canon's letter should be necessary. Having asked my informers whether the meetings could not have been designed for a good purpose, I was told that if the occasion offered itself they would be made the commencement of a civil war. I have purposedly avoided making further inquiries on this delicate subject, and therefore humbly beg Your Majesty to tear up the canon's letter and mine that no traces may remain of such denunciation, which after all might prove to be unfounded.

Among the deeds and papers of secretary Almazan relating to the queen of England and her marriage I saw once a letter of the Catholic king (Ferdinand) to his ambassador at the court of England, in which that king alludes to many foolish plans which the said lord (Medina Sidonia) meditated carrying out in these kingdoms. That letter gave me the clue to the Duke's present aspirations, because after all old age does not change a man's temper and habits, and certainly the letter of the Catholic king to his ambassador sufficiently shews what that lord's intentions were at that time. And if it were true that he once attempted to enter into an understanding with the nobles of Andalusia it may be conjectured that he also tried in this instance to engage his kinsmen and relatives for some wild plan of his own, especially at the time when he was known to be dissatisfied. These are things of small moment, and to which no attention should be paid, but on the other hand, as Your Majesty very wisely said in your letter to me,

* Most likely Medina Sidonia, for although there were at that time, and are still, dukes of Medinaceli, Medina *de Rioseco*, Medina *de Pomar*, Medina *de las Torres*, &c., the purport of the letter indicates that a Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia must be here meant.

† Tavera was the nephew of Alfonso Fonseca, archbishop of Seville.

‡ The letter itself is not appended.

1531.

kings should know the intentions and dispositions of their vassals.*

14 April. **695.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, f. 93. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 159.

My despatch to the Emperor, as well as letters from other Imperial agents in this city, will sufficiently inform Your Lordship of what has been done at Siena. Guevara is to go thither and remain in command of the Spaniards. I do not know him, and therefore cannot say whether he will do for the purpose or not; all I can say is that if the Emperor's interests are to be protected at Siena, a man is required, who besides being a good soldier, must know how to govern. I recollect that at other times, and when the affairs of the Imperialists and Spaniards were in a much worse plight, most honourable treaties were made. This was simply owing to the people then being afraid of us; now that they know the Emperor's benevolence and good temper, they affect to love him and no longer fear his furies, and I must say that I should prefer to see him more feared and less loved.

Between Andrea del Burgo and the Venetian ambassador there were high words the other day, the former accusing the Signory of having said that the Turk would not come into Europe this year when they knew it to be otherwise.

19 April. **696.** KING FERDINAND to the EMPEROR.

Lanz. *Corresp. d. Karl. V.*, Vol. I., p. 438.

Since his last, dated Budvays (Budweiss), the 13th inst., letters have been received, advising that Hieronimo (Girolamo) de Lasco, and Quirós, who went with him to Constantinople in Rokendorff's name, have returned with the answer of Ibrain Bassá to the proposals of truce made by the said Lasco and Rokendorff (Rogendorf). Lasco sends a copy of the letter of Ibrain Bassá to him, as well as of those of Luigi Gritti and himself to the Bassá, from all of which he (the King) concludes that a truce is likely to be made for one year on certain conditions. Encloses the papers, that the Emperor may better judge of their contents.

Ibrain's letter came with a translation. It is not to be supposed that it can have been purposely mis-translated; but, to make sure, he (the King) has ordered a new version to be made by people residing at his court.

Rokendorff has also arrived, and as soon as the Turk's conditions have been discussed in Council, will start again for Constantinople with full powers. He tells him that Hieronimo

* "Y alli quenta disparates, y cosas tan vanas y tan sin fundamento que este señor intentava en estos reynos, que ver aquello me ha dado mas ocasion para sospechar en lo presente, porque la edad no muda del todo le condicion, la qual en aquellas cartas se declara bien por entero, y si fuese verdad que con los del Andalucia tentó alguna inteligencia de creer es que acá con sus debdos no dexaria de trabar alguna platica en aquel tiempo que estuvo descontento. Cosas son sin ningun tomo, y de que se debe hazer poco caso; mas tambien como Su Mt. me escrivió es necesario que los Reyes sepan las intenciones y propositos de los suyos."

1531.

Lasco is discontented with the Vayvod, and resolved to quit him and to take service with us, and that before he (Rokendorff) left Constantinople they had a conversation on the subject, and that Lasco still persevered in his determination, and only wanted a Royal safe-conduct to put his plan into execution, and come [to Germany]. Begs for a letter from the Emperor to the said Lasco, thanking him for his exertions to bring about this truce, and promising him reward for his services on this occasion, as well as for those he may render hereafter; for he says that, once in the Emperor's presence, he will relate many things highly important to the welfare of Christendom and of His Imperial Majesty.

Hears that the Hungarians of both parties, those who follow the Vayvod as well as those who serve under his (the King's) standard, have summoned a Diet for Ascension Day next, to discuss what conduct they are to observe under present circumstances. And as it might be that the Diet being convoked for the special purpose of promoting their own mutual advantage, might perhaps forget their own private feuds and divisions, and unite in hostile measures against the Empire, or give in their allegiance to the Turk, every effort should, in his opinion, be made to prevent the Diet from meeting. But as he might not succeed in the attempt he thinks it would be advisable that His Imperial Majesty should appoint a person to go thither and, in case of the Diet assembling, strive to make the deliberations turn to our profit. Cornelius (Scepperus) would be a proper person for such mission, for besides knowing many languages—as is requisite for such an office—he is young, active enough to undertake that long journey, and can also do the work more economically than any other Imperial subject of higher standing.

The duke of Saxony has recently sent him two treatises or books written by Luther. He has not yet had time to read them, but is told that they are more dangerous than anything the same author has written before, for he holds very daring and bold language. His Imperial Majesty will judge by their contents how matters of Faith will fare in this country with such doctrines and with such apostles to spread them, and be better able to calculate what sort of remedy should be applied to so great an evil.—Prague, 19th April 1531.

Signed: "Ferdinand."

Addressed; "A l'Empereur, mon frère."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

21 April. **697.** Miçer Mai to the Empreor.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 95–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 173.

Received on the 15th inst. the Emperor's letters of the 2nd and 3rd. Annexed are the answers of Monseigneur de Prato,* in French, a copy of the last letter to the Pope, and the

* The chancellor, Antoine Du Prat, at this time, archbishop of Sens (Senonensis) and cardinal.

1531.

answers to the Legate and to the bishops of Vaison and Tortona, the papers concerning the projected enterprize against the Turk, besides certain opinions on the divorce case, some from Italy, others from other countries; among the former that of the abbot of Llor.

Salinas, the courier, has taken payment twice for his journey.

The negotiations of the cardinal of Ravenna with the Scottish secretary [concerning the marriage of the king of that country] are still kept secret, but these Italians are so much inclined to make guesses that they will find out the truth sooner or later.

Matrimonial cause of Mantua, &c. — Rome, 21st April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most sacred Imp^{l} Catholic Maj^{y}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

21 April. **698.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 174.

Relates at length his conversation with the Pope touching the General Council. Told him plainly that it would have been much better for all parties to undeceive the Emperor at once, and say that he would not hear of it. Sanga owned to him that the Pope had never been in favour of the Council, but that in order to please His Imperial Majesty he would waive his scruples and consent to it.

Next day a congregation of cardinals took place, and the affair was discussed as Mr. d'Osma, Garcia de Loaysa, who was present, cannot fail to acquaint His Imperial Majesty. In short there is very little hope of the Pope ever consenting to the celebration of the Council; that is the reason why he (Mai) has always been of opinion that some sort of agreement (*concierto*) with the Lutherans ought to be made while it is yet time. Will, however, go on pressing this matter of the Council until he himself hears from home.

Relates a conversation he had with the Pope respecting the answer given to Mr. de Prat (Praët) in France, and what that ambassador replied. The Pope knew already, through the duke of Albany, Francis' ambassador, what the tenour of that answer was. The Duke (he said) had added that respecting the proposed marriage between the dauphin of France and the Infanta of Portugal there would be no change; he considered that certain.

With regard to the marriage of his own niece (Catherina) to the duke of Orleans, the Pope said he believed the negotiations would be suspended until the arrival of Tarbes, and that the duke of Mantua had also sent to ask for her hand. He said more; he told me that the duke of Albany, and likewise the king of France in his letters, always called that lady the "duchess of Urbino," and the reason for their giving her such

1531

a title, that being why the Venetians will not willingly have the Duke [Francesco Maria della Rovere] for their neighbour.

The Venetians and the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) are very jealous and uncomfortable at the coming of Tarbes, and there is news that the dauphin of France lays claim to the Duchy, and that the king of France, his father, has sent some one to the Lutheran cantons of Switzerland (*los suyços malos*) to explain the reasons he has for so doing.

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de Miçer Mai."

Spanish Contemporary copy to be submitted to the Emperor. pp. 3½.

21 April. **699.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 95–6. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 171.

(*Cipher:*) God knows how much I dislike having to speak disparagingly of anyone, and especially of the Emperor's servants, for the purpose of bringing upon them our master's displeasure, which I myself fear as much as that of God; but I am in duty bound to speak the truth. The Pope told me some days ago that when [in 1528] he was a prisoner in Sanct Angelo, Escalenga (De Scalenges), who was then lodging at the Altovitti, on the other side of the bridge, sent a message to say that if he (the Pope) gave him 10,000 ducats, he Escalenga would take him out in disguise and lead him to the gates of the castle.

The Imperial army will continue its march. The Marquis [del Vasto] has began to reform it. Malatesta offers to do wonders for the Imperial service as long as he is left in command of Perugia. Some time ago the Pope had some misgivings that cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna wished to marry a son of his to a niece of Malatesta; but it appears, upon inquiry, that although the marriage was actually negotiated it was not accomplished.

(*Common writing:*) There are letters from England of the 7th ult° about the King being very much offended, and saying that he will certainly not be in fault when called upon to help in the defensive war (*defension*) against the Turk. This, however, he will not do for the Pope's or Emperor's pleasure, who he says, deserve it not at his hands. He says more, he asserts that the Pope wishes to evoke the cause in opposition to the letter of the Council of Nicea,* which prescribes that all like suits should be determined where first commenced. As to the Imperial lawyers alleging that all this is against the style of the Roman court, he (the King) maintains that they are not

* "Y mas dize que el Papa contra el Consilio (*sic*) Niceno, quiere evocar l causa, disiendo el Consilio que se ha de acabar adonde se començó, y que á lo que dicen que es contra estilo de la Corte, que en la primera comission se derogó á todo esto, y [que] pues los stiles (*sic*) se hallan contra déll, y no por éll, que conosce que le hazen aggravio; y que si el papa le hase iniusticia éll procurara á hazer tambien lo que podrá, y que él nunca verná á la causa, y que bien sabe que luego vernemos á las manos, y que tambien sabe que la excomunion no se ha de temer quando es injusta."

1531.

in the right, and that the practice, if it ever prevailed, was fully derogated by the first commission given to the two legates. Besides which the King argues: "if the Roman style is found to be against me, not in my favour, that very circumstance proves to me that they intend doing injury to my cause. Should the Pope act unjustly towards me, I will certainly do all I can to oppose him. I shall never go [to Rome] for the trial. I know very well that the Pope and I shall quarrel on that score, but I know also that his excommunications are not to be feared when right and justice are on the other side."

Letters from France of the 7th inst. state that great efforts are being made there for the purpose of inducing the University and private lawyers to write in favour of the king of England, and that cardinal de Agramonte (Grammont) was to bring to Rome the allegations obtained in this manner.—Rome, 21st April 1531.

Signed; "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

21 April. **700.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 97–8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 176.

Your Majesty's letters of the 2nd and 3rd inst. came duly to hand on the 15th. I immediately waited on His Holiness, accompanied by Miçer Andrea del Burgo, and Regent Juan Antonio Muxetula. Gave him the Imperial letter, which he read attentively (*cipher :*), and then he began to sigh deeply, as is his wont, ending with a most solemn promise that a congregation of cardinals should be summoned for the 19th, which was done. Next day I called at the Palace for the answer, and the Pope told me that the meeting had taken place, and that after a good deal of debating the resolution taken was that a Council should be convoked with the approval and consent of the rest of the Christian princes, and especially of the king of France; and that a letter should be written to the Most Christian King on the subject, but that there had been some discussion as to the manner of the convocation, &c. (*Cipher :*) As I knew all this beforehand through cardinal D'Osma, who was present at the meeting, I could not refrain from saying to the Pope: "If such be the decision of the Consistory it is tantamount to having no Council at all. It would have been far better to undeceive the Emperor, my master, a year ago; he might then have had time to settle his affairs with the Lutherans," &c.

To this observation of mine the Pope made no answer, except granting and acknowledging that I was right in what I said. Sanga after this came up to me, and either out of familiarity, or out of the deceit, which they intend to practice, confirmed the Pope's statement by saying: "His Holiness does not want the Council; he never was in favour of it; but in obedience to the Emperor's commands he has thus far

1531.

consented to its convocation." I confess that I was not at all surprised at hearing Sanga say this, for, as I have informed Your Majesty, my opinion has always been that His Holiness is by no means fond of the Council.

Whilst talking on this subject some days ago the Pope hinted to me that means ought to be found to make war on the Lutherans. Perceiving what he aimed at, I replied immediately that the Lutherans were so obstinate, had so much money, and were so strong—having no need of foreign soldiers to defend their territory—that if they were to be conquered and subdued one after another it would be an endless work. Upon which the Pope observed: "Perhaps it would be better to make war on those of Switzerland, who are neither so numerous nor so strong as the Germans." I saw plainly what he wanted, and quickly replied*: "That also is impracticable, for Lutherans of all countries take up this cause as one of their own, and therefore, if war is to be made, it must be waged against all. Besides (I observed) it was unjust that Your Majesty should do battle single-handed against all of them." This His Holiness granted, and said it was very well, so much so that he believed the king of France, as well as that of England,† would for fear of Your Majesty's reducing and pacifying Germany secretly fan there the fire of discord so as to prevent the pacification of that country, and create constant difficulties. "The king of France, added (the Pope) is like Simon Magus of the New Testament, who wished to exchange spiritual things for temporal ones."

A similar language the Pope seems to have held in the last Consistory, for I am told he said to the cardinals that the king of France opposed the celebration of the Council merely because he wished to obtain from Your Imperial Majesty some other concession in exchange. Had the French made such a confession as this the harm done would have been less, since they would thus take upon themselves the responsibility of the Council not being celebrated, or else throw it on the shoulders of those who really oppose it‡; but as they are very cunning (*artificiosos*), they give out that Your Majesty does not wish for it in the least, that being the reason (as they pretend) for the whole thing having been referred to His Holiness. Others allege that it is in Your Majesty's interest to keep alive this affair of the Council in order that His Holiness may remain in suspense, and submit entirely to what Your Majesty may otherwise want of him. This was told to me this very morning by two of the cardinals, to whom I made as suitable a reply as I could.

* "Y paresciome que hera (*sic*) decir hechar el mal allá y pasar este vado, y por eso le respondi."

† "Tanto mas que creya que el Rey de Francia, como decia este otro, porque V. M^{t}. no tenga reducida y pacificada la Alemania, lo estorbaria."

‡ "Con esto seria menos el mal si ellos se cargassen en sy el destorbo deste concilio, ó sobre quien lo quiere destorbar."

1531.

For these reasons, and for fear such sinister rumours should gain ground, I have resolved to forward copies of Your Majesty's letter to me to Venice, to Naples, to Genoa, and likewise to the Imperial camp, that all Your Majesty's ministers may know and publish your rightful intentions on such matters, though this may be said of the Pope and cardinals, that provided the Council does not take place, they care not to whom the fault is ultimately abscribed.

In short there is very little chance of the Council ever being convoked. I have always said so It is no use speaking to the Pope and cardinals about it; one might just as well preach in the desert. The negotiation becomes every day more difficult, because fear naturally increases with time.

If the Council cannot be obtained my opinion is that it ought to be given up; for certainly "it is better to bend than break." That is why I ventured in my last despatch* to point out to Your Majesty how the settling down of German troubles could be effected without the actual convocation of a Council, for after all that would be a better expedient than recommending a measure which is so much disliked. For after all the malice (*bellaqueria*) of this world is patent enough; some through actual fear, others through vain and worldly considerations oppose the sane and rightful intentions of Your Majesty. I think that the sooner such a plan is adopted the better, for every day that passes makes matters worse.

I had also a conversation with the Pope respecting the answer given to Mr. de Prat (Praët) in France, and I considered it my duty to shew him how different our manner of negotiating was, and how open and frank Your Majesty's ministers were in all their dealings. I found him well acquainted not only with the propositions made by the Imperial ambassador, but also with the King's answer and our own reply to it. The duke of Albany had taken care to inform him thereof, telling him at the same time that with regard to the marriage of the Dauphin to the Infanta of Portugal it would make no difference at all, since the King was disposed to grant it.† This is considered by His Holiness to be a much better arrangement, because were he (the Dauphin) to marry the Infanta of Spain [daughter of Your Imperial Majesty], God knows what complications there might not be in case of the succession (which may God forbid) coming down to her.‡

---

* On the 14th. *See* No. 688, *p.* 119.

† "Y hallele prevenido en las respuestas que *dieron a Prat, que el duque de Albania se las avia mostradas,* y dixome que le avia dicho que quanto *al casamiento del Dalfin con la Infanta de Portugal que no avia diferencia, porque lo tomarian;* y al Papa parescele muy bien, porque á darle la Señora Infanta de España seria aventurar mucho para en caso, lo *que Dios no quiera, uviese lugar en ella la sucesion.*"

‡ Doña Maria, born on the 21st of June 1528; her brother, Philip, then six years old, was said to be in delicate health.

1531.

With regard to the other marriage, that of his own niece (Catherina), to the duke of Orleans, His Holiness appears to take it very coldly. He said to me the other day that the marquis of Mantua had also sent to ask again for her hand. At any rate nothing will be decided until the arrival of Tarbes, who on the 7th inst. had not yet left France.

It must be observed that this niece of the Pope is always called by Albany and others "La Duchessina." The other day the Mantuan ambassador complaining to me about it, I told him that the king of France himself always gave her that title owing to pope Leo X. having invested her father [Lorenzo de Medici] with the duchy of Urbino. To make sure I interrogated the Pope about this, and he told me that the investiture [of that duchy] was really made to descend both to males and females, so that whoever married her (Katherine) would have right to her estate, and must necessarily go to law with the Della Rovere.* I was glad to mention this to the Pope, and ascertain what his views were on this subject, sure as I am that if the marriage with Orleans is seriously contemplated, the Venetians will do all they can (*se daran á Dios*) to prevent it rather than have that Duke their neighbour.

Francesco Sforza and the Venetians are rather alarmed at this coming of Tarbes to Rome, the more so that it is rumoured that the Dauphin is evidently aiming at Milan, and has sent messengers to the Lutherans of Switzerland (*suyços malos*) telling him how the succession of that duchy appertains to him after his father, as nephew of king [Louis XI.], and that since Francis I. has relinquished his rights it is for him to claim them. Such is the intelligence that has reached Milan from two different sources, from Venice and from the bishop Sedunensis, at the same time—Rome, 21st April 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

22 April. **701.** King Ferdinand to the Emperor.

Lanz. *Corresp. d. Kay.* Vol. I., f. 449.

At their parting at Aquisgran (Aachen) he (the King) spoke in favour of the projected marriage between the duke of Mantua (Federigo Gonzaga) and the daughter of the duchess of Monferrato. Since then he has had occasion again to remind the Emperor of this, both through the High Commander of Leon (Francisco de los Covos), and through count Noguerol, and to request that in the event of the separation or divorce of Doña Julia (Giulia) taking effect and the Duke's marriage not being accomplished, His Imperial Majesty would commit to him the settlement of this affair, firstly, because the duke of Mantua himself has urgently claimed his intervention;

* The descendants of Francesco Maria, who in 1516 was excommunicated and deprived of his estate.

1531.

and secondly, because he (the King) might thereby get some pecuniary assistance of which he nowadays stands greatly in need. For since the Emperor is kind enough to supply his wants out of his own private purse, he (the King) has no doubt that he may be allowed to seize the present opportunity of using other people's money for the same purpose. According to information lately received, the declaratory sentence in favour of the Duke's divorce has already been issued, as His Majesty can see by the enclosed copy, and therefore he (the King) is in a better situation to help and assist (*complacer y favorescer*) the said Duke, who has been and is a good servant of the Empire. If the commission for arranging these matters is entrusted to him he will consider it a great favour.*—Prague, 22nd April 1531.

Signed: "Ferdinand."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

23 April. **702.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor

S. E. L. 853, f. 27.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 180.

Is in receipt of the Imperial letters of the 12th. Fancies that some of his despatches wherein he (Ortiz) gave a full account of the proceedings in the English cause must have miscarried. This compels him to repeat the information contained in them.

On his arrival at Rome he (Ortiz) thought that the first thing to be done was to prove that the degree of affinity between brother and sister-in-law was no obstacle to marriage except in Canon Law, and that the Pope could dispense therefrom, even if there were no other reasons for the dispensation than those alleged on our side, although many others did really exist for such a measure. To prove such an allegation he himself brought from Spain, and has since received from president (Tavera) the opinions of the universities of Salamanca, Alcalá, and Valladolid, as well as those of the Councils and Chancery Courts throughout Spain. It has, however, caused him considerable annoyance to see that this most important step has been unaccountably delayed, for although our success is sure and certain through the manifest justice of our case, as will be shewn by the mercy of God, when the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) shall decide that I address the Court on this particular article, yet it is evident that much harm is being done to the cause itself and to the Church in general when a thing so many years established and settled by the Holy Apostolic See is now brought into question.

The ambassador gave me some days ago two works by the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) different from the one printed in Spain, which I saw before my departure.† Great are the

* The original letter in Spanish is in the Archives of Brussels. An Italian translation sent to Miçer Mai at Rome, and enclosed in another of the High Commander (Covos) may be found at Simancas, though dated the 24th instead of the 22nd.

† De Causa Matrimonii Regis Angliæ; Compluti (Alcalá) 1530, small 4to.

1531.

learning, diligence, and zeal displayed by the Bishop in these three works, and no less is his (Ortiz's) satisfaction at finding that the course he has taken to defend the Queen's indisputable right is the very one he himself intends to pursue, and that he (the Bishop) uses the very arguments which he (Ortiz) has propounded in his despatches. Indeed, he is mightily amazed and cannot well understand how it has happened that such a light as that thrown by the Bishop's doctrine—if it has ever been spread in England—has not been sufficiently strong to dissipate the obscurity and blindness of the opposite party who have so deceived the King.*

He (Ortiz) having never before practised as a lawyer, thought that the proceedings were to be conducted in the above-mentioned way; but the Imperial ambassador has always maintained, and does still maintain, that the said article is to be left for the end. God only knows how disappointed and grieved he (Ortiz) is at such delays. Had he known that he was to stay at Rome so long without doing any good he would have gone to Paris, where he flatters himself that with God's help he might have removed the difficulties which the opposite party have recently been raising. He still hopes that they will disappear, for he (Ortiz) has frequently written thither thereupon. There is nothing he wishes more than to see this matter argued, and a proper report sent to the College of Cardinals. On this depends the whole cause; the evidence is to be found in Rome; namely, the Holy Scriptures, the decrees of the Church, the opinions of saints, doctors, and divines, besides very many reasons that could be adduced. This being done and justice obtained, he (Ortiz) would apply for an extraordinary bull "ad perpetuam rei memoriam," settling the dispute at once. Has communicated his idea to several of the cardinals for whom he brought letters of introduction from the Empress; all approve of it. Will undertake this as soon as Miçer Mai tells him that it is time to act. Would willingly suffer martyrdom for such a cause as this.

Had some of the witnesses now here (in Rome) declared what they know about the Queen's first marriage and cohabitation [with prince Arthur] much might have been gained, for the opposite party not being prepared to answer, sentence might then have been pronounced by "contradittas." Then he (Ortiz) by proposing the instrument of the dispensation could have applied for the above determination. Now the ambassador says that the time has arrived for the presentation of witnesses, for which there has been hitherto no opportunity owing to the impediments raised by the Englishman who appealed in the King's name.

Thanks His Majesty for the post of preacher to his royal household.

* "Como tan verdadera lumbre, como es la de su dotrina, si allá se ha publicado, no ha bastado para quitar la ceguedad y caligen de la parte contraria."

LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARY CENTRAL

1531.

A nephew whom he brought to Rome to help him with his labours has been slain [by robbers] on his way back to Spain.—Rome, 23rd April 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. .

24 April **703.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 132–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,582, f. 188.

On the 17th inst. the Imperial army evacuated the Sienese and was quartered in the lands of the Church at Assisi and in the Perugino. One and a half month's pay, as the Marquis [del Vasto] informs me by letter, was promised them, and another besides to the Spaniards who came from Naples, on account of the arrears due to them for the time they served in that kingdom. At the hour I write, what with the money that has come from Naples since January, and what with my own remittances from hence, the Marquis has been able to issue one and a half month's pay to the whole of the Imperial army, and another one and a half besides to the Spanish infantry. He has moreover refunded the 10,000 crs. lent him by the light horse, who have been dismissed with the exception of 150. From the 1st of May the troops are to be paid out of the 25,000 crs. which I have remitted to the camp this very day, that is to say, 15,000 from Naples and 10,000 from the Pope, but a sum of 5,500 is still wanted, besides the 5,000 which Scalenga (de Scalengues) seized at Asti, and which the Pope swears he will deduct from his monthly contributions, unless they are restored to him.

Hippolito de' Medici and his differences with the Pope, his uncle. He has gone to Florence and declares that he does not want to be a cardinal. He is evidently aiming at the possession of that city.

The Council and what the Pope thinks about it—He certainly does not seem inclined to assemble a General Council upon everything, but only for reference on matters of Faith and other particulars, because, says he, that would be as much as disputing his papal authority, and stirring up other ill-humours against previous Councils.* To all other conditions he willingly subscribes, as well as to the remarks contained in the Emperor's answer, but this last he will resist as much as he can, and therefore will not consent to the intimation being thus made general, as has been the custom whenever heresies sprang up in the Christian world. If, however, this is the only obstacle it strikes me that some means might be found to obviate it.—Rome, 22nd April 1531.

P.S.—The prior of Barletta (Martinengo) has come; he is on his way first to Lucha (Lucca) to take the mineral waters,

* "No está en intimar concilio general sobre cada cosa, mas [solo] en lo de la fe y otras cosas particulares."

1531.

and thence to the Imperial Court. In conversation the other day with cardinal d' Osma and with him (Muxetula) respecting the fortifications which have been ordered in Puglia, and of which he is the inspector, he (Martinengo) said that the work proceeded so slowly that it could not possibly be finished before the time when the Turk is likely to make a descent upon that coast.—Rome, 24th April 1531.

Signed: " Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Spanish. Oiginal. pp. 4.

24 April. **704.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 823, f. 25.
B.M. *Add.* 28, 583 f. 193.

After the enclosed was written the Pope shewed him (Muxetula) the draft of his answer about the Council and the instructions he has given to his agents. Both from what he writes to prothonotary Gambara, and to Your Majesty, he (Muxetula) concludes that His Holiness is very much dissatisfied at the future Council being celebrated against the wish of the Christian princes, and especially of the king of France, alleging among other reasons that the Lutherans will most likely find assistance in that quarter, and perhaps be for ever lost to Your Majesty and to the Church. He says that both the kings of France and England would willingly summon another Council at some place in their dominions on the plea that they did not consider themselves secure in Italy, and if so, that a schism in the Church might eventually spring up. This is in short the Pope's principal objection; all other minor ones he is prepared to waive, and willingly submits to Your Majesty's decision.

The fact is that this opposition of the French king is the sole cause of all his hesitation in this matter. Some will have it that the Pope himself has brought it about; that might well be, but I fancy that the king of France would all the same have opposed the meeting of the Council, for certainly his love of the Pope is not such as to prompt him to act in the Pope's favour and against his own interest, which has always been, and continues to be, to oppose Your Majesty in every possible way.

It might be, as I said before, that when this affair of the Council was first talked of His Holiness opened his heart to the King and stated his objections, but I firmly believe that the latter would have tried to prevent it all the same, because if we see him secretly negotiating with the Turk* so as to bring matters to a state which he (the Pope) can accept, it is to be presumed that he will do the same with regard to the Council if he can by that means promote his own interests and create confusion and trouble in Germany. However this may be, there can be no doubt that the last advices from France have exercised great influence over the Pope's mind, and rendered him

* " Porque si vehemos (*sic*) que hace estas pratichas en las cosas del Turcho adonde esta ya, cierto que el papa viene en el como conviene."

1531.

exceedingly suspicious and touchy on these points. He still says that he is ready to follow Your Majesty's advice in this matter, and act in conformity with your wishes, but that he cannot help raising objections against the Council.—Rome, 24th April 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

24 April. **705.** Miçer Mai to secretary Covos.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 101–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 186.

(*Cipher:*) Was about to solicit that the English matrimonial cause (*lo de Inglaterra*) should be determined when he found that the English asked to be allowed to report (*informar*) to the cardinals. If their petition is granted it will be necessary to wait for another Consistory, and then we also shall have to draw a report.

Has heard through a most confidential quarter (and the thing must be kept a profound secret) that the Pope has communicated to the commissary of the matrimonial cause certain allegations which the English gave him. Fortunately they are of small importance, and have made no impression whatever on the cardinals. Your Lordship ought to remind the Emperor of doing something for the man whom our opponents have thus tried to gain in every possible way, for seeing that they could not by fair means they are now saying—which is a falsehood and a calumny—that when he related the facts (*hiço la relacion*) he completely altered them.

He is a man of family, first cousin of cardinal Cesarino, and very commendable by his authority and letters. He feels greatly the injury done to his character and reputation, and as it is our interest both on this account as well as to propitiate him in future, it would be advisable to keep him contented.

It may well be that some of us wish again to see Your Lordship and the Emperor in Italy, and that in Spain others are equally anxious for your speedy return by the shortest route. For my own part I can only say that if anything is to be done with the German Lutherans, it will be better to treat the matter before going to Germany, or else not enter that country at all without knowing first what is to be the probable end of all this business, and without having some hope of success, for if there should be none, it is far preferable that the king of the Romans should attempt it and fail in the undertaking than that the Emperor, our master, should be exposed to a defeat. I must add that if the Council is not to take place [in Italy], I cannot see the advantage or utility of the Emperor visiting us at the present time; on the contrary, I see many inconveniences likely to arise therefrom, and also that if anything should remain for the king of the Romans to do, it would be a profitable as well as desirable thing if some person, knowing

1531.

the Emperor's habits and wisdom, could be appointed to the King's Council, because, to say the truth, his councillors are at times rather too hasty (*salteadores*), and here, in Italy, they are considered as such.

Spanish. Original entirely written in cipher.

24 April. **706.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 101–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 186.

(*Cipher :*) Whilst soliciting that the English trial should be proceeded with, I have found to-day that the English wish to report to the cardinals, and that it will be necessary to wait till another consistory. We ourselves shall have to do the same.

I have learned from a very private and confidential source, and therefore it must remain a profound secret between us, that the Pope has communicated with the commissary of the cause touching certain allegations presented to him by the English. I hear, however, that they are not of sufficient importance to make any impression upon him. Your Lordship ought to remind the Emperor that some sort of recompense is owing to this man for what he has already done, and is prepared to do, for our adversaries have tried several times to gain him over by fair means ; and seeing that they cannot do this, they are now following another tack, and saying that the report (*relation*) which he made the other day is entirely false. He is of a good family, a cousin of cardinal Cesarino, and enjoys good reputation as a man of authority and letters. I consider it very important to secure him, as he may be useful in this as well as in other matters.—Rome, 24th April 1531.

Signed : "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

24 April. **707.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 132–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 188.

The Imperial army evacuated the Sienese territorry on the 17th and is now quartered in the Assissi and Perugino. Provision for the payment of the infantry till the 1st of May. Scalenga must be made to disburse the 5,000 crs. which he took ; otherwise the Pope is sure to discount them from his monthly contribution towards the expenses of the army before Florence.

Five days ago cardinal [Ippolito de'] Medici left Rome, with the Pope's permission, and went to Florence accompanied by 10 of his retainers riding post. On his arrival thither he wrote a letter saying that the reason for his leaving Rome was that he could not possibly live and sustain his rank, and that unless the Pope gave him 700 crs. pension every month from offices or ecclesiastic benefices he should certainly not return [to Rome]. Knowing this to be a mere pretence, and that his intention is by some means or other to get possession of Florence,

1531.

and prevent his brother* Alessandro from obtaining it, the Pope got into a most towering passion when he heard the news, threatening to do him all the harm he could if he did not return immediately. We shall soon see how matters will end. He (Ippolito) says that he does not choose to be a cardinal but a layman, and that the Florentines care not a straw which of the Medici it is who rules over them. Perhaps his being a Frenchman at heart is the reason of the Florentines preferring him, as having less chance of becoming a friend of yours, &c.

Reports a conversation with the Pope about the Council. —Rome 22nd April 1531.

The prior of Barletta (Martinengo) has arrived on his way to Lucca to the baths, and thence to the Imperial Court. His report about the fortresses of Puglia, &c.—Rome, 24th April 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muxetula."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

24 April. **708.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 25.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 193.

Since writing the enclosed, the Pope has shewn me the draft of the circular addressed to his agents abroad respecting the Council, and the resolution taken by his cardinals; also the reply to the answer made by Your Majesty to prothonotary Gambara (*sic*). He has besides shewn me the draft of his letter to Your Majesty, and as far as I can gather from the one and the others, His Holiness will be much grieved (*mal contento*) if the Council after all is to be convoked and held without the concurrence of other Christian princes, and principally of the king of France. Should it take place, he says, without due notice being given, there might be another in France, which Englishmen would also attend, and in this way a schism be created in the Church. The Pope, in short, believes that it is absolutely indispensable to obtain the consent of the French king, &c.—Rome, 24th April 1531.

At this moment a letter comes from the Imperial camp dated the 22nd inst. The marquis del Vasto acknowledges the receipt of the 25,000 crs., but says that they will not be sufficient for the pay of the infantry on the 1st of May. After all reforms 6,000 more will be required.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muxetula."

Spanish Original pp. 1½.

27 April. **709.** KING FERDINAND to the EMPEROR.

Lanz, *Corresp. d. Kays.* I. f. 442.

The Emperor's letters of the 3rd inst., and the copies of papers and documents that came along with them, have fully acquainted me with Your Majesty's great solicitude and care

* The word used is Aliacqua, which I presume to be a blunder of the decipherer.

1531.

in trying to persuade our Holy Father and the king of France to consent to the Council. It is quite clear from the answers given by both, and the difficulties they raise, as Your Imperial Majesty observes, that the Pope will consent but reluctantly, and will be on the look out for the means of preventing it, attending, perhaps, on this occasion rather to the dilatory expedients proposed by the French king than to Your Majesty's honest prayers and admonitions. I agree with Your Majesty that the king of France wishes to protract the settlement of this affair by words and dissimulation, and to keep us in suspense until he finds a fit opportunity for his plans, which, if we are to judge from the past, do not recommend themselves either by sincerity or straightforwardness. My impression is that we shall never prevail upon the king of France to take in this affair of the General Council the active and sincere part that is required, unless it be by means of the intermarriages and alliances now talked of, and even then, I have no confidence that he will. My advice, therefore, is that since we cannot get anything else from him we must be on our guard, and try to ascertain what his real intentions are; and since you have fulfilled your duty towards the Pope and towards him, you may rest satisfied in the event of any disagreeable occurrence to either, or both of them, and should they happen to complain thereof, you will have an honest and fit excuse to give them.

On the other hand the opposition or coldness which Your Majesty has met with in this matter of the Council both from the Pope and from the king of France, can be no reason for abandoning the idea altogether, and yielding in a matter of such importance, on which depends not only the welfare of Germany, but also the preservation of the Faith throughout Christendom. For were the hope of this Council to vanish—which nowadays both good and bad Catholics entertain in Germany—there can be no doubt that the Lutherans will become worse and worse every day, owing to the increasing strength and advantages which their sect is gaining every day, and that heresy will spread far beyond Germany, as it has already begun to do. Should such a precarious state of things continue, it will be impossible to enjoy repose or tranquillity within the limits of the Empire, and consequently we shall live in perpetual fear of the Turk, whether at peace or at war, especially having such enemies at our back.

Fortunately, as far as can be gathered from Girolamo Lasco's despatches, there is every certainty that the present truce will not be broken, at least for one year. For the renewal of it nothing shall be left undone on my part, Rokendorff (Rogendorf) and other Imperial councillors having been expressly sent [to Constantinople] by me to that effect. And since God has been pleased that a truce with the Turk should be concluded, and as there will be plenty of time to prepare for the General Council, it strikes me that this is the

1531.

opportune moment for insisting on its convocation moderately, and in the manner prescribed to your ambassadors.

Your Majesty is of opinion that, considering the opposition made, and the difficulties raised by the Pope and king of France in this matter of the General Council, the electors and other princes and qualified persons of the Empire ought to be duly apprized thereof, and officially informed of the fact that Your Imperial Majesty has done whatever was in your power to bring about the said Council, as promised, inducing them at the same time to deliberate in secret and to present the draft of an agreement or covenant, in which, apart from matters essential to Faith, other business should be transacted appointing the Elector Palatine and the cardinal of Maguncia (Maintz) to treat of it as they have offered to do, and to deliberate what had better be done in case of the Council not being assembled; Your Majesty sending thither persons who with my advice may treat with the Lutheran princes, and find out the way of living in conformity, and directing our energies to a good end. In short, Your Majesty suggests that if the means proposed should not meet with my approbation, I ought to point out by way of advice those which I consider best suited under present circumstances.

I have long considered this matter, and although the ways and means proposed by Your Majesty appear to me good and acceptable, I am still very much afraid that they will prove insufficient for the work we now have in hand, and that such a protracted negotiation as Your Majesty recommends will only be so much time lost; not only because it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to keep these matters secret—when they have to be treated and discussed with people far apart from each other, and differing in opinion—but because they (the princes) will never meet together, much less adopt a general measure in common, by the medium of individual negotiation. Besides which, if Your Majesty, as is very natural, wishes, before your return to Spain, that some settlement be made, through which we may hereafter live in peace, it is quite evident that the settlement of these matters will be delayed until the result of the overtures which Your Majesty desires me to make be known; because the parties themselves are sure to postpone the agreement as much as they can as the experience of other negotiations of this sort can shew. And, moreover, as all the princes, electors, and communities hang, as it were, on the hope of this Council, if without giving them some other means or advice in substitution, that hope is taken away from them, no reasons or arguments of ours can persuade them to yield; on the contrary, the evil will grow to such an extent that it will be almost impossible to cope with it.

My opinion, therefore, is that before Your Majesty's return to Spain, a Diet be held in the town best suited for that purpose, according to time and circumstances, wherein in Your

1531.

Majesty's presence, a full and detailed account be given to the princes and electors of Germany of whatever has been done by Your Majesty in this matter of the General Council. Your Majesty might then lay before them your own efforts for its convocation, as well as the dilatory expedients invented by the Pope and the king of France. In this way the said princes would be convinced of Your Majesty's exertions in this particular, to which they might, perhaps, attach no credit if the intelligence, instead of coming directly from Your Majesty in person were communicated to them through a third person. Then the princes might be consulted as to what was to be done, or some means proposed for the celebration of the said Council, so that the Lutheran princes and their allies may not for want of it persevere in their dissension.

Your Majesty will believe me when I say that whether the princes be entirely alienated from us, or led away by others of their sect, or merely divided in opinion (*quexosos, resabiados, ó divisos*) it will be a difficult matter to bring them to such a conclusion as that which we expect, and that much tact and discretion will be required, especially if the negotiation is to be conducted in the absence of Your Majesty, for the concord and conformity which are now ordered and recommended between me and those who follow the new sects, and the steps calculated to put an end to the grievous offences (*desacatos*) against Faith and the excesses daily committed to the detriment of our Christian religion cannot possibly be brought about by myself alone. For this purpose it is absolutely necessary that Your Majesty be here present so that we may be all together, make and receive overtures, address replies, &c., and bring matters to the state in which Your Majesty wishes them to be, namely, some sort of agreement without detriment to Faith, or offence to its essential points, which agreement I consider might be brought to a good issue, provided the means were not wanting. In short, to treat of such matters it would be necessary that we should be near one another, because otherwise the negotiations will never come to an end and Your Majesty would be terribly disappointed and annoyed at the delay.

These matters of the Faith once settled, we might, even if the hope of a General Council was entirely lost, devote all our energies to the repulse of the Turk, for which there would be a better disposition among the Christian princes and others than there has been hitherto. The Lutherans likewise might help with greater ardour for the common cause, if once ensured concerning their false creeds and opinions, in which, after a time, some improvement might also take place with God's help, provided the evil was arrested no matter how, for at present, as Your Majesty is aware, their blind obstinacy is so great, and so fierce the fire kindled everywhere, that the more water is thrown upon it the greater the flame, and such is their blind obstinacy (*enbebecimiento*) that they think of nothing short of maintaining their opinion by *fas*

1531.

or *nefas.* This accounts for their thinking it right and lawful to call the Turk to their assistance without considering what they are doing; the more they are contradicted the closer they adhere to their error; whereas the present evil being stopped and not increasing, and they themselves having no fear either from Your Majesty or from me, it may be expected that they will in the end open their eyes and see the injury the Turk may inflict upon them, and then be more easily persuaded by Your Majesty's presence and authority to assist and help in the common cause.

The opposition shewn by the duke of Sassa (Saxony) and other German princes to my election as king of the Romans is another weighty consideration. I need not tell Your Majesty how dangerous it would be to leave an affair of this importance unsettled to the great detriment of Your Majesty's reputation and of my own honour. To remit the case to me would be time lost, and besides an injury to my reputation, for people would say that attention had been paid to my interests alone. Letters of favour will be of no use whatever, because those who wish me ill will not yield to my solicitations or those of my friends. Bribes it would not be honourable to employ, and, besides, my purse is too empty to defray them. As to force of arms I am too weak just now to think of it, besides which Your Majesty knows well that our purpose is to live in peace with everyone. I see, therefore, no remedy to the evil unless Your Majesty come [to Germany] in person. This sort of thing cannot well be done by letter and as the Spanish proverb goes, *barva a barva onrra se cata.**

Such is my advice under present circumstances. If Your Majesty approve of it, measures shall be taken to convoke a Diet. Meanwhile the Count Palatine and the cardinal of Maintz, who in the hope of such a Diet will be better able to do Your Majesty's will, might go on preparing the minds and gaining the confidence of the electors, that they may obey and conform with Your Majesty's opinion, and not come to the Diet so crude and rough as they might otherwise do.†

What Your Majesty writes about prothonotary Caracciolo and his appointment as super arbiter in the differences between the Venetians and me cannot be, since the Signory has actually refused to accept his arbitration, on the plea that he is Your Majesty's vassal and servant, notwithstanding that the Venetian ambassador, cardinal Cornaro, Your Majesty's ambassador and my own had all agreed on that point. I have written to them to appoint another one instead of the said Prothonotary, but I doubt whether such a person can be found, for the Venetians are so sharp (*hilan tan del gado*) that it is impossible to negotiate with them unless under evident disadvantage, and they will be glad if they

* Literally: "Beard to beard, or face to face the questions of honour must be treated."

† "Disponer y ablandar los pensamientos y propositos de los electores."

1531.

themselves do not procure it, of any delay for the payment of the 250,000 ducats they owe me.

Measures taken in Flanders for the execution of the bull of the Crusade. Gabriel Sanchez, &c.

Marriage of the duke of Mantua to the heiress of Monferrato.*

Marchioness de Brandenbourg. Her letter has been forwarded to her husband, the Marquis.†

Count Nogarol and Danish affairs.

Desiderio Simandres, the King's secretary.

The letters found on the friar who came from Constantinople are being read and examined. Should it be found that he is a spy of the enemy, as is generally believed, he shall be punished as his crime deserves. Hitherto appearances are entirely against him.

Thanks for the permission to mortgage or sell a portion of my rent at Naples.

I hear that the abbacy of San Isidro de Leon, in Spain, is vacant. I want it for my secretary, Castillejo. I had one for him in Hungary, but the Vayvod took possession of it. —Prague, 27th April 1531.

Signed: "Ferdinand."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 7.

30 April. **710.** The ARCHBISHOP of TOLEDO‡ to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 22, f. 35.

At Toledo, where he came for the Holy Week, and to provide for certain matters of his diocese, the Emperor's letter of the 10th inst. was duly received. Being in this city when the last courier left, he had no time to write by it; nor has he now, owing to his stay here, anything to report about Court matters.—Toledo, 30th April 1531.

P.S.—Yet a letter has been found in these Archives among the papers of ambassador Rojas, which in his [the Archbishop's] opinion is very important for the present case. It would appear that when the Queen's first husband [Arthur] died, she had not been carnally known by him. It is thus stated in a letter of the Catholic King Ferdinand to his ambassador at Rome (Rojas), whom he instructs to apply for a dispensation in the manner that it was drawn, nor that there was any real necessity for it, but to satisfy the importunities of the English.

* As will be seen hereafter, the Duke's marriage to the heiress of Monferrato (Margaret) was strongly recommended by king Ferdinand.

† Probably Elisabeth, daughter of John, king of Denmark and Sweden, who died in 1555. She was married to Joachim called "Nestor," fifth margrave elector of Brandemburgh.

‡ Fonseca, formerly of Santiago.

1531.

The document itself will be forwarded to the president [of Castille], that he may, if required, send it to Rome.

Signed: "A[lphonsus] Toletanus."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly holograph. p. 1.

2 May. **711.** The EMPEROR to KING FERDINAND.

S. E. L. 22, f. 39.

Hopes that his letters of the 3rd of April last, together with the copies of papers* therein enclosed, have been duly received. Their contents will sufficiently inform him what has been the result of Praët's special charge. Has since, on the 24th, heard from that ambassador, as well as from the treasurer of Besançon,† now residing at the Court of France, what the final answer of the Most Christian King has been respecting the convocation of a General Council. That answer is here enclosed, as well as the reply made to it. And since the affair is taking such a turn, it would be advisable, according to the instructions contained in his last letter, partly in the hand of his secretary, and partly in his own, that he (the King) should try by all possible means, and through the intermediate agency of the princes, electors, and other good Catholics, to find out some expedient to re-establish peace in Germany, or at least stop the contagious spreading of heresy.

Has written to his ambassador at Rome (Mai), and sent him a copy of his own reply to the Most Christian King, that he may the better warn His Holiness, and induce him to attend carefully to this business of the Council, and the repulse of the Turk. A copy of his letter, as well as an abstract of that ambassador's reply, will sufficiently inform him of what is going on at Rome, and of the late occurrences at Siena.—Ghent‡, 2nd Mai 1531.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

3 May. **712.** INSTRUMENTUM publicum super homagio Ducis Alexandri de Medicis pro Florencia.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital. Cap. c. Pont. y. Pot. d. Ital. L. 593, f. 23.

Kneeling down at the Emperor's feet the deputies from Florence swore the oath of fealty. In cubiculo Imperatoris,

* See *Memoires de Granvelle*, ii., 74–80, and *Papiers d'Etat*, i., 519; also Lanz *Correspondenz der Kaiser Karl* V., i., 451.

† François de Bonvalot, canon and treasurer of the metropolitan church of Besançon, see above, vol. iv., *Int.* pp. vii–viii.

‡ According to Vandeness, the Emperor left Bauloz (Baudeloo) for Ghent on the 23rd of March, and staid in that city until the 3rd of April, when he started for Termonde, arriving at Brussels on the 4th. If the date of this letter is rightly given there must be some mistake, for on the 2nd of April Charles was still on the road to Termonde. By substituting *April* for May all may be reconciled, especially as the letter is evidently a copy designed for Miçer Mai or some other Imperial agent in Italy.

1531.

S. E. L. 22, f. 41. R. M. *Add.* 28,532, f. 202.

in the presence of one of the Imperial notaries who took act of it.—Gandavi (Ghent), 3rd May 1531.

Indorsed: "Instrumentum publicum super homagio Ducis Alexandri de Medicis pro Florentia."

Latin. Original. pp. 2.

3 May. **713.** The Signory of Florence to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. Ital. Cap. c. Pont. y. Pot. d. Ital. L. 593, f. 26. B. M. *Add.* 28,538, f. 202.

Report on the reception made to the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] at Florence and their complete obedience to the Imperial commands.—Florentia, Ex Palatio nostro, die II Julii 1531.

Signed: "Obsequentissimi filii, Priores libertatis et Vexillifer Justitiæ Populi Florentini."

Countersigned: "Franciscus Campanus."

Latin. Original. p. 1.

3 May. **714.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 182–4. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 198.

Wrote on the 29th of March, 7th and 15th of April. His last despatch contained intelligence about Giorgio Gritti's intended journey to France. As most of the people here were of opinion, that having lately come from Constantinople, his visit to that country under present circumstances was much open to suspicion, and ought to be prevented, he (Niño) remonstrated strongly with the Signory, but notwithstanding his efforts and those of his friends, Gritti left on the 23rd ult°. Considers it his duty to advise the Emperor thereof, that the Imperial ambassadors at the court of France may inquire what takes him there, for it is not to be supposed that a brother of Luigi, nowadays the second person in favour and authority at Solyman's court, will come all the way from Constantinople to Paris, riding post, merely to recover 10,000 ducats lent by Luigi to Captain Rincon, to complete, as he says, the sum remitted by Francis to the Vayvod (Zapolsky).

Has ever since the departure of Giorgio Gritti done his best to ascertain what his mission could be. Learned that he had brought letters from Constantinople for the French ambassador* here, which letters he did not deliver until full 12 days after his arrival, at which the Frenchman was so offended that he accused the Doge and Council of having opened them, and threatened to write to his court. The Doge excused himself with Giorgio's negligence, and said that had he opened the letters he should never have thought of forwarding them to him. According to the Doge's statement, they were from Jeronimo Lasco, he who went [to Constantinople] on behalf of the Vayvod to try and conclude a truce; whereas the French ambassador says that they are from the Vayvod's own agent in France. These two contradictory statements make him (Niño) suspect that Gritti is going to France for

* The same observation is to be applied here with regard to the date of the 3rd May. As to the following (No. 713) it is difficult to say why it was docketted "3rd of May" by one of Covos' clerks, for certainly Alessandro de' Medici did not enter Florence till July.

1531.

some other purpose besides that of recovering the 10,000 ducats lent by his brother Luigi. Fancies that the king of France is now treating with the Turk, as he has done on former occasions. His (Niño's) advice is that orders should be sent to the Imperial ambassadors in France to have Giorgio watched, and make every possible inquiry into his doings. Should this fail, he might easily be stopped on his return, at his passage through the county of Asti, as if by highwaymen, and his papers taken from him.

(*Common writing:*) No advices from Constantinople except those he (Niño) sent on the 7th ult°.

Encloses a summary of news from France which the duke of Milan has sent to his ambassador here.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 12th, and communicated its contents to the Signory. All were glad to hear of the positive orders sent to Joan Jacobo* de Medicis, and to the Spaniards who serve under his banner.

The number of Swiss and Grisons congregated against the Marquis increases every day, amounting already, as they say, to 10,000, with heavy artillery, &c., at which these people (the Venetians) are anything but pleased, as they do not like to see such an assembly of armed men close upon their frontiers. The Marquis (Giangiacopo), on the other hand, is very sorry that he ever began the disturbance (*brega*) for he loses every day men, and villages, and the boats he has on the lake of Como. All his Italians he has placed at Lecco and Mus, and he himself is with his fleet of boats on the lake, for he dare not remain in any particular place for fear of being besieged. The Spaniards he has encamped in two or three places, without allowing any of them to go to Lecco or Mus. The only hope of the Swiss and Grisons ultimately dissolving and going home is that they cannot possibly procure provisions, though it must be said that the Marquis himself is sadly in want of them.

Letters lately received from France and Rome speak of the answer given by the king of France to Mr. de Prat (Praët) when he spoke to him about the General Council. (*Cipher:*) People here think that such an answer if really given must have been dictated by the Pope, for they say he (the Pope) is sure to play his cards in such a way that there will be no Council at all.† With this agrees the expected arrival at Rome of cardinal Agramonte (Grammont), by whom fresh negotiations will no doubt be set on foot between the Pope and the Most

* Giangiacopo de' Medici, lord marquis of Mus. See above, p. 29, *note*.

† "Y creese aqui que la respuesta que el christianissimo a dado á Monsr de Prato en lo del concilio, ha sido por horden del Papa, y esta Republica se está en la opinion que siempre ha tenido en este caso, que es que por vias indirectas su Santd hara de manera que nunca haya concilio. La qual tiene aviso de la venida del cardinal Agramonte á Roma, de la qual creen estos que han de subceder nuevas negociaciones entre el Papa y el rey de Francia, ó á lo menos que no se dexara de tentar por parte del Rey de Francia ni de procurarse por el medianero, segun Dios le hizo."

1531.

Christian King of France; at any rate the latter will try all he can, and his ambassador, such as God made him, will not be idle over the work.

(*Common writing:*) Has already written how fast the Lutheran sect is increasing here; if therefore there is to be in the convocation of the Council that delay and backwardness which is to be feared from the answer of the Most Christian King, the Emperor may be sure that Italy will soon be in worse condition than Germany, and that after that France will follow. If such be the case, he (Niño) cannot see what worse evil could come on the Pope, and whether it would not be preferable for him to have a Council, whatever the matters subjected to its deliberations might be, especially as His Imperial Majesty is determined to uphold and maintain him in his estate and authority.—Venice, 3rd May 1531.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "S. C. C. Mt."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

4 May. **715.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 203.

Money from Naples and remittances to the Imperial army.

No news from France except that the King has not yet made up his mind as to what answer he is to give with regard to the Council, and that he is about to send Tarbes here for the purpose of talking over that business and also that of the English king.

Neapolitan refugees.

[*Cipher:*] The Pope told him yesterday that the French covet the duchy of Milan now more than ever. It is to no purpose (says the Pope) his telling them over and over again that the Emperor will never consent to that; they keep insisting and returning to the same subject of conversation. The French ambassadors tell him that their king is very desirous to be a good son to him and a good brother to Your Majesty at the same time, and will help on any and everything you both may propose, whether it be war against the Turk, or against the Lutherans of Germany, or the convocation of the Council. The Pope answers them that to give Milan to the king of France would be tantamount to disturbing the peace of Italy, and damaging the affairs of religion as much, and perhaps more, than war against the Turk, and that neither the Emperor nor he (the Pope) can ever consent to such a measure.

Naples, &c.—Rome, 4th May 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Sa. Impl and Cath. Maj.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 8.

1531.

9 May. **716.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 255.

As he was preparing to attend the Imperial Court [at Madrid] His Majesty's letter dated Dubais (Budweis) was put into his hands, by which he is ordered to return as soon as possible to Germany. Would immediately have complied with His Majesty's commands had he been in a condition to undertake so long and fatiguing a journey. But owing to his long and severe illness last winter he is so weak that he can hardly ride. This, notwithstanding, he had made up his mind to start when the news came that the Empress was coming to Avila for the purpose of passing the summer there. Presuming that whatever need there may be of his services at home, it is very important that he should convey the last news from this court,* he has not hesitated to delay his departure until the 12th of June next, when he thinks of setting out on his journey.—Tordesillas, 9th May 1531.

Addressed: "To the King, my Lord."

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

9 May. **717.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER of LEON.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., c. 71, f. 255.

Yesterday, the 8th inst., His Lordship's letter in answer to that sent by Çarate came to hand. He (Salinas) has been so unwell since the departure of that gentleman that he has been unable to attend to business, much less to write. He is, however, recovering fast, and intends going to Avila to take leave of the Empress and then return.

His Lordship's instructions as to his management of certain State business are not so clear and definite as he (Salinas) might wish. Begs for more explicit orders. The Doctor-Secretary,† bearer of this, will verbally explain the embarrassing position in which he is placed.—Tordesillas, 9th May 1531.

Addressed: "To the High Commander Francisco de los Covos."

Spanish. Original draft. p. ½.

12 May. **718.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 39.
B. M. *Add.* 28,353, f. 205.

Both the cardinal of Osma and Muxetula have entreated him (Mai) not to write what the Pope said to them at the time he was officially informed of the sentence about Ferrara; considers it his duty, however, to tell the truth. The Pope was furious. We all tried to quiet him. The principal fault he said lay with the bishop of Vasone (Vaison) who had not understood his instructions.

* In another to secretary Christoval de Castillejo the following words are added: "Como tambien de la Señora Emperatriz y del Principe don Phelipe y del estado de las cosas en general."

† El Secretario Doctor; probably Gabriel Sanchez, whose arrival in Spain on a mission of king Ferdinand will be recorded hereafter.

1531.

Called next day on the Pope alone and put into his hands a letter from the queen of England. Spoke at length about the divorce. Said he had been told that the English ambassadors were boasting that they would now turn to good account the sentence about Ferrara, and that it was rumoured here at Rome, that they had visited him (the Pope) for the last few days much oftener than in a whole month before. Added to these statements, which are strictly true, some more of his own invention in order to see what impression they made upon the Pope's mind.

Found the Pope upon the whole more communicative than usual. He complained bitterly of the licentious gossiping of the Romans, always fond of inventing stories and propagating them. "As for the English ambassadors (he added) they have said to me no more than at other times; they did not know whether to congratulate or to condole concerning the sentence of Ferrara, for they knew not whether I liked it or not. I have always answered them that I am and will always be the Emperor's friend."

Asked him then what the duke of Albany had said. The Pope answered: "Nothing particular except some opinion of his own about the Council."

Secretary Sanga.—Cardinal Salviati, &c.—Rome, 12th May 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

12 May. **719.** Muxetula to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 206.

The Imperial letters of the 22nd ult° came duly to hand. Since then the Pope has made a great fuss about the sentence of Ferrara. Was the other day with him talking about other matters when his secretary [Sanga] entered the room with letters and despatches from Brussels. His Holiness, who for the three last days has been anxiously expecting the result of the Emperor's decision in the Ferrara case, took the letters, opened them then and there, and read their contents. He became all of a sudden so convulsed with passion that he (Muxetula) does not recollect having ever seen him in such a state, not even when he was a prisoner in Sanct Angelo, the Germans demanding that he should be delivered into their hands, or when those same Germans threatened to hang some of the hostages in Campo di Fiore. He complained bitterly of the Emperor, who, he said, had pronounced sentence when he might just as well have left matters as they stood. This step, in his opinion, was likely to disturb Italy in such a way that he apprehended war would be again declared, and matters of Faith instead of improving thrown back since things determined in previous councils were to be again submitted to the votes of men, &c.

Had not received his own letters when this interview took place, and, therefore, could not answer except in general

1531.

terms; but having afterwards called on Mai he saw very well that it was the bishop of Vaison who had insisted upon the sentence being pronounced, whereas the Emperor had declared that he would have much preferred to be excused, *por el medio de la nullidad*, and intimated even what the sentence would be. Vaison, moreover, had insisted, and the Emperor was obliged to yield. Went to His Holiness, and contrived to pacify him, he ending by owning that it was entirely that Bishop's fault, and not the Emperor's.

The army after being several days quartered on this side of the Apennines, is now in the Romagna. The first day, when the sentence was announced to him, the Pope threw out some hints about the pay of the troops, &c., which I did not like at all; since then, however, he has promised to pay the three months of the first agreement (*concierto*). — Rome, 12th September.

14 May. **720.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien. Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 23.

Ten days ago the King dispatched to France Dr. Faulx (Dr. Edward Foxe), a gallant, able, and indefatigable champion in the divorce question.* I have taken great pains to ascertain what his errand to that country could be, but have been unable yet to learn anything definite or positive about it. Some think that the object of his mission is to inform the cardinal of Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) of the state of the case before the latter returns to Rome, and also to beg and entreat the Most Christian King [of France] to have the case particularly recommended. It was not until the arrival of letters from the duke of Albany stating that the affair was in good trim at Rome, and that its success was certain (provided the ambassador appointed to succeed him followed in his track, and was an able diplomatist; and provided also the favourable disposition and interference of the King, Francis, should continue,) that the mission of Dr. Faulx was decided upon; which makes me conjecture that the object and purpose is no other than the one above mentioned.

I am the more inclined to believe this to be the case *that the* [*dowager*] *duchess of Norfolk, who saw the duke of Albany's letter, went immediately and told the Queen.* The latter was greatly concerned and frightened at it, until I told her that the Duke was about to quit Rome, and therefore could write more boldly now about these matters than he had done before, inasmuch as the issue turning out differently from his predictions, he could easily excuse himself on the plea of the want of ability of those who had to negotiate after him.

This suggestion of mine has completely calmed the Queen's fears; she is now relieved and joyful (*joyeuse*), so much so that those of the opposite party do not know what to think of it. Indeed I hear that the *duke of Norfolk* seeing her the

* "Qui est un habile gallant et desboutté fuez (fouet ?) en ceste matiere du divorce."

1531.

other day come out of her chamber began to say to the young *Marquis* [of Dorset] that it was really a thing of the other world to witness the courage of the Queen who did not feel at all alarmed at the course of affairs; and upon *the Marquis* remarking that it was no doubt owing to her own consciousness of the justice and right of her case, the Duke replied to him: "It must be owned that the Devil and no other must have been the originator and promoter of this wretched scheme."

Some days ago the King dining with the Queen, as he is in the habit of doing at almost all the great Church festivals, began to speak about the truce with the Turk, of which there has been a talk for some time. The conversation then fell on Your Majesty, and on your brother, the king of the Romans, the said King extolling beyond measure, and much more than is his wont, the power, extent of dominions (*amplitude*), and resources of Your Imperial Majesty. Suddenly he changed the subject, and coming to speak about the Princess he accused the Queen of cruelty for not having ordered that her own physician should be in attendance on her daughter during her late illness. Indeed during the whole dinner there was nothing but courtesy and kindness (*humanité et bonnayrete*) on the part of the King. Next day, on the strength of the said gracious words and others uttered by the King on the occasion, the Queen ventured to ask permission for the Princess to come and pay them a visit, but this the King flatly refused in very rude terms, saying that the Princess could, if she chose, come and stay where the Queen was, but that he could not consent to her coming [to Greenwich], upon which the Queen very prudently and graciously replied that neither for the sake of her own daughter, nor for any other person in the world would she consent to anything that would look like a separation from her husband. And here the conversation ended.

The news of the arbitration sentence pronounced by Your Majesty on the differences between the Pope and the duke of Ferrara respecting Reggio and Modena has fostered the hopes of these people, and they have rather hastened in consequence the departure of the said Faulx (Foxe). For although in the bottom of their hearts they consider the said sentence as good, rightful, and just, as it is held generally in public, yet they are capable of making every effort to persuade the people of the contrary, *all for the purpose of irritating the Pope against Your Imperial Majesty, and seeing whether he cannot be induced to take his revenge and give sentence for sentence.* I have purposely asked Jean Jocquin what he thought of the said arbitration; but as it would have been very improper for him to criticize it, not only on account of Your Majesty's authority, but also in the interest of the duke of Ferrara himself, who is his master's ally, he would not give me his own opinion of the business, except that he had observed that the friends of the Pope considered the sentence as favourable to the Duke and very injurious to His Holiness. The other day, as we

1531.

both were going to transact business at the Privy Council, to stay, if possible, certain taxes which these Londoners (*Londriens*) wished to be imposed on foreign merchants, Jean Jocquin declared to me that he was no longer in such favour at this court as he used to be, and complained bitterly to me of the great difficulty of negotiating commercial matters with these people, or keeping up friendship and good feeling with them, quoting as an example the Bill that was passed in Parliament last year entirely prohibiting the sale of caps (*bonnets*) from France, which prohibition the French said at the time, and still maintain, is against the treaties of alliance and commerce between the two countries. The said Jocquin has ever since been trying to have things restored to their former state, and has spoken rather angrily since his return from France; but all in vain, he has not yet been able to obtain even a promise of it. There is, therefore, nothing he desires so much, as he himself assures me, as to be released from his charge, and is now trying all he can to obtain his congé very differently from what he used to do in former times when he did all he could to remain accredited to this court. He told me the other day that the money for the pension and other debts of his master to this king had been received at Calais, and that the payment had been delayed for upwards of four months owing to the difficulty of procuring gold and silver in France.

The King is having a great park made in front of the house which once belonged to the Cardinal (Wolsey), and in order to go to it across the street has had a very long covered gallery built, for which purpose a number of houses have been pulled down to the great damage and discomfort of the proprietors without there having yet been any question of indemnifying them for their losses. All this is done to please the Lady who prefers that palace for the King's residence to any other, owing to there being no apartments for the Queen there. It is likewise to please the said Lady that the duchess of Norfolk has been dismissed [from Court] owing to her speaking too freely, and having declared in favour of the Queen much more openly than these people like her to do.

The day before yesterday Stephano Colonna arrived here attended by two or three gentlemen of his suite. He took lodgings at the French ambassador's, and was yesterday visited by the Papal Nuncio. Nothing is yet rumoured about the cause of his journey, except that he comes to see the country, &c. Should I learn more on the subject I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty. — London, 14th May [15]31.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph pp. 3.

1531.

May 14. **721.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien, Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 23.

I have had from several quarters a confirmation of what I wrote to Your Majesty concerning the mission of Dr. Faux (Foxe) to France, and have been told besides that the said agent would afterwards go to Rome where he is to take a number of books (*livres*) on this matter of the divorce, of most of which the King himself is the reputed author. These books the Doctor has charge of, shewing first to the Most Christian King that they may be approved and authorised by the French universities, and also that he may be better informed of the case, and push the affair at Rome more briskly and with greater importunity than he has done hitherto.

Four days ago the clergy of the archbishopric of Yort (York) and bishopric of Durein (Durham) addressed to the King a protest remonstrating against the sovereignty which he claims and pretends to exercise over them. Those of the archhishopric and province of Canterbury have done the same, and have sent a copy of their protest to Monseigneur de Granvelle, at which the King, as may be imagined, is very much disgusted, the more so that one of his couriers coming from Rome must have brought him news that his ambassadors at that court were afraid that the Pope would, without granting any more delays, proceed to the trial and sentence of the case before the vacations.

Stefano Colonna, I am told, went on Sunday last to call on the King, and on Thursday went again to Court to take leave, being on both occasions conducted thither by Jean Jocquin, at whose house he is staying. I hear that on Sunday, when Stefano saw the King for the first time, the latter spoke much during dinner of that captain's prowess and loyalty, extolling his conduct at Florence, as compared with that of others who had behaved most treacherously towards that city, and again placed the inhabitants under the Pope's tyrannical rule. But for the treason of such people (he said) poor Florence would never have submitted to such an ignominious surrender when its citizens had still the means of protracting the defence. In this way did the King praise Stefano and vituperate His Holiness, as he is in the habit of doing whenever there is an opportunity. Stefano, moreover, left yesterday [for France] having been presented by the King with a fine saddle-horse (*une belle aquenee*) and two silver-gilt cups (*flaccons*). Had the King known Stefano's attachment to the Pope, and how he has expressed himself in private whilst in England on the divorce affair, and what he himself thinks of it, surely the present would not have been so handsome.

For the third time the French ambassador and myself went the other day to the Privy Council to remonstrate against certain taxes which the Londoners (*les Londriens*) have for a long time tried to impose on foreign merchants, greatly to the detriment of Your Majesty's subjects and those of France. Had it not been for

1531.

my intervention and that of the French ambassador in this case the matter would already have been decided in favour of the said Londoners, for the King and the Privy Council are nowadays (*au temps que court*) trying to coax and please them as much as they can. Yet, owing to our joint remonstrances, I have no doubt that the tax, if levied, will be at least reduced to one half.

I must observe that in all this business the members of the Privy Council without exception, and other officials with whom I have had to deal, have been more courteous and polite than ever, making all manner of offers of service. Even the duke of Norfolk made me so many caresses yesterday that I do not know what to think of it. After a long conversation in private, during which he made many gracious and flattering offers to me, he related among other things all calculated to shew the affection and esteem of the King, his master, towards Your Majesty, that one of the courtiers having spread in the Royal presence some disparaging report about Your Majesty—which seemed unreasonably exaggerated—the King had suddenly interrupted him by saying that he could never believe Your Majesty capable of such an action. These words the Duke repeated to me three or four times running in the most solemn manner, calling to witness the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire), the King's treasurer, and the secretary who had been present the day before when the King had proffered the said sentiment. In the midst of the conversation Jean Jocquin came on, and seizing the opportunity I said aloud: "No one shall ever prevail upon the Emperor to believe that the king of England can ever say or think of him otherwise than befits a prince so good and virtuous, and who is besides his relative and friend. I am, moreover, sure that His Imperial Majesty will never give occasion to the English or to the French and others to entertain such opinion about him." I cannot say whether the conversation was to Jocquin's taste or not, but the fact is that in order to put an end to it he strongly solicited that we should go on with the business that brought us to the Privy Council.

It appears that whilst La Guiche was in England hearing that Jean Jocquin had obtained the release from prison of a coin shaver (*rogneur de monnoye*), he tried his influence over the King and asked for, and obtained, the liberation of certain pirates. No sooner, however, were they out of prison than most of them armed again a vessel and captured two ships from Britanny, at which Jocquin has been exceedingly disgusted, not only on account of the loss sustained by the said Bretons, his countrymen, but of the mockery and sneers to which he is daily exposed, the courtiers saying to him openly: "It serves you right for thus delivering those pirates from the gallows; all the harm they henceforward do to French vessels will be your fault." On this very subject the duke of Norfolk had a hit at Jockin

1531.

the other day, and the ambassador had to own that it was all La Guiche's doing.—London, 22nd May [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

14 May. **722.** King Ferdinand to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 28. Lanz. Corresp. d. Kays. II., p. 451.

Since his letter of the 27th ult° reliable information has reached him of the disturbances and movements which the Switzers, instigated by the king of France, are now attempting against Italy, as may be seen by the two enclosed documents. If the information, as he believes, be correct, some provision must be made to arrest the evil, for should the war break out in Italy it is to be feared that the sectarians of Germany will also rise in arms, and seize the opportunity of carrying out their wicked plans.

Again recommends that an Imperial Diet be held in some town of Germany before the Emperor's departure for Spain. Such is the advice of the Palatine Frederic, and other Imperial counsellors, as may be seen by the lengthy memorandum in German herein enclosed.* This might put an end to the Swiss intrigues, which, favoured as they no doubt are by the French and other enemies of the Empire, have probably some connexion with the plans of the Lutheran princes. Takes the opportunity of forwarding a copy of the duke of Brunswick's answer to his letter conveying the Emperor's wishes, also the answers received from the Landgrave [of Hesse] and duke Ulric of Wiertanberg (Wurtemberg). Cannot help observing that those of the latter princes are couched in language rather unrespectful, and most unfit for princes who have been deprived of their respective estates, thus shewing, as the duke of Brunswick remarks, that both are ill disposed and waiting only for an opportunity to do harm. Though the demands of those princes be most preposterously high, it is worthy of consideration that should they under present circumstances find assistance anywhere out of Germany, and rise in arms, he (the King) could not successfully meet them having no money at hand to recall his troops from Hungary, the Suabian League—to whose care the occupation and administration of the said estates has been committed—having lately refused to co-operate, &c. Indeed news has come that the duke Ulric [of Wurtemberg] only the other day attempted to surprise the castle of Hohenasperg (Hohendsperg), where his Imperial Majesty was on St. Andrews' Day, and would actually have taken it had not the governor been on the alert.

The palatine Frederic has sent a long account of his many services and at the same time a petition asking for greater reward than he has had hitherto. Considers him highly deserving of the Imperial favours, he being among the few

* Not in the bundle.

1531.

princes of the Empire who love the Emperor sincerely, whilst all the rest hate him. With regard to the payment in cash and increase of pension which the Duke solicits, this might be easily met by the Emperor allowing the marriage of the marchioness of Monferrato to the duke of Mantua, for in that case he (the King) would willingly undertake to satisfy part of the Palatine's claims.—Prague, 14th May 1531.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 5.

15 May **723.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 104.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 213.

In the last Consistory it was decided once more that the Englishman who came to excuse his master, the King, from appearing here shall not be heard unless he brings special powers to that effect. The Pope is favourably inclined towards the Queen, and the same can be said of almost all the cardinals. It would be a good thing if the proceedings in this cause could be quickened as much as possible.

Thanks for his preferment to the post of preacher to His Imperial Majesty, and the remittance of 100 crs.—Rome, 15th May 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor, our Lord."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty, from Dr. Ortiz, 15 May."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

16 May. **724.** Muxetula to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 33.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 214.

Fully intended writing by this servant of Signor Fabritio,* now going to Court; but as the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) dislikes that mode of conveyance, and wishes to send off his own despatches this very night, he (Muxetula) has changed his mind, and decided to write by the regular Imperial courier. Has, however, nothing important to say save that, according to advices from the marquis of Alarcon, letters from Constantinople of the 17th of April have been received at Naples stating that a fleet of 160 Turkish sail may be shortly expected on the coasts of Naples and Sicily, and that a powerful land force was besides being prepared for the purpose of invading Hungary.

A secretary of the king of France has arrived here [at Rome] for the purpose of justifying his answer to Balançon about the Council. It is, however, believed that all is but wind and vanity (*aer y vanidad*).—Rome, 16th May 1531.

* "Yo pensava con este del S. Fabritio embiar las carthas á Su M^{tad}. y por che esta noze (*sic*) l'embaxador chiere despazar, y no le ha parezido embiar las carthas con el presente hombre, yo embio tambien las mias con las otras." Fabritio is probably meant for Fabricio Colonna.

1531.

P.S.—Fabritio's secretary having left without taking this, I send it by captain Rodrigo [Ripalta].*

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

19 Mai. **725.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,174.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 228.

Had the sentence about Ferrara affected only my own personal interests I should certainly not have complained of it, but those of the Church and of this Apostolic See being seriously compromised therein I cannot do less than remonstrate against it. Such as it is, however, I must needs be satisfied, and blame only the bishop of Vaison, who, disregarding the mandate given him, has adhered more to his own private opinion of the affair than to the letter of his instructions, or to Your Majesty's own wish, since I understand that every effort was made on your part to leave matters as they were until they naturally returned to their former state.† I can plainly see that such was Your Majesty's intention since you could not entirely agree to the demands made from hence, and that it was entirely the Bishop's fault that the sentence was delivered in the manner it was. I am, however, consoled in the midst of my displeasure by the firm belief that Your Majesty will henceforward redress as much as possible the detriment received by the Church in the manner that has been pointed out to me. To this purpose I now send to you Miçer Fabio Mignanelli, consistorial auditor, bearer of this my letter, for whom I beg full credence, as well as for my said legate at the Imperial Court. Your Majesty's two holograph letters upon this Ferrara's sentence, and about the Council, this last having been delivered by the bishop of Tortona, have duly come to hand.—Rome, 19th May 1531.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro carolo Romanorum Regi, Imperatori Semper Augusto."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

20–31 May. **726.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 229.

The consistorial advocate‡ has taken his departure with the Pope's final resolution about the Ferrara affair, and his offers are in exchange for the privileges forfeited by the duke Alfonso.§

(*Cipher:*) Cardinal de Grammont is negotiating with His Holiness about many things, all of them important. First of

* "Partiose l'hombre del S. Fabritio primero che yo le diesse esta cartha; por esto la embio por el capitan Rodrico."

† "Habbi piu credito all' opinion sua che alla M^ta. V. dalla quale uedo che non restò di lasciar correr' il tempo senza far alcuna resolution et tornar le cose nel termine di prima, poi che non poteva resolversi nelle modi scritti de qua."

‡ Fabio Mignanelli?

§ "Y lo que Su Sant^d. ofresce por la investitura de los derechos de que cayó el Duque." Against this paragraph is a marginal note in the hand of Covos, thus worded: "The answer which the Emperor gave to the consistorial advocate has already been communicated to the ambassador (Mai), and, therefore, no more need be said about it."

1531.

all the marriage of the duke of Orleans to his niece (Catherina de' Medici), for which the Pope says he will conclude nothing that is contrary to the peace of Italy or the Emperor's interest. Has also undeceived the Cardinal with respect to Milan, which is another thing the French are aiming at, and told him that on no account was the King, his master, to presume that the result of the Ferrara sentence was in any way to forward his views, since he (the Pope) was quite satisfied with it.

The king of France desires the matrimonial cause to be decided out of Rome, in England, in France, or otherwise in Cambray. By his orders Mr. de Grammont has officially applied for two cardinal's hats for subjects of his own, and two more for English churchmen, and besides that for the right of presentation of Frenchmen to French bishoprics, &c.

He openly told His Holiness the other day that the Council would be injurious to his interests. The Pope answered that he did not care at all for his own personal interests. He then tried to persuade him that the meeting would be exceedingly inconvenient, and produced letters from the duke of Saxony and others of his adherents, also allies of France, complaining that His Imperial Majesty had called them heretics.

There is in his opinion very little chance of the Council being convoked, for the king of France declares that if it ever take place he must be present at it, and has, moreover, raised difficulties about the place where it is to be held, &c. The Pope says that the Emperor's presence is necessary, but that the King's is not.—Rome 20–31st May 1531.

Milan, Marquis del Vasto, &c.

Indorsed: "Abstract from the letters of Muxetula of the 20th, 24th, 25th, 26th, and 31st of May."

Spanish. Original. pp. 7.

20 May. **727.** The CARDINAL OF RAVENNA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 21.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 234.

Has received almost at the same time two Imperial letters, one concerning the business of England, the other relating to his vote at the last creation of cardinals. Thanks the Emperor for the acknowledgment of his small services. Was always his admirer, and intends to persevere in what he considers his duty. Offers again his services on every occasion.—Rome, 20th of May 1531.

Signed: "B. Car^{lis} Ravennat."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred and Victorious Majesty the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

21 May. **728.** The ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 22, f. 36.

Came to Ocaña when he heard of the Empress' determination to leave [for Avila?]. She started on her journey

1531.

Wednesday, the eve of Ascension Day, and though the road through Toledo is a little longer, yet to avoid the passage of the ferry boat, Her Majesty came that way, and slept there Friday night. Saturday next she came to this town of Ylliexas (Illescas). She will continue her journey to-morrow, and we are in hopes that by next Friday, before the festival of the Holy Ghost, she will reach Avila. Her Majesty is in very good health; also the Prince and the Infanta.—Illiescas, 21st May 1531.

The letter* which I told Your Majesty had been found [at Toledo] touching the Queen's cause I shewed to Lic^te^ Medina and Dr. Beltran, both of whom are here, engaged for the defence. They tell me they do not think that it will be of much use, certainly not of so much as I thought at first. However, they ask for time to deliberate, and the document is still in their hands to be examined, &c.

Signed: "A. Toletanus."

Addressed: "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly holograph. pp. 2.

23 May. **729.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L 854, f. 118.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 235.

Has received Her Majesty's letter of the 28th March, but is much surprised to hear that his own despatches ever since last February have not reached their destination. They were three in number, containing the substance of what has been done here, at Rome, for the Queen's cause since his arrival. Will now copy some of them for the Empress' information. [Transcribes literally his despatches of the 11th and 23rd of April, and then continues:] I have received a letter from Her Highness the queen of England, ordering me privately to explain to His Holiness how very unjustly her case is being conducted here, at Rome, and although such an explanation is not within the boundary or limits of the process, yet that His Holiness may be more particularly informed of the manifest justice of the Queen's cause, I intend, according to her orders, to go to the Pope at certain hours. I am sure he will hear me with benevolence, as at other times, for he wishes—as I have been told by some lawyers whom he occasionally consults on the case—to be fully informed thereof. The cardinals, likewise, feel much disposed to acknowledge that justice and right are entirely on the Queen's side.

At the last Consistory it was again resolved not to admit any excusator from England unless he came fully provided with powers of attorney from the King to represent him at the proceedings.

His Holiness was very much pleased at the receipt of a letter from the Queen, but has only sent her a verbal answer through his Nuncio for fear his letter should fall into the King's hands, and thus afford an excuse for his challenging him as judge.

* No. 710, p. 145.

1531.

I received from England instructions to examine St. Gregory's answer, "ad quintam quæstionem Augustini, Anglorum episcopi," presented to the English Parliament by a certain friar as an argument that the King can divorce and marry again. It was, moreover, stated that the King's partizans laid much stress on it. I immediately sent thither by duplicate, and through two different ways, copies of the conclusion which I once maintained at Salamanca on this very point, and which in my opinion offers no difficulty. I also forwarded another copy to the bishop of Rochester with a letter begging him to add or take out whatever he pleases, because he is a very worthy man, a good servant of God, and one who has laboured strenuously for the success of this cause.

Enclosed is a copy of my said conclusion that it may also be examined by lawyers and divines in Spain, and if any amendment or correction be required, that it be introduced in time, for, as I said before, this is a point on which the opposite party trust most of all.—Rome, 23rd May 1531.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

23 May. **730.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 108.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 241.

Thanks for the 300 crs. which the High Commander Covos remitted to him, and also for the annual pension of 500, which the archbishop of Santiago [Tavera], president of the Royal Council writes to him, is to be in future assigned for his maintenance as long as he stays at Rome.

In the affair of the queen of England he (Ortiz) has nothing new to report except that having received a letter from her, requesting him particularly to inform His Holiness of the justice of her case, he has done so on three different occasions, and has found the Pope very well disposed to listen to him and to help her.

The Imperial ambassador (Mai) has his witnesses ready—at least such as are at Rome—to present them in the cause. It would have been desirable that this had been done long ago, because as there was no agent of the English king to answer for him the application of his excusator having been rejected—sentence could easily have been gained by "contradittas." Now this will be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, for it is reported that the King's ambassadors have mandate to state their master's excuses, and as they must of course be heard first, the short time intervening between this day and the vacations will be spent in examining the King's excuses, seeing if they are legitimate or not, and answering them so as to be in a condition to pronounce sentence.

Cardinal Tarbes has lately come to this court. The Pope

1531.

tells me that he urges him to commit the cause to some place nearer to England, either Cambray or some other town, where the King (Henry) may more readily learn the course of the proceedings. The question now is whether this application of the king of France, and the reasons that no doubt will be alleged by the English in support of that measure, will be considered sufficient. I believe not, and for my own part will do everything to prevent it.—Rome, 25th May 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. .

25 May. **731.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 247.

Duke of Mantua.
Prothonotary Gattinara.
Has stated in a former despatch how necessary it is that the papers he has applied for should come and be delivered into the hands of the auditor of the Rota. That would not only be beneficial to the Queen's case, but advantageous also in a thousand other ways.—Rome, 25th Mai 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred Majesty the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

25 May. **732.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 45.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 243.

The sentence of Ferrara, &c.
(*Cipher:*) I called the other day on cardinal Tarbes, who is staying at the [Papal] Palace, and he told me so many lies and absurdities (*mentiras y vanedades*) that I am quite amazed. He spoke to me in the most positive manner of the great friendship now existing between Your Majesty and the King, his master, of the interview which was shortly to take place, and of the great confidence both of you had of doing each other service. This last sentence he repeated several times to me, adding that in the short time he intended remaining at Rome (for he says that another bishop is coming to replace him), he (the Cardinal) would do wonders for the Imperial service, &c. Took great care to contradict every one of his assertions the next time I myself had an audience from the Pope.
(*Common writing:*) Respecting the General Council the above-mentioned ambassador told the Pope, not me, that if the King, his master, had hitherto made difficulties, it was entirely for the sake of His Holiness. It was (he said) through fear of such Council that Your Majesty got your brother to be made king of the Romans, and it is now through

1531.

the same fear that you purpose to pacify Germany. Nowise (said he) would the King, his master, attend the Council in person unless he himself had equal possessions to those of Your Majesty [in Italy], the Council to be convoked for some town out of this country, and no more crowned heads asked to attend, except as represented by their respective ambassadors, as stated in the first answer given to Mr. de Prato (Praët) in France.

(*Cipher :*) The truth is that this matter cannot possibly be in worse plight (*estragada*) here. I have always said from the beginning that the Pope will never, if he can help it, consent to a Council. Muxetula and the rest entertained at first a different opinion, but now begin to be of my mode of thinking, owning that the whole matter is exceedingly disagreeable to the Pope. His Holiness, moreover, tells me that according to late advices from France the King has answered, or is about to answer, to Mr. de Prat (Praët) that he will certainly not come to Piacenza or to any other city of Italy. This and the insistance of the French about the marriage, the frequent interviews he (the Pope) has with Tarbes, &c., persuade me that there is some intrigue going on.

The Most Christian King, moreover, takes a particular interest in the affairs of the king of England, and is now doing all he can to promote his views here. Tarbes himself told me the other day that some expedient ought to be found by means of which the cause of England might be suspended so as not to drive the King to despair. I made a fit answer to such proposals on the part of Tarbes, who, I am told, has assured the Pope and others that this wretched matrimonial suit will ultimately cause the ruin of the World. The king of England (he said) must not be driven to despair, lest he should proceed to extremities, for in that case the Most Christian King, though much against his will, could not possibly abandon him. He (Tarbes) had already dissuaded his master from practically helping the king of England in certain measures he was contemplating, and which might have been seriously inconvenient.* His wish (he said) was to procure a commission for the cause to be sent out of the Roman Rota.

Such is for the present the avowed purpose of the French. The better to carry out their end and deceive us they assert that a marriage is presently to be negotiated between a son of the Most Christian King and the princess of Wales (Mary), which in my opinion is not substantially true. Tried to answer as best I could these overtures of Tarbes, patronized as they seem to be by His Holiness ; but perceiving my determination to execute Your Majesty's orders in every respect the Pope dropped the subject and there was no more said about it. Next day he (the Pope) told Miçer Andrea that perhaps it would be better not to grant expressly a delay in the proceedings but to

* "Que ya le ha desviado de algunos inconvenientes en que comenzaba [a] aparejar [se] el dicho señor Rey de Anglaterra."

1531.

go on with the suit slowly and with greater calm. "If in the meantime (said the Pope) the proposed marriage took effect the cause of itself would be settled (*caheria de suyo*)." Andrea, however, in reply to the Pope's overtures observed that Your Majesty had forces enough to settle the quarrel by yourself. "Not so much as you think (replied the Pope), for in the first place the Turk is sure to come down next year, and Tarbes has shewn me letters from the duke of Saxony and from the Landgrave [of Hesse] and others, announcing that some free cities have made offers to the Most Christian King from which I calculate that the Emperor may and will be in trouble."

Such is the state of things at present, but Your Majesty may be sure that everything will be done on my part to prosecute the terms of Law. If the sentence can be gained before the holidays by contumacy (*contradittas*) well and good, if not, we must wait. Meanwhile witnesses might be examined in Spain, and the process will thus be well constructed.*—Rome, 25th May 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

26 May. **733.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 229.

In the last Consistory His Holiness proposed the nominations and cardinals' hats asked by Tarbes, also that of the lord of Monaco; the Capuan's was not mentioned. The cardinals refused the one and the other, and with regard to the nominations, it was decided not to grant them, and as to the causes and reasons of the application that a proper inquiry should be made. Tarbes is very much offended at this. Upon the whole, though the Emperor's application has also been disregarded, the refusal of the French candidate makes the game equal, the more so that the objection made to Monaco was his being a Grimaldo, and a very cruel man, having committed murders, &c.

Hears that the cardinals being so numerous, the Pope is about to issue a bull enjoining that three days after the death of a Pope a conclave should be held. All cardinals absent from Rome at the time, or arriving at the expiration of the three days not to be admitted, which in my opinion will prove a rather difficult matter to be put in practice.

Speaking about his negotiations with the French he (the Pope) said that he had been so pressed by the ambassador (Tarbes) that he must needs come to a rupture with them. To avoid this he had committed to cardinal Salviati and to his father (Jacopo), as well as to Sanga, the charge of negotiating with them on the proposed marriage.

News recently come from Hungary and confirmed by the

* "Y el proceso con la ayuda de Dios será bien fornido."

1531.

Venetians, state that the Sophi of Persia has completely routed the Turk.

Antonio Doria,* formerly in the French service, has gone to Genoa with three or four of his galleys. Not knowing whether the Emperor was willing to employ him, he came here and offered his services to the Pope, who has not yet made up his mind to accept them. It would be advisable to seize this opportunity and detach him at once from the French service, because without these four galleys and those which may soon follow their example, the French cannot possibly arm by sea.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

31 May. **734.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 29.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 248.

(*Cipher :*) The king of France, as His Holiness tells me, fearing lest by his giving his niece to the duke of Milan in marriage, all hopes of acquiring that estate should vanish, has lately been urging him to marry her to his second son [the duke of Orleans], and send her at once to France until the marriage could take place. In the meantime the King thinks he will defeat any attempt to marry her to the Duke, or elsewhere, and then he will allege that his son does not like her, and make him marry some other princess. Perceiving his insistance on this point, the Pope at first had some suspicion of the King's real intentions; but we have since proved to him that such is his evident purpose; he has, therefore, declared in the most solemn manner that he will listen to no overtures, nor send his niece to France until she is of competent age to sign the contract and consummate matrimony.

It is for this express purpose that Tarbes came [to Rome], and I presume that as he has gained his aim he will soon return to France to see whether the King will again propose simply the marriage without the express condition of the future bride being taken immediately to France. The Pope tells me that he is doing this only to gain time. He does not seem to object to his niece marrying the duke of Milan, although the state of the Duke's health on one hand, and the proposal which the Pope himself made some time ago, that upon the death of Francisco Sforza without male children, the Duchy should devolve upon the king of France, seem rather to be a drawback. Asks for instructions how to act, and what to say in case of His Holiness broaching the subject again.—Rome, 31st March 1531.

Spanish. Cipher. Contemporary deciphering.

31 May. **735.** PIETRO PAOLO PARISIO to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,456, f. 242.

Having heard from Pedro Rolans, Your Imperial Majesty's servant, that the cause of Her Highness, the queen of England,

* A nephew of Andrea.

1531.

is being carelessly conducted at Rome, and by no means with the diligent zeal shewn by the opposite party, I cannot refrain from offering my services, and introducing the present bearer, who will explain my views on the subject.—San Giovanni di Verdara, at Padua, 31st May 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Pablo Torrellas, regular Canon."

Addressed: "Sacro Cesari Catholico Carolo quinto Imperatori Maximo."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty from Petro Paulo Parisio, in credence of Pedro Rolans."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

31 May. **736.** Don Pablo Torrellas to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,456, f. 244.

Has heard from Pedro Rolans, &c. [as in the preceding, after which he continues:]

Wrote many days ago to Rodrigo Niño, stating what he thought of the Queen's case, and how it was proceeded with at Rome; told him that in his opinion the suit was very slovenly conducted; that people could not or would not go on with it. Gold and silver (he said), which after all are only a handful of earth, ought by no means to be preferred to the honour and glory of God and of Your Majesty. He (Torrellas) can well see what zeal and diligence the opposite party displays in this affair, and that no money is spared to bribe right and left. *Indeed, it is said that the English agents have already spent upwards of 3,000 crs. in this city [of Padua] alone, distributing them among all those who could be of any use, by writing in favour of their king. Said at the same time to Niño that he (Torrellas) was positively sure that all the [Paduan] doctors, who had already concluded in favour of the King, would again decide in favour of the most christian [queen] his wife, provided some sort of compensation were allowed to the doctors for their labours and fatigue, and for the time and money spent at the Studio (University). Recommended that three at least among the best and most learned whom he (Torrellas) knew to be inclined to favour the Queen should be retained by him (Niño), although it was understood that each of them had received 100 crs. in advance [from the opposite party] for studying the case.

The ambassador answered that he did not think he (the Emperor) would like to appear in a case of this sort, for fear the English king should complain, and say that the said doctors wrote through intimidation more than for love of

* "Y que no se devia preponer oro ni plata, que era una poca de tierra, al onor de Dios y de vr̃a Mag y que veia que los contrarios con su grande sollicitud y que no perdonarian alla (*sic*) bolsa, que es fama han gastado ya tres mill escudos en esta ciudad en quantos se han podido ymaginar podian servir, ho (*sic*) en fauorescer ho (*sic*) en escrivir en este negocio, y que tenia por cierto que quantos avian escrito por el rey escriuirian por la christianissima, reconociendose (*sic*) en alguna parte las fatigas de los dotores que para esto han trabajado y gastado lo que tenian en ell estudio para bivir (*sic*) dél."

1531.

justice. He (Torrellas) has no patience with these erroneous impressions on the part of the Imperial ambassador (Niño), knowing, as he knows, that the king of England on his side is doing all he can to gain his object. Indeed, it seems to him incredible that whilst the King is trying every possible dodge, and has already corrupted and gained over to his cause almost all the doctors in the World (*quantos ay en el mundo*), His Majesty should be told that it is much better for us to hold our tongues and remain quiet. He (Torrellas) wishes he was of some worth, for he would certainly sell himself downright for the defence and benefit of such a just cause as the Queen's. Will say no more at present on this subject, but refers entirely to the bearer, who, knowing his inmost heart and his good intentions will be able to report faithfully on the state of opinion [in Padua], and that some of the principal doctors of its studio (University) are ready to write in favour of the Queen.—San Giovanni di Verdara, 31st May 1531.

Signed: "Don Pablo Torrellas, regular Canon."

Addressed: "Sacro Cesareo Catholico Carolo quinto, Imperatori Maximo."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

2 June. **737.** Don Rafael de Como to the Same.

S. E. L.1,456, f. 249.

Has answered the Imperial letters dated from Augusta (Augsburg) the 23rd of September, and expressed at the time his readiness to fulfil the commission therein entrusted to him, and of which the Imperial ambassador in Venice (Rodrigo Niño) gave him full cognizance. Sent by the same conveyance his treatise on prædestination and free will, dedicated to His Imperial Majesty. Since then new objections having been raised against the Queen's just cause, he (Como) has composed another new treatise, more full and comprehensive than the first, wherein all the arguments of the opposite party are victoriously answered and refuted. This he has forwarded to the most reverend cardinal Campeggio through his son, the bishop of Bologna, that he may present it to His Majesty. Feeling, however, some sort of shyness at addressing directly so great an Emperor, the said treatise has been entrusted to the bearer, Pietro Rolans Purxelai (Ruccelai?), the Emperor's faithful servant, who lodges next to him at this monastery of Padua.

He (Como) will leave soon for Piacenza, where his superiors have destined him to read philosophy and theology at the convent of Saint Augustine of that city.—Padua, 2nd June 1531.

Signed: "Raphaele da Como, canonico regulare."

Addressed: "Sacro Cesari semper augusto, Orbis Imperatori invictissimo felicissimo."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

1531,
4 June. **738.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 289.

On the second day of Pentecost, whilst prosecuting as usual the "informacion" in the presence of His Holiness, he told me that Tarbes had actually brought from France a book written in favour of the king of England, and addressed to his master, king Francis. The Pope had not asked to see it, but if he, Ortiz, wished an application should be made that it might be examined and refuted. The truth is that the Pope hates these attempts of the king of England* to escape from his ecclesiastical authority.—Rome, 4th June 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

6 June. **739.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 25.

On Monday last the Papal Nuncio received letters from Rome informing him of the repeated and importunate applications made by the duke of Albany in order to obtain a suspension (*surseance*) of the proceedings of the suit between the king and queen of England. Indeed, among other charges entrusted to the cardinal de Grammont, one was to solicit and recommend in the name of his master, the king of France, a complete suspension in the divorce suit, which the Pope thought was a fruitless attempt and loss of time (*poyne perdue*), since justice must needs have its course. The king of England ought to be told that His Holiness will act most impartially in the case, and give just sentence without injury to either party. There is, therefore, no need whatever of the French king's intervention, for what the Pope did not do for the sake of the king of England himself he would certainly not do for any other prince in the World, not even for the sake of the Most Christian king of France, in whose favour he would do many other things.

The Pope in his despatch to the Nuncio mentioned also the truce concluded between the king of the Romans and the Turk, charging him, nevertheless, to exhort the King to make preparations for next year.

Believing that his visit would be neither agreeable to the King nor profitable to our cause, the Nuncio hesitated at first about going to Court, but at my persuasion went last Tuesday. He was very well received, and after explaining the causes the Pope had had for not granting the delay asked for, as well as the excuses he had made to the cardinal de Grammont upon his return to Rome, the King said that he had been already acquainted with the fact by his ambassadors. After which, and having uttered his usual complaints and recriminations

* "Y en verdad que su Santd. abhomina esto que a atentado el Rey de Inglaterra."

1531.

against His Holiness, he said: "The Pope is evidently doing his utmost to retain the cognizance of this affair, but he must not be deceived and lose his time in addressing to me persuasions and remonstrances, for I shall never consent to his being the judge in that affair. Even if His Holiness should do his worst by excommunicating me, and so forth, &c., I shall not mind it, for I care not a fig for all his excommunications. Let him follow his own at Rome, I will do here what I think best." He also said that he had sent his powers to the Englishman, who had intervened at Rome on behalf of the kingdom, and had no doubt that his interposition would be admitted. On this very subject, and the conversation growing warmer, the King went on to say that if the Pope attempted to act unjustly towards him in the case, or otherwise do him injury, he would certainly retaliate,* for with the help of his brother, the king of France, his true and perpetual ally, he would lead an army against Rome.

After this the King entered on the subject of the Turk, and praised much the resolution taken by the king [of the Romans] of making a truce with him, but as to making any warlike preparations for next year, that, he observed, was no concern of his, but of Your Imperial Majesty and of the Pope. Your Majesty, he said, was powerful enough to attack the Turk without any assistance from him, and as to the Pope, if he wanted money he could easily raise it among those Christian princes with whom he was on good terms, and whose pleasure he did. From him the Pope had nothing to expect, since he had persistently refused all his requests.

In this way the King went on attacking the Pope until, having somewhat mastered his passion, he added: "I take the Pope to be upon the whole a worthy man, but ever since the last wars he has been so awfully afraid of the Emperor that he dares not act against his wishes." Then he added: "Yet as I know him to be a thoroughly good man, and of great natural tact (*a la bonne addresse des choses*), I will send him a newly printed book on condition that he will not shew it to any living soul for some time to come. In this manner will I try to make him lean to the side of justice." Thus saying he (the King) handed over to the Nuncio a work of which I myself had procured a copy the day before, notwithstanding all the King's precaution and care. I have sent it to Mons. de Granvelle that he may look it over, and then forward it to Miçer Mai (*sic*) and to Doctor Ortiz at Rome, that both may be on their guard and prepared to answer; which in my opinion is easy enough, for there is nothing in the book which goes to the root of the matter (*chose que morde et penetre jusques au vifz*) or that cannot be refuted in two words.

After the Nuncio's departure, the King was long in consultation with his privy councillors and other great men, and finding no other means of parrying the blow announced from

* "Et que faisant della le pape a son appetit, de par deça il feroit au sien."

1531.

Rome, it was decided to send some one to the Queen for the purpose of inducing her to consent to the delay of the proceedings, and to the removal of the cause somewhere else. The Queen was secretly acquainted with the fact that very evening, and on Tuesday morning, without any further communication, as the virtuous and Christian princess that she is, took the true counsel, and caused several masses of the Holy Ghost to be said, that she might be thereby enlightened and know what to answer to the King's deputation for the salvation of her soul, and the good and repose of the King, kingdom, and the whole of Christendom.

On the said day, therefore, towards eight or nine o'clock at night, just as the Queen was going to bed, there came the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the young marquis [of Dorset], the earls of Tallebot (Talbot), Northumberland, Wiltshire, and several other noblemen, more than 30 in number, accompanied by the bishops of Lincoln and London, doctors Lee, Sampson, and Steve (Stephen Gardiner), the first secretary. Being introduced to the Queen's presence, the duke of Norfolk spoke for the rest and said: "That he and the rest had come there on the part of the King, and by his express command, on State matters of great moment to him and the whole of his kingdom; namely, to signify to her how much displeased and hurt he (the King) was at the contempt and vituperation with which he had been treated on her account by the Pope, summoned as he had been by public proclamation to appear personally at Rome: a strange measure never before enforced by the popes against the kings of England. She (the Queen) might well consider that no reason, however strong or plausible, could be sufficient for the King to abandon his kingdom. That would certainly not help her, and those who had the management of her affairs at Rome, to come to a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of the dispute. It was far better not to press the sentence as they had done and were still doing at Rome. She ought to be contented that by mutual consent of the parties a fit place and impartial judges should be chosen, as otherwise she might be the cause of great troubles and scandals throughout the kingdom, by which all those present, their children, and the rest of their posterity might be thrown into great danger and confusion. He (the Duke) and the rest came to beg and exhort her on behalf of King and kingdom to consider how many dangers they and the whole of England would run by her refusing to comply with the King's wishes, especially as she had no legitimate cause of complaint, since from the very first she had been treated as well and as honourably as any queen of England ever was, and perhaps even more so. Secondly, she ought to recollect the help and assistance given [from England] to her father, the Catholic King [Ferdinand] by means of which he was enabled to make the conquest of Navarre. Thirdly, she ought also to

1531.

bear in mind the many and multifarious services (*plaisirs*) which the King had rendered to Your Majesty, even during the rising of the Commons in Spain, and at many other times which (the Duke said) would take too long to relate. She ought also to consider that the King could not, and ought not to be called upon to leave his kingdom and appear at Rome or elsewhere, except of his own free will and consent, being as he was supreme chief and sovereign in his own kingdom both temporally and spiritually, as had been declared, recognized, and attested by Parliament and the Clergy. All which considerations (added the Duke) ought to remove at once all her scruples in the matter, and induce her to consent to the delay and appointment of place and judges above alluded to."

To the Duke's speech the Queen answered: That no living soul regretted more than she did the annoyance the King had experienced, nor the contempt and humiliation whereof he complained, especially if, as the King said, she was the principal cause of it. She could not, however, think that her proctors at Rome were capable of soliciting, or those who had taken cognizance of the affair, of granting unjust terms or other than such as common right and judicial procedure required; which terms being observed no injury or harm could be done to either of the contending parties. Respecting the choice of other judges but the Pope—the only legitimate one in such cases—she would never consent to it as long as she lived, not that she expected any favour at His Holiness' hands, "for certainly (she said) up to the present time the Pope has shewn himself so much inclined and so partial to the King that nothing more can be asked of him. I myself, and no one else have reason to complain of His Holiness;" and she went on recapitulating the many favours granted to the King since the beginning of the suit, and the injuries she herself had received. "Nevertheless (she added), as the King himself did in the first instance appeal to His Holiness, who keeps the place and has the power of God on earth, and consequently is the image of eternal Truth—I wish and intend that truth and justice and right be recognized and declared by the minister and vicar (*lieutenant*) of the said supreme Truth, namely, by the Pope, whose authority and declaration are more necessary in this case for the repose and example not only of this kingdom, but also of Christendom at large. With regard to the scandals alluded to, I confidently hope in God that as I have hitherto been preserved from being the cause thereof, His divine grace will preserve me in future. It was to avoid such scandals—which have generally their source in injustice and iniquity—that I have followed the path of truth and justice. Those who have led the King to such extremities, against which I protest, had better take heed to what they were about, and obviate such scandals."

As to the good treatment she has received, as the Duke

1531.

said, she owned it and was thankful, as well as of the assistance given to her father [Ferdinand] for the conquest of Navarre. If he had no time fully to acknowledge and requite the service, it was entirely owing to his almost sudden death; otherwise he would never have failed to repay the favours bestowed by England in that respect, as he had both the means and the power, as well as the will and the magnanimity to do so. The services rendered to Your Majesty she could remember and acknowledge in part; yet there was no necessity for further testimony, since Your Majesty had never denied them, but on the contrary bore them in mind with the full intention of repaying them, and doing the King's pleasure whenever an opportunity should offer in all things legitimate and fair. In this (the Queen added) there would be no failure nor dissimulation, for she knew for certain that Your Majesty was the King's sincere and affectionate friend; all ought to know this and try and persuade him thereof. Touching the "supremum caput," she acknowledged the King as her chief and sovereign, and as such was ready to serve and obey him. She considered him the lord and master of the whole kingdom in temporal matters, but in the spiritual God forbid that the King should hold such an opinion, or that she ever should consent thereto, the Pope being the only true sovereign and vicar of God, having power to judge in all spiritual matters; matrimony being of this class there could therefore be no necessity to seek another arbiter.

Immediately after the Queen's answer as above Dr. Lee spoke and said: "She ought to be convinced that having been carnally known by prince Artus (Arthur), her first husband, her second marriage with the King, his brother, was a most detestable and abonimable act in the eyes of God and of the World. That was a fact acknowledged, as he found, by all good English doctors, and confirmed by the universities;" and he went on adducing similar arguments in support of his opinion. To which the Queen replied: "You had better address your allegations to others; you shall never persuade me that what you say is the truth. In this present case you are neither my counsel nor my judge, and I can very well see that what you have just said is more for the sake of flattering the King than of adhering to truth." She then declared that she had never been known by prince Arthur, and that with regard to the dispute pending between her husband, the King, and herself, that was certainly not the fit place to bring it forward; if he (Lee) was inclined to argue for the King he had better go to Rome and plead; he would find there others than women to contend with, and who would shew him that he was far from having seen or read all that had been written on the subject.

Dr. Sampson, the dean of the Chapel, spoke next, and said to the Queen that she was indeed very blameable in thus pertinaciously refusing to have the cause tried and sentenced

1531.

elsewhere than at Rome, and in not allowing the suspension of the proceedings (*surseoir*) for a time. She ought not to hasten, as she was doing, the determination and sentence of the suit, for even if the worst happened for the King at Rome, and she herself was favoured, it would only be after all a sentence pronounced by contumacy (*par contradictes*), which could be easily and by various means annulled and retracted hereafter, besides which it would be the cause of increasing rather than appeasing the contention, for the only available expedient was to proceed at once to the election of judges out of Rome, as the Duke had just proposed.

To this proposition the Queen replied as she had done to the Duke, and ended by saying: "Dean, had you experienced one half of the hard days and nights I have passed since the commencement of this wretched business you would not consider it too hasty or precipitate on my part to wish for, and try to procure, the sentence and determination of this suit, nor would you so accuse me of tenacity and obstinacy. Respecting the "contradictes" and other terms of Law, I know nothing of them; you may go to Rome with Dr. Lee and there discuss the matter at pleasure."

Then the bishop of Lincoln began to condemn the marriage, as Dr. Lee had done, adding that she had actually lived in concubinage ever since, and that God had fully manifested his abomination of such a union by sending down the malediction of sterility with which she had been visited. She could not (he said) deny a connection with her first husband, inasmuch as there were evident proofs of the contrary. The Queen's answer was that although she esteemed and loved the King as much as woman can esteem and love man, even should he be one hundred thousand times greater in quality and perfection, she would never have remained in his company one single moment against the voice of her conscience. She knew perfectly well that she was his legitimate and true wife, and that the proofs to which they alluded, if any existed to the contrary, were forged and false. This she could affirm and maintain as one who knew the truth better than anyone in the world. If any proofs were wanting that she had never known carnally prince Arthur, she could, besides the most solemn oath once taken [before Campeggio] to this effect adduce other testimony to prove theirs to be false and mendacious.

To this last asseveration of the Queen, Dr. Strock (Stokesley) objected, saying: "Were there no other testimonies in our favour the presumption of the Law would be sufficient, for you have lived a length of time under the same roof with the Prince, and shared his bed." The Queen replied: "I care not for such cavilling, I only regard simple truth; as to presumptions and laws, you may go and allege them at Rome with the rest."

The Queen at last said that she was very much astonished to see so many high personages of such great power and influ-

1531.

ence in the World (*pour estonner un 'monde*) thus gathered round her. What could have prevailed upon them thus to assemble and come and surprise her, a poor woman without friends or counsel, she could not guess. Upon which the Duke observed that she could not really complain on that score, for she had undoubtedly the ablest counsel in all England; that is to say, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and others. The Queen interrupted him by saying: "Pretty counsellors those are, for if I ask Canterbury's advice he answers me that he will have nothing to do with such affairs, and keeps repeating to me the words *ira principis mors est.* The bishop of Durham answers that he dares not, because he is the King's subject and vassal. Rochester tells me to have good heart and hope for the best. All the others have made similar answers, so that I have been obliged to send to Flanders for lawyers, as no one here would or dared draw an appeal in my favour. This I have since done by permission and consent of the King himself at the time that he did not object to the cause being transferred to Rome. It was in pursuance of the said Royal permission that the cause was advoked to Rome, and on it I found my right." Hearing this the earl of Wiltshire observed that the permission to appeal, to which the Queen alluded did not go so far as to have the King summoned to appear personally at Rome. To which the Queen replied that she had never solicited or sought the said summons (*citation*), and that if in the pursuit of the said appeal it was deemed necessary to take such a step, she could not be made responsible for it. The duke [of Norfolk] and the earl [of Wiltshire], by way of an excuse, tried to make it appear that they had nothing to do with the affair, and were not the promoters of it. They knew nothing, they pretended, except what they had heard lawyers say on the subject. After which all the lords left the room together without anything more being said.

The bishop of London was pressed to state his argument but when he heard the answers given by the Queen to his colleagues he had not the courage to speak. Most of the others, had they had the liberty of expressing their opinion, would undoubtedly have sided with the Queen, and at least shewed their good wishes, for they kept giving evident signs of satisfaction at the Queen's answers, and elbowing each other whenever any of her replies touched the deputies to the quick.* *Among those who thus took up the Queen's part, though silently, was the King's first secretary, Dr. Estiene (Stephen), who from the beginning had treated this affair at the Pope's court, that being most likely the reason why the Lady strongly suspects and dislikes him. Many more who were present at the conference said afterwards that they* had long been trying to persuade the Queen and give her good advice, but that one woman alone had refuted their arguments

* "Et se bouttant secretement lung lautre quant yl y avoit points que touchoint au vifz."

1531.

and defeated their plans. One of the last was Guillesfort (Guilford), the comptroller, who was heard to say that it would be a very good thing if all the doctors who had been the inventors and abettors of the plan could be tied together in a cart (*charrette*) and sent to Rome, there to dispute and maintain their opinions, and meet with confusion and defeat as they deserved.

And it is reported that when the two dukes and some others went to announce to the King the bad result of their commission, and the reasons the Queen had stated for not acceding to their request, he (the King), who had been impatiently waiting for their return, said: "I feared it would be so, knowing beforehand the heart and fancy of the Queen; but it is now necessary to provide for the whole affair by other means," saying which he remained for some time thoughtful.

Since the receipt of the last letters from Rome, of which I wrote to Your Majesty, the King has been in very bad humour and much perplexed; *he has even had twice high words with Jean Jocquin, who had promised him in his master's name that the Pope would grant the delay applied for and the prorogation of the cause.* I hear also from a very good source that no later than yesterday this King complained bitterly of the Most Christian and of the negotiations being carried on at Rome for a marriage between the Dauphin and the Pope's niece without his knowledge, which circumstances, added to those mentioned above, are in my opinion *the cause of the King's present confusion and bewilderment, he not knowing what to do or where to go for advice.* It might be owing to this that yesterday he sent orders to his ambassador residing at Your Majesty's Court to offer some sort of compromise in this affair, which intelligence, coming from a very good source, I have not hesitated to transmit at once that Your Majesty's ministers may be prepared to meet the offer.

Yesterday there was here a great rumour that the King had summoned several seamen and all his gunners, at which most people thought that some warlike enterprize was in contemplation; but being informed by those who pretend to know the King's intention, I find that it is only for the purpose of bringing here [to the Thames] two or three big ships he has at Fallemue (Falmouth), and having them repaired and caulked, as it is said that they are almost rotten from being so long in port, and that the repairs will be done quicker and cheaper here.

Whilst writing the above I hear that had it not been for Taillebot (*Talbot*) more strange terms and words would have been used towards the Queen, but at two or three meetings which the nobles and prelates held for the purpose of deliberating what line of conduct was to be pursued with respect to her, he (*Talbot*) boldly told the assembly that they ought to consider that they themselves represented all the nobility of the kingdom, and that it appertained to them to act and behave as such, not to use unbecoming words, or swerve from truth and justice to the detriment of princes or private

1531.

individuals. It seemed to him that whoever prosecuted his suit judicially and by fair means did not injure anyone (*ne faysoit tort a personne*). Which speech [of Talbot's], as I am told, was the cause of protracting the deliberations, and delaying the intimation, which was made to the Queen two or three days after. As he left the Queen's chamber, Dr. Lee was heard to say that all the pains the King and others had taken to persuade the Queen had been in vain, for that she still persisted in her declaration of never having been carnally known by prince Arthur.

After the duke [of Norfolk] had reported according to his own views his conference with the Queen, he of Suffolk drew up a summary account of the same, telling the King in so many words that the Queen was ready to obey him in all things, but that she owed obedience to two persons first. The King, imagining that he (the Duke) meant His Holiness and Your Imperial Majesty, asked very eagerly who those two were, and the Duke replied: "God was the first; the second her soul and conscience, which the Queen said she would not lose for anything in this world," to which answer the King made no reply.

The said duke of Suffolk and his wife would, if they dared, oppose this second marriage of the King with all their force. Only two days ago he (the Duke) and the Treasurer had a long talk together on this very topic, both agreeing that now was the time for all to join hands in trying to dissuade the King from his folly (*desarçonner le roy de sa folie*), and that the best way to attain that object was to procure sentence with as little further delay as possible, which sentence, they maintained, would meet with the approbation of many in this country. Matters being so well disposed it is imperative to have the suit pushed as vigorously as possible.

The Lady (Anne) hearing that Guilliefort (Guildford), the comptroller, was not very partial to her, has since threatened him most furiously, saying that when she becomes queen of] England], she will have him punished and deprived of his office. The Comptroller's reply has been that in that event she will not have the trouble of having him cashiered, for he himself will be the first to resign his post. After this Guildford went to the King, and having related what passed, and the Lady's threats surrendered the seals of his office on the plea of bad health. And though the King gave them back to him twice, and would not accept his resignation, saying that he ought not to mind women's talk, the Comptroller, either disgusted at the whole affair, or because he was really indisposed, insisted on giving up his office, and went home.

A German doctor residing at Basle, Simon Grineus by name, and one of Erasmus' friends, has been in London these last few days. He came here in company with a printer of the said Basle, for the purpose of finding old manuscripts to set up in type. The King has caused him to argue this

1531.

divorce question with three or four of his principal doctors, and shewn him the book lately printed on the subject. Grineus, as it would appear, has pronounced it to be of very little value or efficacy, and offered to the King the opinion of the doctors in the district where he himself resides, which offer the King has willingly accepted, and given him money in advance to defray all expenses.—London, 6th June, anno [15]31.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 10.

8 June. **740.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L., 854, f. 119.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 251.

Has received her letter of the 28th April, and written accordingly to the archbishop of Santiago, president of the Council (Tavera).

Copies his two letters of the 25th May and 4th June.—Rome, 8th June 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

9 June. **741.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 7.
B M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 253.

Reports a long conversation with the Pope respecting the views of the king of France about Milan and the marriage of his son [the duke of Orleans] to the Pope's niece. Although not quite indifferent to those overtures of the French ambassador, the Pope has decided not to accept them, asking time to consider, &c., so as to delay the matter as much as possible.

The Council, &c. The king of France persists in his resolution not to attend it personally, and opposes its being held in Italy. This is evidently done to prevent altogether the celebration of the Council, and see whether in the meantime he (the King) can get hold of Milan. This consideration, and fear of the inconveniences that might arise from the convocation of the Council without the approbation and consent of the kings of France and England—some of which inconveniences he (Muxetula) has pointed out in a former despatch—makes cardinal d'Osma and himself (Muxetula) think that it might be advisable to arrange some sort of compromise so that the Emperor may come out of the pass with honour and defeat the plans of the king of France.* And since the Council cannot take effect for the present, and since matters being left as they are, heresy will certainly increase—one of the principal reasons for the celebration of the Council being to confirm the

* "Dar algund corte y medio en lo que agora corre, de manera que V. M^{t} saliese con honrra y con algund buen fin contra lo que el Rey de francia procura."

1531.

German Catholics in their faith, and bring the heretics under subjection, it might be advisable on the Emperor's passage through Germany to propose some sort of agreement with Luther, and ascertain from the good Catholics themselves what the Council and His Holiness the Pope are expected to do for the support of the Faith, and what concessions the Lutherans themselves, in the midst of their own particular dissensions, are prepared to make, and also to have the Emperor, with the approval and consent of His Holiness, made the arbiter of the injuries which they (the Lutherans) pretend to have received. The Emperor after that might come to Rome and induce the Pope to consent to all those reforms considered necessary, and which ought to be granted to the said Lutherans, as well as to the Catholics. There can be no doubt that His Holiness would willingly adhere to such a plan, which could not fail to have a good effect. After calling upon the Pope at Rome His Imperial Majesty might easily visit his kingdom of Naples and then return to Spain by the galleys in June of next year, leaving Italy in peace, and Germany very much better than it was before.

Not only does His Holiness approve of this plan, which both the Cardinal [of Osma] and he [Muxetula] have submitted to him, but he suggested many of the above-mentioned expedients and said he would be glad to see His Imperial Majesty in Italy, when he would be ready to do anything he asked him for.

Marriage of the Pope's niece, &c.

The Imperial army would have risen in mutiny had not the Pope's contribution and 30,000 crs. from Naples arrived in time. He (Muxetula) is continually asking that the troops should be removed elsewhere. They have already been full three months in the lands of the Church, and it is high time that they should remove to other quarters.

Cardinal's hat given to the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoça).

The duke of Ferrara and the sentence, &c.

In consequence of the Emperor's letter he (Muxetula) has received orders to be at Florence on the arrival of the duke (Alessandro), and remain there 20 or 30 days. Intends doing so, but not until he has secured means for the pay of the men during the months of July and August, and the French ambassador (Tarbes) has left for France.—Rome, 9th June 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Most Sacred Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3½.

9 June. **742.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 53.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 257.

After his despatch of the 31st May, which went by Bauri (Waury), the French ambassador tried again to procure a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Toulouse, but hearing

1531.

that the lord of Monacho (Monaco) was on the list they desisted. They have, however, obtained a most valuable concession, *i.e.*, that all elective churches in France be given "a nominatione" perpetually, for although the grant is only meant for the life of king Francis, it can be renewed. Might have opposed this measure by applying to the cardinals of our party when the matter was discussed at the College, but did not. As it is, whatever Tarbes may say to the contrary, eight cardinals voted against the measure, though neither Santa Croce nor d'Osma attended Consistory, the former being absent and the latter unwell.

(*Cipher:*) Tarbes must be out of his senses or else a very wicked man by nature, perhaps both. The other day he was heard to say in public that Your Majesty was shut up in Flanders without having a place to go to, or being able to return home. To Italy (he said) you could not go as you would have to cross France and would not trust yourself there, although you might well do so without fear. By sea you could not venture for fear of England and because the Germans are generally discontented.

Marriage of the Pope's niece, &c.

Arrival at Rome of the Escudier Francisco (Escuyer François), whom the French will still call count Pontremoli, on the 6th.

Tarbes to return to France in a week, the duke of Albany filling his place. Judgment on the former and object of his overtures. The principal aim of the French is to get again a footing in Italy.

Arrival at Rome of Jacopo Albolotto, a Ferrarese lawyer, sent by the duke (Alfonso d'Este).

Venetians resist the appointment of the super-arbiter who is to decide between them and the king of the Romans.

Duke of Milan and marquis of Mus. The latter has lately sent here one of his secretaries begging us to intercede with the Duke in his favour.

The Most Christian King has reduced to 40,000 the 200,000 crs. which was the amount of his debt to the Switzers. He tells them that he cannot do more for the present.

Duke of Amalfi and Siena.

Bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) created cardinal.

The cause of England began (*se ygualó*) two days ago. Two lawyers are now employed in summing up in order to see whether (*siendo instructo el proceso*) they will give us commission to proceed during the vacations. Shall at any rate suggest the measure, even if not able to carry it through (*de ponerlo á lo menos en platica*) before that time, though I hear that the mandate from England is merely to say that the whole of our allegation is a manifest calumny. This will cause at least one month's delay.—Rome, 9th June 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1531.

9 June. **743.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 27.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 262.

My despatch of the 25th ult° must have informed Your Majesty of the state of affairs here. Since then I hear that the Pope's contribution money reached the Imperial camp at a time when the men were on the verge of mutiny. With that and the 20,000 crs. that came from Naples on the 2nd inst., and were immediately sent to the camp, the men are now quiet, and the marquis del Guasto (Vasto) has nothing to fear at least for one month to come. Yet in the state in which the Imperial army is, there ought to be no delay in the payment, otherwise there is danger of the soldiers committing excesses, &c.

(*Cipher:*) I mentioned the other day what His Holiness told me were king Francis' views respecting Milan. He wants Your Majesty and the Pope to consent to the Duchy coming to him, in case of the present duke Francesco Sforza dying without children. Such is the mission of Mr. de Tarbes, as the Pope tells me, and to that end he proposed, as the duke of Albany did before, the marriage of His Holiness' niece to Francis' second son provided the Duchy was given to her. All this, however, is nothing but a stratagem of the French, as I failed not to represent in former despatches; indeed, lest His Holiness might perhaps listen to such proposals, I fully explained to him the danger which the peace of Italy would run if ever the French had again a footing in this country. I told him plainly that were the French to get possession of Milan in this manner they would go on extending their domination over Italy, Rome would become Francis' chapel, and the Pope his chaplain. In short since pope Julius, pope Leo, and His Holiness himself had worked so strenuously to drive the French out of Italy it was (I said) highly improvident to give them again a chance of their becoming the masters of the country by accepting such conditions as those brought forward, &c.

These and other arguments of mine seemed to make some impression upon His Holiness, and I have since heard that cardinal d'Osma (Loaysa) having likewise spoken to him on the subject, heh as fully promised to be on his guard, and take no engagements respecting his niece's hand. Indeed, I am told that the French ambassador having lately asked most earnestly that the marriage should at once be accomplished by proxy, His Holiness has resolutely answered that he will take no engagement until the marriage can be effected, as neither his niece nor the duke of Orleans is at present of a fit age to marry. As it is evident that in proposing such a marriage king Francis has no other object in view than to make the Pope favour his plans about Milan, and principally to destroy any hopes the Pope may entertain of marrying his niece to the present duke, the French are sure to look out for some other means of enticing His Holiness to this step. Tarbes has, therefore, announced that he is about to quit Rome, and return to France to consult his master.

PUBLIC LIBRARY

1531.

With regard to the Council it is quite evident that all the objections which king Francis has hitherto raised about it, as well as about the place of the meeting, besides his wish to be present thereat, are only intended to prevent it altogether, or at least to gain the favour of Your Majesty and of the Pope, so that he may by his consent get the duchy of Milan. Even if by giving his consent to the Council he should get what he wants, there is every probability that hating, as he does, Your Majesty's growing power king Francis will so work and intrigue with the Lutherans of Germany, and perhaps with the Turk also, as to actually prevent Your Majesty from coming to Italy.

Discussing lately with cardinal d'Osma on the expediency of this Council, we both agreed that it could nowise be general, unless the king of France consented to it. Our reasons for thinking so are that if the convocation be made for a general one, and the king of France wishes to be present, and does not accept the place of meeting proposed by His Holiness, it stands to reason that if the convocation be made without his consent and that of the king of England, there will be two councils convoked and held at once; one wherever Your Imperial Majesty and the Pope may designate; the other in a city appointed by the kings of France and England, who will then withdraw their obedience from His Holiness. And since Your Majesty will, and must, act against the Lutherans, God knows whether those sectarians, having the kings of France and England in their favour, as well as the Switzers, will not promote greater confusion and scandal in the Church than they have done hitherto. That is why should France and England, in order to create dissension among the Christian princes, oppose the meeting of the Council in a town designated by Your Majesty, and by so doing diminish the Pope's authority, great mischief will be done, for nobody can prevent the French from convoking another Council in another town, since in these late English differences both the French and the English have caused whole colleges of divines and canonists to assemble and determine that which only His Holiness has really the power to judge; and if they have already done that, who can tell us that they will not convoke a Council of their own? The more so that they may possibly allege that the place designated by the Pope being suspicious to them they want to choose another.

The above considerations make us think, and the Pope is likewise of our opinion, that as long as France and England visibly oppose it, the Council cannot be convoked.

But some will say if there is to be no Council at all what will be the consequence? Our answer is that one of the principal causes for convoking the Council was to confirm the German Catholics in their faith, and with their assistance conquer and subdue the Lutherans. True; but the German Catholics who desire the Council, and are so earnestly asking for it, would not do so unless they expected to gain something through it. They also complain in certain respects of the

1551.

Roman court, and of the Pope himself, and hope that their complaints being atended to, and the remedy proposed by the Lutherans being partly applied, some good may be done. When it is found out that the king of France is the principal cause for the non-celebration of the Council, and that Your Majesty on the contrary has made every effort in your power to bring it about, then Your Majesty will be able to make such an agreement with the German Lutherans as may facilitate some future expedient (*corte*), taking from the Catholics their own suggestions as to what the Pope might do towards mending matters, repairing the damage done to Faith, and composing the private differences of the Catholics. Then Your Imperial Majesty might come to Rome, have an interview with the Pope, and then and there, without a Council arrange matters, &c.

I must not omit to say that when the Pope spoke to me about the French marriage I gathered from his words that the importunity of the demand originated principally in the King's desire to prevent that of Milan. He owned to me that the latter would be more advantageous to him, and more to his honour and reputation than the one proposed by France, not only on account of Florence (*por las cosas de Florencia*), but because the French would then lose all hope of putting their foot in Italy. Yet he still hesitates, for he does not know for certain whether the Duke (Francesco Sforza) is willing or not to marry his niece, and besides he would feel bound to defend him in all questions, and therefore render himself suspicious to France. And as the Pope was never inclined to take too much responsibility on his shoulders he told me the other day: "I speak to you sincerely; if this marriage of my niece [to the duke of Orleans] do not take place, I confess to you that I would rather have her marry the duke of Mantua than that of Milan."

(*Common writing:*) His Holiness is continually asking us to remove the Spanish infantry to other quarters; at the end of this month they will have stayed ten weeks in the lands of the Church; if Your Majesty decide that they quarter the end fignana and in the neighbouring villages, we must be informed in time, &c.

The Pope has been three consecutive days ill with the gout.

A secretary of Ferrara* has come here to ask whether His Holiness intends abiding by the sentence or not. I fancy that the Pope's answer has been shaped in general terms, until it be known whether the Duke intends coming down with money or with mere words.

Excesses in Naples. Assassination of count Policastro.

Orders have been sent for the duke of Amalphi to come here and go back to Siena according to Your Majesty's commands. That seems the best that could be done under present circumstances considering that the Duke was much loved in the place, and that the Sienese themselves have asked for him.

* Jacopo Albolotto (?) *See* above pp. 180 and 182.

1531.

It has been impossible to persuade His Holiness to continue his monthly payments beyond the term of six months, which will expire in September.

The bulls for the cardinal bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) were issued to day, notwithstanding the efforts made by cardinal Tarbes, the Frenchman, to prevent it, for he wanted those obtained in favour of the archbishop of Toulouse to go first.—Rome, 8th June 1533.

P.S.—His Holiness wants me to go to Florence and prepare matters for the reception of the duke [Alessandro de' Medici]. I have accepted the commission, but will certainly not leave Rome before the pay of July and August to the Imperial army is insured, besides which I should like to see Tarbes go first; I shall then be more at ease.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæs. et Cath. M^{ti}."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 14.

9–10 June. **744.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 121. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, ff. 223–6.

Notwithstanding his discomfiture Tarbes has made several attempts to get a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Toulouse. Hearing, however, that Grimaldo, the lord of Monaco, was on the lists he desisted. His defeat, however, has been more than counterbalanced by his success in another quarter, for he has succeeded in obtaining a "nominatione" for all the churches of France which formerly were elective.

Spanish.

9–10 June. **745.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 1. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, ff. 217–22.

Tarbes wished to apply again for a cardinal's hat for the archbishop of Tolosa,* but hearing of the concurrence of the lord of Monaco desisted from his application.

The French have been much favoured by the Pope of late. Among other concessions he has made them, one is that all vacant churches in France which were formerly of Papal election, shall be filled during the life of the present king (Francis) by appointment (*a nominatione*). This is a very important grant, for by the simple renewal of it from one king to his successor it becomes as it were perpetual.

Tarbes has told His Holiness, and many others besides, that His Imperial Majesty is shut up in Flanders without having the power or the means of going back to Spain, or returning to Italy, for in the first place he (the Emperor) could not take to sea for fear of the English business and its consequences, nor could he go either by way of Germany, on the obedience of whose people he can no longer count; the disaffected being of course hostile to him, and the well meaning annoyed because the Council promised them does not take place.

* A marginal note in the handwriting of Covos, has the following: "With regard to this point Miçer Mai is to be told that His Holiness has certainly acted with great liberality towards the French, since he once refused doing the same respecting the Spanish bishopries which were of a different quality, the Emperor having the right in his favour besides the concession of pope Adrian."

1531.

The same ambassador is urging the Pope to decide about his niece's marriage. The latter says that even should he accept the offer—which he does not intend doing without consulting His Imperial Majesty first—he would never send his niece to France, as they desire, until both should be of competent age to consummate matrimony. Yet upon the whole, and notwithstanding His Holiness' frequent asseverations to the contrary, he (Mai) cannot help thinking that he (the Pope) would see with pleasure a marriage of this sort, as he would thereby secure Florence, avoid the convocation of the Council, gain in reputation, and see perhaps his own niece duchess of Milan, and the greatest lady in all Italy.

Squire Francis* has arrived post haste. Nobody knows what he is coming for. Tarbes, it is rumoured, is going back to France in a week. The duke of Albany will replace him until the bishop of Auxerre (Tinteville) comes. He (Tarbes) has also been trying to arrange an interview between his master, the Pope, and the Emperor. Upon the inquiry what could be the object of such a meeting, he answered vaguely that when the three princes were together they might then ask each other what they most wanted. The Duke [of Albany], however, was more explicit, for being interrogated on the subject, he answered that the King and his courtiers could not bear the idea of losing Milan for ever; they would, however, be satisfied with His Imperial Majesty giving that estate to the duke of Orleans after the death of the present duke without male children. In making these overtures the French are under the impression that the Emperor, our master, will soon be in need of their friendship owing to some rising or other of the German princes, with whom king Francis is known to be in secret correspondence, and indeed, as the Pope himself says, the journey of George Gritti, the Venetian, to France is solely with no other object.

The affair of the Council is so much opposed (*cuesta abajo*) that in his (Mai's) opinion, though the Emperor and the king of France may agree to its celebration, Rome will still resist it.

The duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d' Este) has sent here a lawyer to protest that the term fixed for the execution of the arbitral sentence is about to expire.

The duke of Milan and the castellan of Mus.

The 200,000 crs. promised by king Francis to the Switzers have been reduced to 40,000, &c.

Marquis del Vasto and reform of the Imperial army.

Respecting the return of the duke of Malfi (Amalfi) to Siena the Emperor's orders have been punctually executed. Field Marshal Guevara has been instructed to write a letter to the "Baylia," but up to this day he has had no answer. It appears that on the second day of Easter there was fear of a disturbance in that city, but it was prevented in time.

* "El escudier Francisco es llegado á Roma," as in Muxetula's despatch. See above No. 742, p. 180.

1531.

Riots had also occurred at Modena, but had been appeased by Pero Zapata.

The cardinal's hat for the bishop of Burgos [Don Iñigo de Mendoza] granted at Bologna is now being forwarded to, but those of the two archbishops [of Santiago and Seville] offer more difficulty.

Two lawyers are now busily employed in summing up the process of the English cause. Will do his utmost to have it finished (*ponerle en platica*) before the vacations, and see whether these people will give him a commission to continue proceedings during the said holidays, though he hears that a mandate has come from England merely to contradict—which is a manifest calumny.* This will naturally delay the suit for one month, or perhaps a few days more, but after that all diligence will be made in the cause without losing one single point.

Patronage of Sicily and Sardinia.

Bulls for the coronation of the king of the Romans.

Law suit pending between the archbishop of Salerno (Fragoso) and prothonotary Gattinara.—Rome, 10th June 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

10 June. **746.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 52.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 281.

(*Cipher :*) The most important affair in hand nowadays is the proposed marriage of the Pope's niece to the duke of Orleans, for although His Holiness assures us all of his good-will towards [Your Majesty] he may suddenly change his mind, which will be rather a bad beginning for us if his (the Pope's) inclination be taken into consideration, for he is decidedly a Frenchman by nature.

(*Common writing :*) The Pope, nevertheless, said the other day to Miçer Andrea [del Burgo] and to him (Mai) that the marriage was by no means a thing settled, and that whatever the King's offers might be, he would never grant his consent without first consulting the Emperor. He said more; he begged them both (Burgo and Mai) not to be afraid or shocked if they came to hear of negotiations going on between him and the French on that particular subject, but to be calm and prudent as he had always known them to be. "I am aware (said he) that other [Imperial] ministers might be maliciously inclined, and see mischief and danger [for the Emperor] in an affair of this sort; but thank God you are here [at Rome], and I trust entirely on your good sense and discretion." Many similar words did the Pope utter on this occasion, more or less flattering to their individual persons, from which he (Mai) concludes that in the negotiations he is now carrying on with the French fear and love are mixed.

* "Aunque tiene aviso que es venido mandato solamente para contradezir, lo qual es calumpnia magnifiesta, y nos embargará un mes ó poco mas." The paragraph stands thus in Mai's original [despatch at Simancas, though not in Bergenroth's copy which, like many others in the collection, is not faithfully made out, as I have had occasion to observe in the Introduction. See above, p. 180.

1531.

His (Mai's) humble opinion is that, whatever the Pope may say to the contrary, the marriage will be ultimately made, if it only suits his purpose, for these Italians invariably do that which is best for them. For this reason he (Mai) thinks that the Pope will marry his niece (Caterina) to the duke of Orleans; by doing so he fancies that he will avoid the General Council, which is what he most fears; that he will secure the affection of the Florentines, who are decidedly most attached to France, and become the ally and relative of a monarch so great and so powerful that he will gain reputation through it with all, and especially with us Spaniards, who for fear of losing his alliance will respect him the more. If as he (Mai) presumes such be the direction of His Holiness' mundane thoughts, he perhaps fancies that he may in time make of his niece a duchess of Milan, and afterwards the greatest lady in Italy. Against this there is perhaps nothing to set but the consideration and respect due to the Emperor, to whom a matrimonial union of this sort can nowise *be agreeable.* The Pope is well aware of this, for he seems to comfort himself with the idea (and likewise with the fact, as he himself says), that His Imperial Majesty approves of the marriage. Perhaps he is also afraid of creating general discontent in Italy on account of the *duchy of Milan*; but this he will not mind, imagining that the opinion of Italians may change on this point, or that they will be indifferent, for after all what he is looking after is not to take engagements with the French, who are sure in the long run to get him into trouble. Perhaps, too, he flatters himself that his authority and good sense will ultimately prevail, and that he will be able to overcome all difficulties. For 14 or 15 months, as they say, the duke of Orleans will not be able to consummate marriage; during that time the World (the Pope thinks) may give a turn, and things appear less in the shade, when he may perhaps choose the surest and most commodious path, *fond as these Italians are of novelty.*

The evil, therefore, is close at hand, and the remedy far off, because were he (Mai) to tell the Pope, as he has been ordered to do, that he must first make sure of the Most Christian King, and engage him for the Council, this would be of no earthly use. For in the first place when he (Mai), in compliance with His Majesty's commands, mentioned the subject, the Pope made no answer; neither did he reply when the cardinal of Osma again spoke to him in the Emperor's name. All this is in consequence of these people not fearing at all the issue of the Council as long as they can reckon upon our not having the means of preventing it, unless we follow another tack. All the expedients I have hitherto discovered I have proposed as coming from me; His Holiness knows them as well as I do, yet I am afraid that in the end he will do his pleasure and nothing more.*

* "Y esto por que no temen lo del Concilio en tanto aqui no tenemos remedio de desviarlo sino toviessemos otro orden por que todos los inconvenientes que yo he alcanzado como de mio ya los he dichos, y Su Santidad los conosce, pero temo que al fin hará lo que le plazerá."

1531

I beg to be excused if I insist upon this said idea, but I see no other remedy but to try to *concert the Germans* in the best possible way, then make peace or truce with the Turk, and persuade the *king of the Romans* to come to terms with *the Vayvod*, because should all this be accomplished, it is clear to me that neither the French marriage would be effected, nor would these Italians have occasion to dream of novelties as they are no doubt now dreaming, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Meanwhile Tarbes is soliciting two sorts of interviews, one between His Holiness and the Most Christian King, his master; the other between the two last, and His Imperial Majesty. As to the former he (Mai) needs scarcely point out the dishonesty of such a proposition at the present juncture. (*Common writing:*) The latter has also been a favourite topic with the French for the last two years, and in his (Mai's) opinion, it is quite sufficient that the enemy wishes for it to refuse it at once, unless the object and aim be clearly defined, for he (Mai) recollects perfectly well what the duke of Albany (John Stuart) said last winter to the Venetian ambassador, viz., that it was preferable that the conferences should be held here, in Italy, than elsewhere, because the Most Christian King and His Imperial Majesty might then meet, as it were, on neutral ground, and the Pope also have a better opportunity to bring the Emperor to their common views; from which may be inferred, that if the conferences are to take place at all they had better be held *there than here, and if here, in Italy, after the wedding, not before.**

It is evident that what the French are looking after is the duchy of Milan now, or at least after the present Duke's death. He (Mai) should not be surprised if the Pope said one of these days, as he has already begun to hint in vague and enigmatic words—"There is plenty of time for that, whoever has time before him and can wait for his opportunity has great chance of success." Against this he (Mai) said at the time, and repeats now: "Such reckonings can never suit the Emperor, because a promise of his is as sure as an actual gift from Pope or King." Besides they might perhaps not choose to wait till the Duke's natural death, but in the meantime promote troubles and revolutions in his estate by means of the emigrants (*fuorusciti*) or others, or else *they might have the Duke poisoned or assassinated*, and thus throw the country into confusion and disquietude owing to the announced return of the French. Many who are now holding back would then declare themselves [for the French], and should the Holy Apostolic See become vacant, much harm might be done for the election of another Pope. Besides, who tells us that the French would be contented with Milan? For such is their restless ambition, that they would most probably not be contented and want to go farther on, &c.

* "De manera que serian a mi parezer, y aun al de ellos meiores para nosotros las vistas allá que no acá ó a lo menos tan buenas. Y si an de ser acá que sean despues del pan partido."

1531.

The Pope has been for the last four or five days confined to his bed by a fit of the gout (*puagre*),* he could not officiate or walk in the procession of Corpus Christi. Cardinal d'Osma, whose mass it was, officiated for him, and did it so well that he looked like a real Pope.† All Your Majesty's servants were present, and felt proud on the occasion; all the rest were envious, and His Most Reverend Cardinal of Agramonte (Gabriel de Grammont) among others suddenly quitted the church—which has been the most strange thing that ever was seen, and given rise to much gossiping and scandal. As to the cardinal [d'Osma] he was much honoured on the occasion; all the Spaniards in Rome, and great concourse of other people headed by him (Mai) accompanying him to the Palace whereat he is dwelling.

Those deputed to take the cardinal's hats for the archbishops of Seville‡ and Santiago [de Compostela] were ready to start on their journey when His Lordship's letter of the 23rd of May came to hand, requesting that they should not depart immediately but wait for new orders. Has intimated to them the Emperor's wishes, but cannot help saying that the agents of the two said archbishops were much disappointed, and could not make out what the reason could be. The bulls for the cardinal bishop of Burgos§ are getting ready; they are made out from the day he was voted at Bologna, though it was thought at first that Tarbes would oppose it. He has not, that I know of, offered any contradiction, but I apprehend there will be some difficulty, for those of Seville. Those for the coronation of the king of the Romans were also ready, but the leaden seal broke, and a new one is being cast.

Master Juan del Cuello Tuerto, the courier, called yesterday upon me, when I was at dinner with several Roman gentlemen, and asked for reward for the good news‖ concerning the bishopric of Urgel, which he said the Emperor had conferred upon me, and though I told him that my letters said nothing of the sort, the news has spread through Rome, and there is hardly one cardinal who has not sent to congratulate me upon this occasion.—Rome, 10th June 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, first secretary, and of the Privy Council, &c."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher. Contemporary deciphering on separate sheet. pp. 6.

* In Spanish "gota podagra."

† "Hizolo (el officio) nuestro señor de Osma, cuya era la missa y á la verdad tambien que parescia papa."

‡ The archbishop of Seville at this time was Don Alfonso Manrique; that of Santiago de Compostela D. Fernando Tavera.

§ Don Iñigo de Mendoza, bishop of Burgos.

‖ Albricias (from the arabic *al-bishayir*) is a Spanish word meaning the reward or gratuity claimed by the bearer of good unexpected news.

1531.

12–17 June. **747.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. K. L. 853, f. 4.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 216.

The Council, &c.

Judgment given by the Emperor in the dispute between the Pope and the duke of Ferrara. The Pope exclaimed: "Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine," thereby hinting that the Emperor has not kept the promise he made him at Bologna; though it must be said that he (the Pope) afterwards explained what he meant by those words.

On this occasion the Pope observed to him (Mai) that in consequence of the judgment delivered by the Emperor in the Ferrara case, the English ambassadors thought it would be now much easier for them to gain their object. The duke of Albany thought the same with regard to the king of France. However, after carefully listening to the Emperor's letter, which he (Mai) read to him, His Holiness came to the conclusion that the fault lay entirely with the bishop of Vaison (Girolamo), who, he said, had completely misunderstood his instructions.

Indorsed: "Abstract of despatches from Rome of the 12th, 15th, and 17th June, to be submitted to the Emperor."

Spanish. Original in the hand of secretary Idiaquez. pp. 7.

23 June. **748.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 55.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 285.

I do not wonder at people writing to Your Lordship from Castille that I act rudely towards Dr. Ortiz, for he himself tells me so to my face; he has probably written to his friends and relatives at home what he has often said to me. It is my fate to have always to dissent with such people. The cardinal of Osma, (Loaysa), myself and all the Spaniards at Rome without exception, complain of the man;* the Romans laugh at him, and I regret to have to hide his defects, for I have no great opinion of him, all those of his cloth being rather vain.† This good master of Theology fancies himself Imperial ambassador at the Roman court, and so, I am told, he is called by his servants and friends. Whenever I ride out he not only meets me but wants to have precedence over all the sons of grandees [of Spain], and even over the bishops who accompany me, comes close to my person and rides by my side. Last Palm Sunday he mounted the Pope's chair to ask for a palm for himself, as if he were an ambassador, upon which the cardinal of Osma told him that he was wrong, that he was no ambassador, though he presumes to be one, and then read him a

* "Tenemos que hazer con este hombre."

† "Y no le tengo en mucho, porque todos los de esta rassa (?) son algo vanos."

1531.

good lesson for the future. Since then he (Ortiz) remains so far behind on all grand occasions that it is equally unbecoming (*que es verguença*). I requested him not to heed such vain superfluities; I would call him to all due places and honours; it was far better people saw that I had to send for him than that he should appear where he had no business to be. Another day, on the excuse that he had a memorandum of most important matters to communicate, he attempted to enter the Pope's chamber at the same time as myself. I resisted; he complained, and I was obliged to tell him that as far as his person and position were concerned I would willingly honour him, but as to taking him as my colleague in the Imperial embassy, he was to pardon me, for I would never consent to that. Another ambassador might come and replace me in Rome, who would certainly not tolerate such pretensions. Cardinal of Osma and myself have been trying ever since the Doctor came to Rome to drive those vanities out of his head, but all in vain. For my part were he to abandon his fantastic ideas on the subject I would treat and regale him more than my own brother, for I can assure Your Lordship that he is so touchy (*tan de vidrio*)—as most of these theologians with whom we have to deal are—that I am literally afraid of him. Three days never pass without his going to see the Pope, no doubt to shew that he is as interested as we all are in the good issue of the matrimonial cause. I laugh at him, though I can assure Your Lordship that his continual visits to His Holiness are far from advancing the affair, or doing any good. The Doctor has been repeatedly told that he ought not to talk of these matters before the thing itself comes to be argued, and on the article or articles which I myself will point out to him; but you might just as well talk to a post. However, let Your Lordship be at rest, I will bear this and much more, for I am already used to it.

Though Muxetula has all this year preceded the ambassador of the king of the Romans, as well as those of France and England, and even Don Pedro de la Cueva, the other ambassadors complained that he was no ambassador at all, and ought not to precede them. I have always tried to preserve him in the place he took for himself. But since we are on the subject and Muxetula is going away, I do not hesitate to say, for our master's best service, that whoever succeeds me ought to be instructed to consult on all affairs, and especially those of the queen of England, with those persons commissioned by the Emperor, but on no account allow one or more individuals to see the Pope and state their own opinions, when he alone is the official deputed for the purpose.—Rome, 23rd June 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

1531.

24 June. **749.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 294.

Wrote on the 20th inst. advising the capture by Doria at Porto Farina of two Turkish galleys and one "fusta," laden with artillery, ammunition, and stores for Barbarossa. One more galley and another "fusta" were either sunk or burnt down; 160 Christian captives liberated, &c.

Spoke to the Pope about the quartering of the Imperial troops. He proposed that for some days to come they should go to the lands "de los feudatarios de Lombardia," after that to Asti. Respecting his contribution for the last six months the Pope excused himself with his having no money at present. He still insists upon deducting from the first 10,000 ducats the 5,000 which Scalenga (De Scalengues) took, though this governor defends himself stoutly saying he has written home about it, &c.

The Swiss Lutheran cantons are not so determined as it appeared at first to make war upon the five who remain faithful to Catholicism. This, notwithstanding, the latter sent an ambassador here, to His Holiness, asking for help. This was denied to them for want of money, but it was settled by him (Mai) and his colleagues in Rome that on his return to Switzerland the Swiss ambassador should stop a few days at Milan. So he did, and whilst there prothonotary Caracciolo assured him that if his countrymen only persevered in their religion they would undoubtedly be protected from aggression. Our impression is that as long as the Imperial troops are quartered at Asti, or somewhere about that frontier, the Lutheran cantons will not dare undertake anything against the Catholics.

With regard to the Council the general impression here is that it will not take place at all. On many occasions has he (Mai) told His Holiness to be prepared, and decide what concessions could be made to the Lutherans. Has again repeated his warning, and the only answer he could get was that cardinals San Sixto and Ancona had been designated to study the question and report.

Nothing new in the Scottish affair. The negotiations continue.

There was a talk of Giovan Matheo [Giberti] coming to Rome on a summons from His Holiness, but on inquiry he (Mai) finds that the rumour is not entirely correct. Giovan Matheo is still at Verona, very much given to devotion (*sanctimonia*). The same fit seems to have lately seized Ascanio Colonna, who thinks of nothing else but hearing masses, saying prayers, and taking care of the souls of his vassals more efficiently than he used to do.

Encloses letter from Rodrigo Niño with advices from Venice and the Turk.

[*Cipher*:] No sooner did the news of Gritti's arrest arrive than he (Mai) wrote to Escalenga asking for details, &c. Told him (De Scalengues) that should Tarbes pass through Asti and

1531.

protest, and make a row about it, he was to dissemble as much as he could and not quarrel. The Pope at first objected that this would be a cause of war with France because the Most Christian King would certainly take it as an insult; but up to the present moment neither he nor his ambassadors have made any representations, nor has the Pope himself spoken about it. In conversation, however, with Miçer Andrea del Burgo* he said the other day to him: "If this man (Gritti) should happen to make some important revelation, he ought to be confined to some place where he could see no one, and which would be unknown to the person concerning whom such revelations might be made."

(*Cipher :*) Told His Holiness our suspicions concerning Captain Rincon and his journey to Constantinople, at which he was quite amazed. Took occasion to represent to him how little suitable such neutrality and secret dealings with the French were to him, and that king Francis would never be satisfied with the present peace, &c.

With regard to the said Rincon both Miçer Andrea, who knows what sort of personage he is, and (he Mai) have written to the king of the Romans to have him arrested in case he should pass through his dominions. Rincon's person might be secured as though highwaymen had stopped him, and then be put to the torture to find out whether he brings any message [from Turkey]. This done, Rincon ought to be secretly sent to some castle or prison, perhaps, too, sentenced to be garrotted, because, besides its being convenient that the affair be kept secret, he will thus atone for his many previous misdeeds. Acquaints His Majesty with this fact that in case the measure is not approved, the orders may be countermanded.

(*Common writing :*) Some alarm has been felt both at Lucca and Siena, and especially at the former city, in consequence of the arrival of the duke [Alessandro de' Medici]. The Pope insisted upon a letter being written to Marzilla that he might reassure the people; this has been done according to his wishes.

Recommends cardinal Matera.—Rome, 24th June 1531.

Signed : "Mai."

Addressed : "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

24 June. **750.** Doctor Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. R. L. 854, f. 105.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 287.

Has received his letter of the 4th inst., as well as the appointment of preacher to his royal chapel, for which he returns thanks.

* "Dixo en un discurso con Miçer Andrea del Burgo que si este hombre dezia algo de importancia se deuia poner en lugar que no viesse mas a nadie ni nadie á el, y pienso que no lo supiese el contra quien oviesse dicho."

1531.

The allegation (*informacion*) of the justice of the Queen's cause goes on gradually two or three times a week, in presence of His Holiness, who is gradually getting more and more convinced of the absolute right of her case, and of the fallacy and deceit of the opposite party. He (Ortiz) told him no later than yesterday that though the cardinal of Tarbes had again assured him that a book had been addressed to the King, his master, in favour of the divorce, and he (Ortiz) had requested its loan for a few days he had refused to give it up, and left it in the hands of the English ambassadors. Should the latter surrender it the Pope says that it will be immediately handed over to him (Ortiz) to examine and report upon.

Has no doubt that the king of England has been sufficiently warned of how iniquitous and desperate his suit is, and that he must ultimately lose it. Such being the case he is sure to devise as many dilatory expedients as he possibly can, and try and avoid having the truth made known and decided.

Glory be given to God for the eartnestness and care with which He has inspired the Emperor in urging the celebration of the General Council so much needed by the Church as well for the reformation of the Clergy in general (*todos los estados de ella*) as for the remedy of the great evils caused by the Lutheran heresy, for in his (Ortiz') opinion it would be exceedingly inconvenient that the harm done in these times should be overlooked, and the remedy entrusted to future generations. Should, however, the [common] enemy [of mankind] impede the celebration of the Council, it would be advisable to inform all parties and also all future generations through the press (*por impresion*) that His Imperial Majesty has omitted nothing that was conducive to that end, and that the impediments proceed entirely from other quarters.

Complains of many reserves for bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices lately decreed by the Pope without any regard to age, condition, or learning. Valets and grooms dispute with each other as to whom is first to go to Spain, and secure by force of arms or otherwise the possession of their benefices, so that in fact the administration of the different churches will naturally fall into the hands of those who arrive first.—Rome, 24th June 1531.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

24 June. **751.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 854, f. 26.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, ff. 289–93.

Wrote on the 20th inst. by the small letter bag (*bolgetta*) which Miçer Andrea del Burgo dispatched, advising how the six gallèys of Andrea Doria and four of Sicily had taken at Porto Farina two galleys and one fustee (*fusta*), and burnt two more. Though the Turks had time to escape being close

1531.

upon land, 160 Christian captives were nevertheless redeemed, artillery, ammunition, and stores of all kinds taken. In one of the galleys was a standard (*bandera*) which Barbarossa was sending to the Grand Turk.

With regard to the quarters of the Imperial army His Holiness says that it might now go to the lands of the feudatory lords (*feudatarios*) of Lombardy for a few days; after that he could not recommend any place except the Astesano, or county of Asti.

Respecting his contribution towards the army he (the Pope) excuses himself with want of money, and says that certainly at the expiration of the six months he will give no more.

Scalenga (De Scalengues) resists stoutly parting with the 5,000 ducats. He has now sent his secretary to Court, as he announced prothonotary Caracciolo and to us. The Pope, however, will not give in either, and seems determined to discount them from his first payment of 10,000.

The Swiss cantons. A man has lately come from thence asking for succour. He has been referred to the prothonotary [Caracciolo] at Milan.

With regard to the Council the rumour current here is that it will *not* meet. The Pope wonders why his letters to his Legate were so long on the road, and, moreover, having been told by the Imperial ambassadors to prepare a list of the concessions that might be made to the Lutherans, has appointed cardinals Ancona and San Sixto to report upon these.

Two or three letters have been written to Scotland of late, and the affair is progressing fairly.

Being told that the datary, Giovan Matheo [Giberto], now bishop of Verona, was coming to Rome, summoned by the Pope, he (Mai) made inquiries as he was afraid of some intrigue. People said that he came to go as Papal Legate to France, others that he had been sent for to establish certain reforms here at Rome. As, however, neither of these reports had any appearance of truth, he (Mai) went to the Pope and asked. He was told that in order to gain reputation with the Veronese and the Venetians, the friends of the Datary had procured his recall. He (the Pope) had certainly written three or four lines in his own hand to that effect, though to no purpose, for as it appears, the Datary remains still at Verona in an access of devotion (*puesto en su sanctimonia*). The very same fit seems to have come over Ascanio Colonna, who all of a sudden has become very devout, and does nothing else than hear masses, perform devotions, and attend to the spiritual comfort of his vassals.

Enclosed is the copy of a letter from Rodrigo Niño. With regard to the Gritti affair, as soon as it became public here instructions were sent to Scalenga that in case of Mr. de Tarbes happening to pass through Asti and saying something insolent to him, he was to forbear and dissemble as much as possible,

1531.

and yet do his duty without minding him in the least. Indeed when the Pope first heard of Gritti's arrest he said that the king of France was sure to make that an excuse to declare war, and yet next day he said to Miçer Andrea del Burgo: "*Should this man (Gritti) make any important revelations he ought to be put where he can see no one,* and I fancy that by saying that the Pope meant where the *person whose secrets he may reveal may not hear of him again.**

Spoke to the Pope about Captain Rincon's rumoured journey to Constantinople, and told him that measures had been taken for his arrest, and that should he traverse the lands of the king of the Romans, he was sure to fall into the trap. Indeed Miçer Andrea has written to his master (Ferdinand) to have Rincon seized as if it were by robbers in the road, and then have him put to the torture, and when the truth is extracted from him, if it should be sufficiently important to shut him up in some castle with great secrecy, or else have him garrotted, because, besides this being the best way of getting rid of a man who has committed so many crimes in his life, as Miçer Andrea says, it is the only way of keeping the thing secret. He (Mai) is particular in mentioning these facts, because should the Emperor not approve of the measure recommended he may write to his brother about it.

Lucca and Siena, but most particularly the former city, have had great fear of the duke Alessandro. The Pope requested him (Mai) to write to Marcilla about it. He has done it, and thinks it will do good.

Cardinal Matera thanks the Emperor for the permission given him to resign his archbishopric; but as the contract made with his successor is that he will have, if he chooses, the right of retaking his benefice (*derecho de regreso*), he (Mai) could not without further instructions allow this.—Rome, 24th June 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon, the Emperor's first secretary."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

24 June. **752.** The Emperor to Gutierre Lopez de Padilla.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 34.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 298.

Is much vexed that Giorgio Gritti has been taken prisoner in the way he has been, especially in the territory of his good sister, the duchess of Savoy, who has been much affronted in consequence. His orders then were that by no means was the arrest to be public, or take place in the lands of the Infanta. Has, therefore, ordered Escalenga (De Scalengues) to set him at liberty immediately, give him back all

* See above, p. 193, where these or similar words of the Pope to Miçer Andrea del Burgo have been recorded.

1531.

his papers, and excuse himself to the Duchess by saying that it was altogether a mistake.

As Giorgio Gritti is the son of the doge of Genoa, his ally, and was coming straight from the king of France, his brother [in law], he (the Emperor) wishes to see him well treated, &c. —Brussels, 24th June 1531.

Spanish Original minute. pp. 1½.

24 June. **753.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch Wien. *Rep.* P. *Fasc.*, c. 227. No. 27.

Your Majesty's letters of the 6th May and 15th inst. were duly received as well as the documents therein mentioned, and especially the copy of the articles and minute of the powers of attorney required for the prosecution of the examination and proof of the said articles. These two documents I immediately forwarded to the Queen, advising her at the same time of Your Majesty's orders to me as conveyed in the said letters. She (the Queen) was to shew the said papers to the members of her Council that they might meet and discuss this important affair, and advise the best means of arriving at the true tenour of the said articles. To this end the Queen having no leisure or opportunity (*non ayant temps ne commodite*) to assemble the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Bade (Bath) has communicated with certain other doctors-at-law, who have found the said articles sound and substantial. It must be said, however, that both the Queen and the doctors start the very difficulty pointed out in Your Majesty's last letter. They think that it will be extremely difficult to have the said articles proved in Flanders, especially as relates to the principal point from which the good issue of the whole matter depends, namely, whether the Queen was, or was not, carnally known by the Prince. There might, indeed, possibly be in Flanders, as the Queen says, some English merchant willing to give testimony, but she knows of no other than Dr. Scoriaza and Esquire Brisillia (Bregilles?); these two can, if examined, declare having heard the King himself and others say that she was not carnally known by the Prince. I had proposed that the Queen herself should, by bribes or prayers, induce some of those who know the truth of this affair to go over to Flanders and make their declaration, but so great is their fear of the King that no one has dared to accept the commission. Indeed so great is the danger that I had quite recently the greatest difficulty in inducing two of her servants to appear before the Nuncio, and this was only attained through my assuring them that their testimony was only required for a secret inquiry which it was not necessary to make public. There is, therefore, no hope or means of procuring sufficient information in Flanders; it must come entirely from Spain, where, as the Queen tells me, there are plenty of people in a condition to bear testimony, and where all the papers and correspondence touching this affair may still be

1531.

found in the hands of the heirs of Dr. La Puebla, once ambassador in this country. I have myself read and examined most carefully all those the Queen has in her possession, but there is nothing in them that can serve our purpose.

After the receipt of the said letters I sent one of my men to Antoncourt (Hampton Court) to ask for an audience from the King, but he was already gone to Windsor and other places to amuse himself and pass away the time, accompanied only by the Lady [Anne], the Grand Equerry, and two more. For the last fortnight he has done nothing else but go from place to place, except on two separate occasions, when Jehan Jocquin went to visit him at Hampton Court. Yesterday morning the King came to London, and on his arrival sent for Jocquin, who immediately repaired to Court followed only by one servant. He was nearly one hour with the King, and on his returning home met one of my people and said to him: "I wish the King would leave me alone, and not disturb me in this manner. I must now go home immediately and dispatch a courier to France, otherwise I should have called on your master." By which words he gave me sufficiently to understand that the despatch he alluded to was in the interest of this king, not of his master, and as I think for the Most Christain King again to recommend the divorce affair to Tarbes before he quits Rome.

I had made up my mind, upon Jocquin's return from Court, to go and see the King, but the duke of Norfolk sent me word that the King would not be pleased with my visit, owing to his having come to London incognito, accompanied only by three or four gentlemen of his suite, and being on the point of removing somewhere else; and that if my business was such that it could be discussed between him and me, we could easily meet after the King's departure, as he himself had something particular to tell me. Accordingly, this very morning the Duke very courteously sent me his barge, and I went to him. The first thing he did was to ask what news I had of Your Majesty, and upon my answering him that he ought to be amply provided with them himself, so as to be able to impart them to others, inasmuch as the King had very lately had couriers from Flanders and from Rome, the Duke went on to say that the news from the former country were unimportant, the English ambassador only mentioning the rejoicings and carousings made on the occasion of Your Majesty's reception [in Brussels], and the money which the Estates had offered to Your Majesty as a gift. The ambassador, moreover, asked for instructions, and wished to know how to act, and what to do after Your Majesty had quitted Flanders.

At this point I interrupted the Duke and asked him where he thought Your Majesty was likely to go according to the ambassador's account. His answer was that the ambassador wrote doubtfully, as no one seemed to know for certain whether Your Majesty intended returning to Germany

1531.

or going to Spain by sea, and whether in this latter case you would embark in Flanders or in some Italian port. My reply was that I could furnish more positive information on this point. Your Majesty (I said) intended first going to Germany there to hold a diet, and prepare matters for a General Council, which was a very necessary step, and one most desired by good people of all classes, besides putting the affairs of Germany in order. The Duke greatly praised and commended that resolution as one most needed on this occasion, and at the same time most virtuous and praiseworthy. He candidly owned to me that the celebration of a General Council under present circumstances was marvellously well devised. Then he asked me whether my information came direct from Your Majesty or from private people. I answered that it came straight from you, and, moreover, that I had express orders to communicate the intelligence to the King himself. Hearing this, the Duke remained thoughtful for some time, and then began to say that all would go on well [in Germany] were it not for this controversy of the King, and that it was a great pity that such intimate friendship and alliance as had long existed between England, Spain, and Flanders should now be broken by your instrumentality. Your Majesty (he added) had done great injustice to the King, his master, by having him summoned to appear personally at Rome, a most outrageous and unprecedented act. It would have been very fortunate for both parties that such a marriage had never taken place, though (he added after a pause) it must be owned that out of it has sprung such a pearl as the princess [Mary], one of the most beautiful and virtuous women in the world. After which the Duke went on to state that the King for the last eight days had visited her twice a day, and presented his services to her as her due. He then contended that the cause ought to be tried here [in England], not at Rome, alleging in support of his opinion all manner of councils, chapters, and laws. I began chaffing him at his having so suddenly become so great a doctor-at-law, telling him that it was quite evident to me that he had of late heard much on the subject. That for Your Majesty's justification in this matter, and the merits of the cause itself, there was no need saying more for the present, considering that he must bear in mind what I had told him on other occasions, and, besides, that I had no doubt that his thoughts on the subject differed from his words. I strove at various times to turn the conversation, and divert the Duke from this disagreeable topic, but the more efforts I made the more obstinately he returned to the subject, saying that the King had sent to the Pope the opinions of the most learned doctors in Christendom, who maintained that the summons (*citation*) to Rome was a most unjust and iniquitous proceeding, and that the attempt made by Your Majesty's ambassador in France, to invalidate the opinion obtained by the King, his master, from the university of Paris, was a most unjustifiable

1531.

act. He then recited part of what had passed between the Queen and himself, when he and other great officers of State called on her, and the answer she had given to their application, as I lately wrote to Your Majesty, adding that the Queen had behaved foolishly in rejecting the King's request and the advice of those there present.

After this I inquired for the news from Rome, but the Duke persisted in saying that the letters of the English ambassadors contained nothing new; the only fact worthy of notice was that conveyed in a note from the Papal Nuncio, which he actually produced and began to read, stating, among other things which the Duke kept to himself, that the cardinal of Grammont would soon leave Rome, to the great satisfaction of the King, his master, for whom he had obtained the right of appointment to the greater part of the abbacies in his kingdom. The Duke evidently concealed that part of the despatch which no doubt recounted the mighty (*terrible*) efforts made by the said Cardinal and by the duke of Albany to obtain the Pope's consent that the divorce trial should be transferred to England, which request, as Your Majesty has already been informed, has been absolutely denied, for it would have been too great an injustice towards yourself and the Queen.

Before taking leave of the Duke I spoke to him about certain changes which the London merchants had attempted to introduce in the customs, much to the prejudice of these Spaniards; he promised to remedy, and has since done so, notwithstanding the cry and opposition of the Londoners, to whom, after much reasoning and debating, he said in conclusion that they must abide by his decision, since so he had promised me.

After all the bravadoing and defying of Papal authority, of which I have had occasion to write to Your Majesty, these people have only caused a small book to be printed in the form of a dialogue, which book I have forwarded to Mons. de Granvelle. It is so weak and colourless in itself as to reflect little credit on them, and is yet couched in such violent language (*et si exspere*) that it will turn rather to the Queen's advantage, for the moment the Pope is informed of it, as the Nuncio has promised me shall be, he will no doubt lose some of his former fears, and without paying attention to the King's threats will do what is just for the peace of this kingdom and of the whole of Christendom.

I have not omitted writing to Your Majesty's ambassador in France to inform him in detail of all that has occurred here in the Queen's business, and in other affairs. I will continue to correspond with him in obedience to Your Majesty's commands, that he may stir himself in favour of the Queen, as he has hitherto done.

No notice has been taken here of the movements against the marquis of Mus, for at the moment the English heard what

1531.

was the cause of all, and that the Marquis' brother had gone to France to procure money or lands* in exchange for Mus and other lordships, they learned also that he had not been able to gain his purpose.—London, 24th June [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

29 June. **755.** Advices from the Swiss [Catholic] Cantons and from the Lutherans.

S. E. L. 852. f. 137. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 299.

A diet has been held at Francfort, which the duke of Saxony and other Lutheran princes have attended, as well as the deputies from the free towns down to the lake of Constanza for the purpose, as it is asserted, of making a league and confederacy against whomsoever should go against the word of God, as they call it. Zurich, Berne, and other Swiss cantons, which have embraced Lutheranism, have likewise joined the league.

The French are endeavouring to settle the quarrel between the Grisons and the castellan of Mus (Gian Jacopo de' Medici), and offer to make war at their own expense. They pretend that the duke of Milan proceeds with too great moderation in this business of the castellan [of Mus]†, and that they are much displeased at the Grisons having placed their affairs in the Duke's hands for arbitration, and concluded a treaty with him conjointly with the Lutheran cantons of Switzerland. In short, the French are doing all they can to have the said quarrel between the Castellan and the Grisons referred to them for arbitration, that they may have a further cause and pretext to intervene in the affairs of Italy. Lo Zuinglio (Ulric Zwingle) is now preaching at Zurich that it is allowable to help France and receive pensions therefrom, having decided that such pensions should go in future by the name of the "Money of Peace."‡

The French orator in Switzerland, moreover, is holding frequent conferences with the said Zuinglio, whose advice in these matters he takes. Both work strenuously for the peace between the eight cantons and ourselves. We think the latter wishes particularly for peace that he may have the money to be paid in consequence (*per pigliare li danari de la pace.*) The French having become aware of this, are thinking of introducing new schemes (*fare altre nove pratiche*). Should this happen we shall not fail to inform you.

* "Ils nont icy fait cas de laffere et esmotion contre le marquis de Mus, car incontinent ylz entendirent la cause et tout la demennee, et ont sçeu dempuys comme le frere du dit marquis que estoit venu en France pour avoer secours ou terres en eschance du dit Mus et autres seigneuries dicelluy marquis, na riens peu btenir ne exploytter."

† "Ed se offereno ad far la guerra ad loro spese, e dicono chel duca di Milano va moderatamente contra el castellano."

‡ "Lo Suinglio ad Zuricho predica che e licito adiutar Francia [et] pigliar pensioni. Tamen li ha posto nome dinari de pace & non pensione."

1531.

We choose not to desert (*mancare*) the Catholic faith in which we now live; but we shall be glad to make peace, provided we are left in the undisturbed use of our religion, in which we wish to live and die, especially since you write that His Holiness is willing in case of need to help us with 2,000 hackbutiers. We expect you back soon with a favourable answer.

In about 12 days another diet will be held at Brengard (Bremgarten?). Do all possible haste to be at Lucern before the diet that we may arrange between us what our conduct is to be at the meeting.

At Ulm mass has been suppressed, and the altars smashed (*ropti li altari*); the inhabitants are now trying to send away the brothers (*frati*) and the priests. There have been among them a few who moved to pity have taken home the images and the relics of saints to save them from the fury of the Lutherans, who call us catholics "Papeschi."

It is here rumoured that the Emperor is returning to Spain, and intends no longer to trouble himself (*impacciare*) with the affairs of Lutherans or Papists, but to leave us to fight our own battles.*

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

— June. **755.** News of the Lutherans.

S. E. L. 635, f. 131.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 301.

Your Majesty knows already that the princes and free cities who follow the sects of Zwingle and Luther have held a second diet at Francfort, and although we have done our best to ascertain what has been resolved there, no reliable information can be obtained. Neither the elector of Saxony nor the landgrave [of Hesse] attended it in person, but by deputies and councillors expressly appointed for the purpose. The matter is kept so secret between them that although several other estates have sent thither their procurators they do not know more than we do.

Yet on Monday last, immediately after the arrival of the deputies (*procuradores*) of Esslinghen, *i.e.*, the notary of the town, and Motzbeck, the silver smith, the Council met† and sat for some hours, after which on the ensuing evening and days all the images of the saints were pulled down with great fury from the top of the churches, and the altar-pieces themselves ruthlessly destroyed. One evening one of their preachers, formerly a friar apostate, and married, addressed the people and admonished them to pray God most devoutly to restore that good and Christian prince Ulric of Wiertemberge (Wurtemburg) to his estate, of which he had been most unjustly deprived.

* "Ma non vol lassar conbatter tra noi tedeschi, non essendose ordine di poter mettere accordo alchuno co' lutherani."

† "Mas luego que los procuradores de Eszlingen, es a saber el escrivano de la villa y Motzbeck, platero, lunes pasado llegaron y bien tarde, aquella noche se ajunto el Consejo."

1531.

The intention of these Zwinglians and Lutherans seems to be—as we have already informed Your Imperial Majesty—to procure by all possible means the restoration of the said duke, or else to bring the present one to their views for they say openly that this object once attained, and the Duchy converted to their doctrines, the success of their cause is ensured, and both at Esslinghen and in other towns of their league it is generally believed that they will be able to restore the said duke Ulric to his estate, whenever they please, and that they are determined to make the attempt.

Indorsed : "Nuevas de la Secta."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— July. **756.** The ANSWER to the PAPAL LEGATE respecting the cause of ENGLAND.

S. E. L. 854, f. 163.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 328.

To the proposals made by the Most Reverend Legate to His Imperial Majesty concerning the English divorce the following answer is made :

In the first place His Imperial Majesty, as much in his own name, as in that of Her Most Serene Highness, the queen of England, his aunt, thanks His Holiness for having, as the common Father and true shepherd of the Christian flock, taken up this business of the attempted divorce in such a manner that a good issue may be confidently expected therefrom. And whereas His Imperial Majesty's principal object in inducing His Holiness to protect the Queen's marriage, was that Papal authority, power, and dignity, as well as the immunities of the Sacred Apostolic See should be preserved from the attacks of those persons who spread slanderous reports concerning His Imperial Majesty, the patron, and defender of the said Apostolic See ; also to remove any dissensions, small offences (*offendicula*), and disputes that might spring up from the dissolution of the said marriage ; and lastly that the queen of England herself, connected as she is with the Emperor by so close a bond of consanguinity, should suffer no injury—the affair being of such a nature that no other means can be devised or thought of except the solemn declaration that a marriage like this contracted under the authority and with the sanction of the Holy Apostolic See, cannot be dissolved—His Imperial Majesty cannot understand what reason or expediency there may be for having the case tried at Cambray or elsewhere than in Rome, before the Holy Apostolic See, whose decretals and supreme authority are universally respected and obeyed.

His Imperial Majesty humbly requests His Holiness not to allow a case of such importance to be tried elsewhere than at Rome, and in his own presence, or otherwise the Queen, who at the present moment is almost separated from the King, her husband, might sustain great injury thereby ; the sentence cannot be longer delayed, His Imperial Majesty,

1531.

therefore, earnestly prays His Holiness in his equity and justice to have the cause tried and determined without delay, and sentence given as right and justice demand, which sentence, whatever it may be, His Imperial Majesty out of filial affection towards the Apostolic See will obediently respect, under protest that no other resolution can possibly be accepted.

Latin. Original draft.

2 July. **757.** The Signory of Florence to the Emperor.

S. Pat. Re. Div. d. It. L. 593, f. 26. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 312.

Report on the reception made to the duke Alessandro de Medici, and promise obedience to the Emperor's orders (*provisiones*). Ex Palatio nostro die ii. Julii 1531. *Sign* Obsequentissimi filii Priores libertatis, et Vexillifer Justitiæ Populi Florentini. Franciscus Campanus.

Latin. Original. p. 1.

3 July. **758.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 68. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 303.

Wrote last by Peñalosa reporting events up to that date. Held a conversation with His Holiness respecting Gritti's arrest. Told him that all Italy, and even Venice, would be glad to hear what had happened, and as to France no indications had been given yet of their considering it an insult. To this the Pope replied that the French had no doubt resented the outrage, but would dissemble for a time. Then he added: "After all, if the Emperor has ordered Gritti's arrest, it must be owned that he has played, as we say here in Italy, according to the laws of the game; it is one of those coups of which the Catholic king [Ferdinand] used to be so fond." Writes these details because the Pope on his first hearing of Gritti's arrest exclaimed "Or ben, arme, arme!" He must have considerably changed his mind since.

The report here is that Giorgio Gritti says that if he is conducted to the Imperial presence he will reveal secrets of the utmost importance.

Spoke to the Pope about the Emperor's determination to hold a new diet, at which he seemed pleased. Was asked whether it was His Majesty's intention to return to Spain by way of Italy. Could not give a positive answer, but said that to judge from the last letters such was his purpose for the present. The Pope then added: "If the Emperor come to Genoa or to Bologna, I will go thither and meet him. I will also try to persuade king Francis to come to Nice; at the same time some good arrangement might be made for an interview. If the Emperor prefers the way of Rome and Naples, let him do his pleasure in that respect; in the meanwhile an answer from Tarbes will arrive, and we shall see what all this negotiating will come to."

The French publicly state that they are aiming at a reform of the articles of the peace of Cambray, at least so Tarbes

1531.

said before he left Rome. Interrogated as to what the King, his master, was driving at, the ambassador replied that he did not know exactly, but would write from France. This is the answer for which the Pope is waiting.

Antonio Doria has not yet taken service owing to Andrea and Figueroa having both written to him not to do so until His Majesty's pleasure be known.

News from Clisa, &c. The castellan of Mus.

The French and the duke of Savoy not on good terms just now owing to the latter having taken possession of Asti, and wishing besides to get Nice by paying the mortgage upon it.

Wants to know whether the cardinals' hats are to be sent to Spain. That for the bishop of Burgos left four days ago. Cardinal Matera* wishes to resign his archbishopric of Matera with the faculty of returning to it *pension y regreso*.

Has spoken with the auditors Capisucci and Simoneta, the former of whom said that if the Emperor was desirous of rewarding his services he might do so by conferring some favour upon cardinal Cesarini, his cousin. Simoneta asked that the reward, if any, should come direct to him, for he says he shall always be proud to be considered an Imperialist.

The English have taken away from cardinal Campeggio the protectorate of England which he had, and have not yet appointed a successor to him in that office.

The papers and documents for the English cause have arrived, and are already in the hands of the reporter (*relator*); but it will be impossible for him to finish his report before the vacation, unless he obtains a commission to proceed with it during that period.

The chapter of Cordova and the marchioness of Tarifa.—The order of Montesa against Don Juan de Lanuça.

Brief sent to the viceroy of Catalonia [D. Fadrique de Portugal], allowing him to proceed against ecclesiastics guilty of great crimes (*en casos enormes*).

Notwithstanding all his efforts in favour of D. Juan de Borja† and the evident justice of his case, sentence is likely to be pronounced against him and in favour of his opponent in the suit, no less a person than the Pope's niece.

3 July. **759.** Cardinal d'Osma to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 31.
B. M. *Add* 28,583, ff. 310–6.

The Pope and cardinals approve greatly of his (the Emperor's) determination to return to Germany. The former wishes to know whether the return will be this way or through Flanders.

Miçer Mai ought to be written to on the subject of the

* Andreas M. Palmeri, who was archbishop of Acerenza and Matera for the second time in this year (1531), was transferred to Policastro in July 1535. See Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, pp. 843 and 912.

† A relative of pope Alexander, who disputed some of the estates awarded to Clement's niece. See above *passim*.

1531.

Pope's contribution, for since Muxetula's departure for Florence nothing has been done in that particular.

On the eve of St. Peter's Day the agents from Ferrara again presented a petition to His Holiness together with a copy of the Imperial sentence, which they said they were prepared to fulfil in all its parts; it is added that 50,000 ducats were secretly offered in case of its being accepted. The Pope, however, has asked for time to deliberate, and seems disinclined to grant a new investiture.—Rome, 3rd July 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

3 July. **760.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 31.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 308.

Talking to the Pope the other day about the Gritti affair, and telling him that all Italy had approved of his arrest, and that in France people did not seem to mind it much, the Pope said to me that he did not think the French would make much noise about it, but would dissemble for a time. "If the Emperor has really ordered Gritti's arrest (said the Pope) there there must be ample cause for it." I mention this to Your Lordship because when the news came at first the Pope told us that the arrest of George Gritti, being an ambassador from France, was a "casus belli," by which all the World would be disturbed.

His Holiness was glad of the Emperor's determination to return to Germany. He asked me "where will the Emperor go afterwards? will he come to Italy? My Nuncio at the Imperial Court assures me that such is the Emperor's intention. Should His Majesty come to Bologna or Genoa I will most certainly visit him, and endeavour to make the Most Christian King come to Nice, where I have no doubt a conference might be arranged. If the Emperor then chooses to come to Rome and Naples so much the better."

The French say openly that they want an amendment or reform of the treaty of Cambray. I have tried to persuade the Pope that what king Francis wishes is only an excuse to get the duchy of Milan after the death of the present duke.

Antonio Doria has not yet taken any engagement with His Holiness. I have not mixed myself up with that affair owing to Figueroa having written that Miçer Andrea, does not wish his nephew to take service until Your Majesty's pleasure be known.

Speaking the other day with auditors Capisucci and Simoneta, the former said that if the Emperor wished to reward his good services he might bestow his favours on cardinal Cesarini, his cousin. Simoneta, on the contrary, wishes the Emperor's favours directly on himself, for he says he will always be proud to be called the Emperor's servant.

The English have taken away from cardinal Campeggio the protectorate of their country, and given it to another.

The process of the English matrimonial cause is in the hands

1531

of the reporter (*relator*). It will be impossible to get through it before the holidays unless a commission is obtained to go on with it during them.

With regard to Clisa there is no particular news. The Venetian ambassador tells me that in reality those lands on the frontiers of the Turk are now about to be delimited (*amojonadas*), but he owns that it might be also that they tried to take Clissa, or erect another fortress close to it.

The Imperial ambassador at Genoa (Suarez de Figueroa) writes to say that the suspicions raised about Fragoso had vanished. Everything was quiet in that city. Similar assurances come from Marcilla at Lucca. There only remained the petty warfare of the marquis of Mus, which is carried on with so little vigour that it makes one laugh, because not only do the Duke's men press on the Marquis' retainers, but at times allow him to have the best of them, and I hear from a very good source that the Venetians are not at all sorry, for they do not like their neighbours to be too strong. Besides there are letters from France in which it is said that the King had undeceived the Marquis about the exchange he demanded of his own estate with another one in France.

Letters from that country of the 19th June state that the Most Christian King was amusing himself with hunting; he was very much offended at the news that Asti was to be given over to the duke of Savoy (Carlo), and that in consequence of this offence he was about to claim or take away from him the town of Nice.

What am I to do with the deputies who are to take the cardinals' hats to Spain? They are in despair, and call every day upon me to ask whether there are any letters or orders for them. However, that of Mendoça, the bishop of Burgos, went three or four days ago. I cannot say whether the latter will come to Rome soon or not, for a servant of cardinal Colonna told me this very morning that his master had offered the Cardinal apartments in this palace of the Imperial embassy, though he could not say which day of next week Monsignor of Burgos would arrive at Rome. He may well lodge at the Palace, for I myself to avoid crossing the bridge so many times a day when I have to transact business, have decided to go and live in it during these summer and autumn months.* —Rome, 3rd July 1531.

Indorsed: "Summary of letters from Miçer Mai and cardinal d'Osma to the High Commander, Covos. Answered at Brussels on the 16th of August 1531."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 7.

6 July. **761.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,438, ff. 67–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 313.

Wrote last on the 24th ult°. Since then the duke Alessandro [de' Medici] having arrived in Italy, and gone to Prato, close to Fiorenze, he (Muscetula) after taking leave of His Holiness

* In this last paragraph it is evidently cardinal d'Osma who speaks, not Mai.

1531.

prepared according to the Emperor's express orders, and the Duke's desire, to witness his public entrance into that city. Accordingly he left Rome, met at Prato the Duke, who was there waiting for him, and after holding a conference with the gonfaloniere and others of the city, both made their entrance yesterday. To-day in his very presence and that of the officials assembled for the purpose the privilege was read, when in a short and adequate speech he represented to the citizens how grateful they ought to be for Your Majesty's generous pardon, &c. Has had an act drawn of the whole transaction, attested by a public notary, which he purposes to forward as soon as there is an opportunity.

Will remain at Florence one fortnight more to settle certain matters, and after that will start for the Imperial Court wherever it may be, hoping to communicate verbally certain messages of the Pope respecting the public and private affairs of Your Majesty.

The Pope is delighted at the idea of the Emperor going to Germany. That journey, he says, may be the cause of much good as far as the Turk and the Lutherans are concerned, and besides there is a chance of His Imperial Majesty coming over to Italy. "Should the Emperor come to Naples he can hardly fail to come to Rome and spend a few days with me, when much good may be done to the whole of Christendom."

The Imperial army is quartered according to orders in the estates of the "feudatarios." The marquis del Vasto wishes to know whether he can send part of them to the Astesano.*

Scalenga (De Scalengues) must be made to disgorge the 5,000 ducats he took from the Pope.—Florence, 6th July 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Anto Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cese et Cathe Mti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

6 July. **762.** PROCLAMATION at FLORENCE.

S. P. R. Cap. c. Pont. y Pot. d. It. 593, f. 15. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 312.

In the great tower hall of the Palace of Florence the "Priores Libertatis and Vexillifer Justitiæ Populi Florentini," the colleges and other magistrates of the city being assembled, viz.:

Pro Qrio† Sti Spiritus.

* See above, No. 751, p. 195.

† I reproduce here this document just as I find it in Bergenroth's Collection; the original itself I could not see at Simancas. No wonder if most of the names are badly written. The paper itself is full of contractions almost unintelligible. To begin with the Pro Qrio, which thus contracted might be meant for "pro quarterio" or "quartiero," indicating one of the four quarters of Florence: Santo Spirito, Santa Croce, Santa Maria Novella, and San Giovanni, and not as my predecessor in the compilation of this Calendar thought "procuratores." Then as to the names; had I not looked for and found in *Gli Annali della Toscana*, by Mecatti, Naples, 1755, a list of the citizens "arruoti alla Balia," of Florence, I should have been unable to recognize any of them, so corrupted were their proper names in the document transcribed by Bergenroth."

1531.

D. Alexander Grandonati de Barbadoris.
D. Philippus Benedicti Tanays (?) de Nerlis.
Pro Q^rio S^tæ Crucis.
Two.
Pro Q^rio S^tæ Mariæ Novellæ.
Two.
Pro [quarterio] S^ti Johannis.
Two.
M^cus [Magnificus] D[ominus] Benedictus, Domini Philippi de Buondelmontibus Vex[illif]er Justitiæ Populi Florentini.
XVI gonfalonierii Societatum Populi.
XII Novi Viri.
Paulus Johannes de Machiavellis.
Capitanei Inclytæ Partis.
Octo viri Tractici (?) R. P. Florentinæ.
Octo Baliæ.
Officiales Montis.
Conservatores Legum.
Seven.
Massacii (?) Cameræ.
Sex Consiliarii.
Officiales Fortificationum.
Octavianus Laurentius de Medicis.
Lupus* Bartholomeis de Tavaglia.
Prinzivallus D. Aloysii de Stufa.
Alexander Gherardi de Corsinis.
Homines No^ve Balie, 78.

Besides these there was immense conflux of people.

Johannes Antonius Muscettola, from Naples, ambassador of His Imperial Majesty, then addressed in Italian those present, and said how they (the Florentines) had rebelled both against the Emperor and against His Holiness, in consequence of which the former had been obliged to employ force against them.

Reinstates the family of Medici, and especially the duke Alessandro to all his titles, dignities, and so forth in Florence.

The Duke is to be "Primus Caput et Prepositus in regimine dictæ civitatis, et in quolibet officio et magistratu, &c."

The privileges of the city confirmed. Muscettola orders the Imperial decree, dated Augsburg 28th Octobris 1530, to be read.

The Priores, Vexillifer, &c. confer together.

The Vexillifer Buondelmontibus answers, promising always to observe the Imperial decree. Johannes de Camonibus doing the same in the name of the 16 "gonfalonieri" and of the rest.—Florence, 6th July 1531.

Latin. Original on vellum.

8 July. **763.** De Scalengues to the Emperor.

S. E. Milan, L. 1,174. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 316.

After the arrest of Giorgio Gritti, whereof he informed His Imperial Majesty, he received a letter of the 24th June from Brussels, ordering him to set the said Giorgio at liberty,

* I find in Mecatti, vol. ii., p. 603, one Lupo del Touaglia, who may be the same here named.

1531.

and restore to him his property and papers. The Emperor's orders have been fulfilled. Last evening Giorgio was allowed to prosecute his journey, very much satisfied and content at the treatment he has received, for not only has all his property been restored to him, but he has neither lost one hair of his head, nor disbursed a single "quatrino" for his personal expenses.

Giorgio goes now to Venice, and will shortly proceed to Constantinople. He is a very acute and prudent man, well suited for the important negotiations he is said to have in hand.—Turin, 8th July 1531.

Signed: "De Scalengues."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesaræ et Catholicæ Maiestati."

8 July. **764.** De Scalengues to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 1,174, f. 146.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 318.

Has informed him in another despatch of Giorgio Gritti's capture and arrest. Has since received the Imperial letter ordering him to set the prisoner at liberty. Has done so, and he has continued his journey, much satisfied at the treatment he (Gritti) has received, and not having lost one single hair of his head. Thinks he (De Scalengues) deserves credit and favour for the capture of such a person.

Gritti, however, is a very able man. Had the Emperor ordered him (De Scalengues) to screw out some of his secrets, much could have been learnt from him. As that, however, was not done, Gritti only said at his departure that he was going to Constantinople by way of Venice for the purpose of opening certain negotiations, which, he said, would within a very short time either entirely unite Christendom, or utterly ruin it. He thanked much the Emperor for having him set at liberty so soon. Had a ransom been demanded it would not have been difficult for Gritti to pay 100,000 crs., for he frequently offered that sum and more to him (De Scalengues) and to his servants if he would let him escape. Is no longer in a position to offer advice, but had he not been afraid of incurring the displeasure of the Emperor and of the king of the Romans, he might have screwed out of Gritti whatever secrets he had.

Has not, according to the Emperor's commands, made restitution of the 5,000 crs. which he took from the Florentines, not from the Pope. Does not mean to disobey the Emperor, but considers that this money has been fairly won by him, and is exclusively his own. The Pope and the Florentines may, if they choose, go to law about it.

Begs that neither the Pope nor anyone else be allowed to molest him about these well earned monies "scuti ben guadagnati." Even if he wished to render the Emperor a service, and restore the money, he could no longer do it, for he has spent it all.—Turin, 8th July 1531.

Signed: "De Scalengues."

Italian. Original. pp. 1½.

1531.
17 July. **765.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 28.

The Queen wishing to assemble all her councillors and communicate to them the articles (*articulos*) that came lately from Rome, kept the said articles by her until yesterday, when she was convinced that there was no possibility of her Council meeting to deliberate thereupon. She has, therefore, sent me the said documents, on the close inspection of which I find that there is an omission of some importance, namely, an inference (*deduction*) without which it will be impossible for us to establish a sufficiently conclusive proof; for since it is necessary to prove that the Queen was not carnally known by prince Arthur, which is a negative and rather confused sort of proof—especially when no restriction of time or place is marked in the articles—it stands to reason that owing to the dispositions of civil law, and considering also that the presumptions are against the Queen, it will be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to prove the assertion "pour avoer la Royne dormy plusieurs nuytz avec le dit prince, et davantage quilz ont fayt icy tegmoignier sur la ventance (*sic*) que le dit prince avoyt plusieurs foys faytte davoer use avec elle en vray et vigoureux mary." Owing to which reason, even in case of the articles brought forward by the Queen's lawyers being satisfactorily proved in the form and manner in which they now stand,* no complete proof can in my opinion be obtained; nor is there any other way of getting to it except by the Queen herself taking a most solemn oath to that effect, which oath, however, will not be admitted or received in a court of law as long as the above-named proofs and presumptions exist against her. To save which difficulty, and also to render the Queen's oath acceptable in all its parts, it would be necessary to shew and prove expressly and distinctly that the Queen is so virtuous, devout, and holy, so truthful, and God-fearing that for naught in this World would she tell an untruth, but would prefer to die a thousand deaths rather than perjure herself to the detriment of a third party, or live in the unlawful state which such a case would entail. Which assertion of the Queen's love of truth and fear of God once proved, as can very easily be done, all the above-mentioned rules and presumptions of Law would fall to the ground. I have written on the subject to Messire May (*sic*), and should the Queen's councillors, who understand things of this sort much better than I can, deem it advisable, the Imperial ambassadors ought to be written to to this effect. We are continually engaged here in looking out for witnesses able to give evidence on the case, and have already met with two who speak much to the point. The Nuncio has already examined them in virtue of a private mandate from His Holiness.

* Quant tout ce quest deduyt et articule de la part de la royne seroit prouve en la forme et maniere quil gist en iceux articles encoures nen resulteroit yl ne entiere probation ne semy pleine."

1531.

Their declaration will be forwarded by him to Rome, together with that of the other two examined some time ago.

The Queen, thinking that the suit would be over before the meeting of Parliament, has lived for some months in comparative hope and quietness of mind. Now she is very much distressed, and in great tribulation at seeing that His Holiness takes no interest whatever in the case, but on the contrary seems purposely intent upon delaying the determination of the affair so that a way to new obstacles may be opened, and the King have time and opportunity to arrest the sentence. The King himself, the Lady and her adherents, now speak out with much greater assurance than before, and say that whatever happens, sooner or later they will have the cognizance and decision of this cause revoked from Rome and brought to England, having, as they say, in their favour the conclusion of the university of Orleans to the effect that the Pope has not the right or the power of subrogating or usurping the cognizance of this affair. This intelligence, as it would appear, was communicated to the King by Dr. Sampson, and I fear that Dr. Foxe, now in France, will solicit the Paris doctors to sign the same conclusion. I have written to Your Majesty's ambassador in France to be on his guard, for it is now more necessary than ever that both he and Messire Mai and the rest of the Imperial ambassadors should take their measures to defeat the intrigues of the English, more necessary even than at the time when the principal article was discussed; for should the King really obtain a conclusion from three or four more universities, shaped in the same terms as that of Orleans, the Queen's cause must be considered as half lost, since after such a declaration no prelate in Christendom will dare refuse to proceed with the case at the King's bidding, and according to his wishes. The Lady, on the other hand, declares that her marriage to the King will take place in three or four months at the latest; little by little she is already providing for her royal estate, and has during the last few days appointed an almoner, besides several other officers about her person. She always accompanies the King at his hunting parties, without any female attendants of her own, whilst the Queen herself who used formerly to follow him on such expeditions has been ordered to remain at Vinsor (Windsor);* which circumstance, as may be imagined, is exceedingly aggravating to the Queen, not only on account of the King's studied separation, but because she fancies that his object in taking the Lady with him to such hunting parties is that he may accustom the lords and governors of the counties and districts he traverses on such occasions to see her with him, and that he may the better win them over to his party when Parliament meets again.

* "Elle va seule avec le roy aux chasses, et la royne que souloit tosiours suyvre est par l'ordonnance du roy demoure a vindsor."

1531.

Yesterday the King sent a courier to Rome with despatches, which must be of some importance and a very perplexing character, for they have detained the man more than 10 days (intending to dispatch him from hour to hour) and during this time the Privy Council has frequently met to deliberate. I thought I could learn from Jehan Jocquin what the contents of the said despatches are; but he could not or would not tell me anything about it, maintaining that however amiable and polite towards him these people seem at times, they do not communicate with him except on matters with which he has to be acquainted for their immediate advantage. This Jocquin told me in conversation the other day, adding that after all, even if these people were to reveal their secrets to him, they would remain English, and he French.*

I may be mistaken, but I cannot help thinking that the said Jocquin at times shews very little affection for these people. For some days past he has evidently courted my acquaintance more than ever, and whenever there has been talk of going to the Privy Council to treat about the foreign merchants, he has invariably proposed that we should go in the same barge, having frequently suggested to me that the greatest annoyance these Englishmen can receive is to see us thus privately and amiably conversing together. Jocquin's suggestion is plausible enough, and therefore I am determined to cultivate his acquaintance as much as I can, without however revealing any secret to him or saying anything of which he may make his profit with these people. In this manner he has told me that the King has often spoken to him about this intended General Council and how much he himself wished to be present provided the place of meeting were a fit and convenient (*propice*) one, adding that without the personal attendance of the prince there might arise out of the said Council much confusion, and that he (the King) fancied that his (Jockin's) master was of the same opinion. Your Majesty, however, will easily understand that these sentiments of the King are only the repetition of a lesson got up between them (*ce sont lessons recordees entre eux*).

It seems to me that the duke of Norfolk is somewhat hurt at seeing no signs of his former pension being renewed and paid (*confirmer ne payer sa pension*), and therefore finds the proposals of France much better, this being no doubt the reason why he is just now so prodigal of his caresses to Jehan Jocquin, whom he has this very week presented with three horses and three stags (*cerfs*). The said Duke has begged me write to Your Majesty about the people of Grave . . . . who (he says) want to usurp certain lands [of his property] within the limits of their territory. I promised to do so, but said that since they did not shew me any circumstantial report of the affair they had better address their ambassador at the Imperial Court about it, as I could do no more than just mention it in my despatch.

* "Et quant tout seroit dit a la fin ylz demourroint angloix, et lui françoys."

1531.

The young marquis [*of Dorset*] *has been forbidden to appear at Court for some time to come, having been charged with recruiting men in Cornwall and the adjacent counties.* The Queen fancies that this has been designed *by the Lady, owing to the said Marquis being a good servant of hers. She has also on that very account, and because she wants to revenge herself on the duke of Suffolk, for having once brought a charge against her honour, accused him of criminal intercourse with his own daughter.** *No one knows yet what will come out of all this.*

I humbly beg Your Majesty on your passage through Flanders to order that all letters and despatches be forwarded to me as before and mine quickly answered; likewise to tell me whether I am to address the present Governess of the Low Countries† as I formerly did the late Margaret of Austria, that her Council may be daily informed of general occurrences in this country, as well of any new measures in the Queen's case.

The bearer‡ of this despatch has charge of representing to Your Imperial Majesty my personal wants, and asking for some vacant benefice that I may pay my debts, &c.—London, 17th July [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in London, by hand of his secretary, Montoya, the 17th July; received the 19th."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

19 July. **766.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 121.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 320.

Wrote on the 3rd July advising that the Pope had given him to read the book written in favour of the king of England, that he (Ortiz) might report on it, and state at the same time how he proposed answering and refuting the author's arguments. Has read the book attentively, and already informed the learned bishop Roffensis (Fisher) of its contents, and stated his own opinion about the principal matter. The author begins by transcribing the determinations or conclusions subscribed to by the university of Orleans, and the Faculties of Canon Law and Theology of Paris, besides those of the universities Andegaviensis (Angers) and Pictaviensis (Poitiers), those of Bononia (Bologna), Pavia, and Toulouse, all which opinions and conclusions are entirely worthless, as they have no foundation in reason whatever, and have evidently been got up in great haste, without proper know-

* "La dite dame aussi pour le mesme respect, et pour se venger de ce que le duc de sufforcq lauoit autres fois voulu charger de son honneur, luy a fait mectre sus quil se mesloit et copuloit avec sa propre fille."

† Mary, the queen of Hungary, widow of Louis, the last king of that country, slain at Mohatz in 1526.

‡ Montoya, Chapuys' secretary. Probably the same, or a brother of the one who in 1529 was sent by Katharine to Spain on a mission. Another named Hieronymo, a captain in the Imperial army, was present at the siege of Rome, and signed the capitulation. See vol. iii., part 2, pp. 233, 887, 884–5.

1531

ledge of the cause itself, by means of bribery and corruption, in complete opposition to the integrity which ought to rule in affairs of this kind, in the deliberation of matters concerning faith and in the scrutiny of votes. It is well known that in some of those universities there were only two or three doctors to vote, and that wherever these were numerous, as in Paris, the most learned and moral of them voted in favour of the Queen, as they could not well be corrupted by bribery and threats as the others.

Is very much surprised to find that the author of the book often quotes doctors and canonists whose words are in manifest opposition to his own arguments, as will be shewn further on, words and passages which he willingly misinterprets to serve his own purpose, whilst on the other hand he does not mention those who have written against his false and erroneous doctrines. Yet it was natural that as the Doctor had quoted the former he should also have adduced the arguments of the latter to refute them, if he could. This would have been the right way of going to work, instead of ignoring such writers, and only quoting those who, as before stated, he thinks are in his favour, whereas it can be proved that he has completely misunderstood them. This, however, the author, whoever he may be, has no doubt done intentionally, perceiving that the arguments of his adversaries were quite unanswerable, and of a nature to enlighten people respecting the disputed question. He has evidently avoided entering into the subject and declaring his knowledge of it, but has preferred to try and persuade his readers, and gain them over to his opinion under cover of the many rhetorical flowers which he freely spreads over his volume, to the great detriment of people's consciences and the no less scandal of the Christian Church. Would to God that instead of writing this book the author or authors of it had come to Rome to dispute with him, he would then have made them perceive the errors in which they stand, errors brought on by the Enemy of Mankind, and which God has permitted to subsist the better to try of what spirit they are made.*

A letter from England received some time ago by this ambassador (Miçer Mai) has brought us the answer which the Queen made to those who went to speak to her by order of the King. Nothing could be more appropriate, and many thanks should be given to God for having thus inspired her with such wisdom and prudence. Indeed it appears by every one of her answers as if the Holy Ghost, whose cause this is, had put words into the Queen's mouth, as it did to S^te^ Catherine to confound the doctors (*letrados*) who came

* "Pluguiese á nuestro señor que él ó los que fueron en la composicion del libro viniesen aca para que con viva voz diesen cuenta de si, y entendiesen la caligen con que el enemigo les tiene cegados, la qual nuestro señor ha permitido para probacion de sus espiritus."

1531.

to dispute with her. His Holiness has been much pleased to see the letter, and all those to whom it has been read agree that it ought to be printed and published for the glory of God and the better illustration of the justice of the Queen's cause, as well as of the grandeur and ability with which she has been providentially gifted in all this affair.

During these present holidays the proceedings are of course suspended, but they will be resumed with greater rigour than ever, &c.

Must now refer to his own personal affairs, which are in sad confusion, owing to some people in Spain obstinately refusing to obey the commands of His Holiness. The case is this: during the time that he (Ortiz) was a student in Paris pope Adrian, at the request of the archbishop of Bari and patriach of the Indies (Fr. Estevan Gabriel Merino), at that time Papal Legate in France,* gave him a curacy and vacant benefice at Galapagar,† and a brief to take possession thereof; but as the village belongs to the family of Infantado, and to the Duke [D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza], his son Don Martin, took up arms, shut himself up in the church, and resisted those who went to have the Pope's orders executed. In consequence of which the greater part of the inhabitants who offered resistance were formally excommunicated and placed under interdict, the Papal censures lasting to this very day. Whilst the assistance and help of the Crown was being solicited Don Martin managed to procure here, at Rome, an inhibition brief, in virtue of which he obtained the suspension of all legal proceedings in Spain. Matters being in this state, and the affair having been duly examined in the Royal Council [of Castille], the Empress addressed a letter to His Holiness explaining the whole affair, and pointing out the inconveniences arising from such an interdict. The archbishop of Toledo [Fonseca] wrote in the same sense, and His Holiness accordingly decreed that notwithstanding the "litis pendentia" here at Rome, the cause should be tried in Spain, sentenced according to justice, and the ecclesiastical censures raised. This brief, however, Don Martin refuses to execute, and matters remain still in the same state, he (Ortiz) having not yet been able to get possession of his benefice. Humbly requests the Emperor to order that justice be speedily done him in Spain, &c.—Rome, 19th July 1531.

Signed: "Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

* In Spain (?) See Introduction to vol. iv., part 1, pp. xv–xvii.

† A village between Madrid and the Escurial.

1531.

19 July. **767.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 854, t. 121.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 320.

In his despatch of the 3rd inst. he informed Your Majesty that the Pope had given him a book written in favour of the king of England to explain and refute. Has prepared a refutation of the same. At the same time, however, the bishop of Rochester (John Fisher), certainly one of the most learned men living, sent a reply to the arguments contained in the said book. The Bishop places at the head of his answer all reasons alleged in favour of the King by the university of Orleans, by the Faculty of Theology in Paris, by the university of Angers, by that of Poitiers (Pictaviensis), by those of Bologna, Pavia, and Toulouse: all of them are superficial and without weight. The opinions of the said universities were concocted in haste, without knowledge of the subject, and above all without honesty. They were procured through bribery, which deprives them of all value. Besides which some of these opinions alleged to be from universities had no more votes in their favour than those of two or three doctors. Where a great majority was in favour of the king, as for instance in this university of Paris, the best and most learned men were against him and in favour of the Queen, the reason thereof being that good men cannot be corrupted by bribes.

The author of the book in favour of the king of England quotes many authorities which are decidedly against him. On the whole the writer does not try to prove his case, but merely to persuade his readers by rhetorical phraseology. Would to God he might come to Rome and argue the case here, for he (Garay) would not fail to confound him and refute all his arguments!

Has seen and read the letter which the ambassador (Mai) received lately from England. Thank God the Queen is behaving as wisely and prudently as she did before when she had to answer the deputation sent by the King. It is clear to him that the Holy Ghost must have inspired her on that occasion. Her answers were like St. Katharine's when the doctors came to dispute with her. The Pope and cardinals highly approved of her behaviour, and said that her answer deserves to be printed and circulated for the glory of God, and as an act of justice to herself.

The vacations do not allow further proceedings to take place.

Has received from pope (Adrian) a preferment in the church of Guadalaxara. Don Martin de Mendoza, the son of the duke of Infantado, has since deprived him of it. Begs for justice to be done.—Rome, 17th July 1531.

Signed: "Garay."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Empress."

Indorsed: "Dr. Ortiz, from Rome 19th July."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1531.

26 July. **768.** The Emperor's Answer to the Papal Legate.

S. E. L. 854, f. 163.
B. M. *Add* 28,583, f. 328.

The following is the answer made to His Reverence the Papal Legate respecting what he proposed in His Holiness' name.

In the first place His Imperial Majesty in his own name and in that of his aunt, the Most Serene queen of England, thanks His Holiness most heartily for having like a good shepherd of the Christain flock so taken up this affair that the best result may be anticipated. When His Imperial Majesty impelled by most cogent reasons begged him to prevent the attempted divorce, his first and principal object in so doing was that the authority, power, and dignity of the Pope, and of the Apostolic See should be preserved from the calumnious attempts of those who wish to impeach and restrain the same. This His Imperial Majesty, patron and defender of the said Holy Apostolic See, is more in duty bound than any other prince in Christendom to uphold and defend, as likewise to remove all dissensions, small offences, and disputes arising from such a separation, and lastly, to prevent injury being done to the Most Serene queen of England so closely allied to him by the ties of consanguinity. For the affair is of such a nature as to admit of no efficient solution but that of declaring a marriage contracted with the authority and licence of the Holy Apostolic See to be valid and indissoluble. So many princes being interested in this decision, and the peace and welfare of the [Christian] community being at stake, His Imperial Majesty cannot see how an affair of this sort can possibly be treated, discussed, or decided at Cambray, or elsewhere than at Rome, near the Holy Apostolic See, whose decrees and authority all respect and venerate, and whose sentence in such matters all are bound to obey: therefore, His Imperial Majesty most humbly entreats His Holiness not to allow so important a case to be tried and decided elsewhere than at his own Apostolic Court and See. And since judgment can no longer be delayed without great injury to the Queen, who during this time, whilst the suit is pending, is almost as it were divorced from her husband, His Imperial Majesty for the reasons above related most earnestly begs His Holiness that in his equity and justice he be pleased at once to terminate this affair and pronounce sentence, which His Majesty as a dutiful son of the Apostolic See will obediently accept, though he cannot admit of any other form of compromise.

Latin. Original draft in the handwriting of Alfonso de Valdés. pp. 2½.

26 July. **769.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 62.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 330.

Has urgently requested His Holiness to decide what is to be done at the German Diet. Was by him referred to cardinal Sant Sixto, with whom he has had several conferences. The Pope is willing to grant three things: 1stly,

1531.

that everything not of Divine law (*de jure Divino*) be reduced to venial, not to mortal, sin.* 2ndly, to allow consecration and communion "*sub utraque especie.*" 3rdly, to consent to the marriage of priests, provided it be contracted in the manner of the Greek Church. This last article, however, the Pope begged him (Mai) not to mention in his despatches, because he thought it would be better to promise these things gradually one after another.† Has tried to have a letter written in this sense to the Papal Legate that he may show it to the Emperor but has not yet succeeded. Should it be written the Emperor will see if anything else is wanting, that no time be lost at the Diet.

26 July. **770.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 64.
B.M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 331.

After sending his despatch by Captain Peñalosa the Imperial letter of the 24th ult° came to hand, advising that Luigi‡ Gritti had been set free and his papers restored to him. Lost no time in informing His Holiness and the Orsini thereof; all applauded the Emperor's magnanimity, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Has been doing his best to persuade His Holiness to decide at once what concessions he is prepared to make at the next German Diet, that no time be lost thereat. At last he told him (Mai) that after consulting with cardinal Sant Sixto he had made up his mind to give way on three points. The first, that in all matters not of Divine law (*de jure Divino*) sins should be considered venial not mortal. The second, that both consecration and communion *sub utraque especie* should be henceforward allowed. And the third, to consent to the marriage of priests provided it be contracted after the manner of the Greek Church: all things, which in case of agreement, seem to open a broad way [to reconciliation]. These concessions the Pope is very willing to make, yet begged him (Mai) not to write officially about them, as he considered that they ought to be promised by degrees and not all at once. Has since prevailed on His Holiness to write to his Legate about this. He (Mai) sends this information to His Lordship at once, that no time may be lost at the Diet.

(*Common writing:*) Has already written how when Tarbes went away he promised to send from France a memorandum concerning the means proposed by the King, his master, for the amendment or reformation, as he calls it, of the peace of Cambray. Warned the Pope opportunely about the pretensions of the French, and told him that Your Majesty would be sorry to have to refuse a thing which he (the Pope)

* "La primera que todo lo que no es de *jure divino* se reduciesse á que no obligasse a pecado mortal sino á venial."

† A note in the handwriting of Covos placed against this passage has the following: His Majesty would have much preferred that Miçer Mai had not spoken on the subject. These are things which, if they once become public, may lead to serious inconveniences, and therefore he is to abstain talking about them in future.

‡ See above, p. 209, where he is twice called Giorgio.

1531.

wished for. Assured me that if the demands of the French were at all unreasonable he would undeceive them at once.

By letters lately come from England the Pope has heard that the King of that country said a few days ago: "the Pope does not know what he is about, for if he chose he has a fine game in his hands." This the Pope related to me in great confidence, adding that in his opinion it was owing to some new intelligence. (*Cipher:*) My answer was: "I kiss Your Holiness' foot for the intelligence, but it strikes me that it is not difficult to guess how the game will end should the King make a mistake." The Pope understood what I meant, and said I was right. I think upon the whole that up to the present the Pope is favourable to our cause.* May he continue thus!!—Rome, 26th July 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original.

26 July. **771.** POPE CLEMENT VII. to the SAME.

S. E. L. 852, f. 7.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 333.

Commends the services of Juan Antonio Muxetula and is very glad to have had him near his person. Has spoken to him respecting public affairs in general, and told him that he will make concessions to the German Lutherans to satisfy them in order that he (the Emperor) may be free to devote himself to the war against the Turk.—Rome, 26th July 1531.

Italian. Holograph.

28 July. **772.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the SAME.

S. E. L. 22, f. 146.

Your Majesty's ambassador has informed me of the efforts now being made by His Holiness to transfer the trial of the suit pending between the King, my Lord, and me to Cambray, or some city in these parts. At which I and all those who desire the prosperity and honour of the King and hope to see the end and determination of this cause through His Holiness' sentence, have been greatly shocked. I myself know not what to think of it, except that His Holiness shews as little disposition as he did at first to apply a remedy to this evil. Had I not seen the draft of the answer which Your Highness addressed to him on the subject I should not know how to act; I could but throw myself into the hands of God and implore His never failing justice, since He knows well how much I deserve it.

Your Majesty must be persuaded of one thing, namely, that if ever the cause is revoked from where it is now, gifts, bribes, and promises of all sorts will be distributed with such profusion that the judges, whoever they may be, will fain declare that white is black, and doubt will be thrown on the truth of my word. I humbly entreat Your Majesty, since the Pope's suggestions have been disregarded, to persevere in your

* "Dixe que le besaba los pies de su Santidad, y tambien le dixe que no era malo de conoscer en que pararia aquel juego si se engañaba, y conosciomelo y paresce que esta muy bueno a Dios gracias hasta ahora."

1531.

good intentions, and insist upon the cause being tried and sentenced at Rome, where it is now, with the greatest possible speed. To this end I have no doubt the examination of witnesses and the proofs to be obtained in Spain as to the "integridad de mi cuerpo" will greatly contribute. If after this last proof, which will, with God's help, effectually remove all scruples and doubts, the Pope tarries in doing justice and pronouncing sentence, I shall not know what to do, except carry my complaints of him before God, since the Pope's dilatory expedients are actually keeping the King, my Lord, bound hand and foot in the hands of his enemies, and in the meantime plans will be devised to make the King, my Lord, do many things against his honour, his reputation, and his conscience. Of all this His Holiness is the cause for not taking at once upon himself to do justice; for were he to pronounce sentence, I am sure it would effectually stop the tongues of those who counsel such strange things. I beg God to remedy these things as He thinks best; His assistance is most necessary to obviate the evils which I see now, and expect to see in future. About other personal affairs of mine shall say nothing in this letter. Your ambassador residing at this Court, whom I again recommend to Your Majesty's notice, will not fail to advise of them, taking, as he does, great interest in all my affairs.—Vinysor (Windsor), 28th July [1531].

Signed: "Katherina."

Addressed; "To the most high and most powerful lord the Emperor and King, my nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

30 July. **773.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 852, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 337.

Ambassadors from Siena have come to Rome to ask for the Pope's assistance. This he has actually promised but it will be small.*

The French ambassador in Venice says openly to all those who choose to hear him, that king Francis must needs have the duchy of Milan in the end; there is no escaping it. The duke of Albany here makes similar declarations. In conversation with the Pope about this very affair he (Mai) happened to remark that the Emperor "did not intend utterly to destroy France." The Pope replied: "The Emperor will be obliged to do so, for otherwise he will never live in peace, especially as the king of England is fanning the flame, and offers to pay one half of his expenses if the other should enter into a war against the Emperor. It is a very bad sign that a servant of Renzo da Ceri was in company with Gritti when the latter was arrested.†"

* A marginal note against this paragraph has the following: "It seems proper and just that the Emperor should also assist the Sienese."

† The ambassador is to procure information on this point and communicate it to us immediately.

1531.

The French will try to create as much dissension as they possibly can in the Diet.

The Swiss.—Antonio Doria.—Cardinal Sancti Quatuor dying.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Miçer Mai of the 30th of July, to be submitted to the Emperor."

Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

31 July. **774.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 67.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 338.

Turks.—Milan.

(*Cipher:*) Speaking with the Pope about the affairs of France (Miçer Mai) said that the Emperor did by no means intend to annihilate France. The Pope answered in the following words: pur serà forza che lo faccia ch' altramente mai reposarà. He added that the English were fanning (*fomentando*) that flame, that king Henry had offered Francis to pay one half of the war expenses, and that it was a very bad sign that a secretary of Renzo da Ceri, who is as much a Frenchman as himself, should now be accompanying Gritti, &c., &c.—Rome, 31st July* 1531.

Spanish. Holograph almost entirely in cipher. pp. 4.

31 July **775.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 30.

The Queen, in pursuance of a custom which has at all times prevailed between the King and her of sending each other messages every third day by means of some (*avec quelque entreseigne*) countersign agreed between them, sent somebody six days ago to the King to inquire about his health, and signify the regret she had experienced at not having been able to see him before his departure for the country. For since she had been told that she could not have the pleasure and happiness of following him in his journey she imagined that she might at least have had the consolation of bidding him adieu. Yet in this, as in other things, the Queen added, it was for him to order and for her to obey his commands and have patience. The King having heard the message and observed the countersign (*prins la clef de lentreseigne*) conversed for a while with the duke of Norfolk and with Dr. Steve (Stephen), and had the messenger recalled to his presence. He then said to him in great anger (*par grand courroeux et colere*), as it seemed, that he was to tell the Queen that he cared not for her "adieux;" he had no wish to afford her the consolation of which she spoke, nor any other; and besides that it was indifferent to him whether she sent to inquire after his health or not. She had hitherto caused him much annoyance and sorrow in a thousand ways, and particularly by her attempting to disgrace and humiliate him by a summons to appear personally at Rome, and by her having also obstinately refused the very just and reasonable request made by the members of his Privy Council and other noble personages of his kingdom. All this

* Bergenroth's abstract has the 31st of June 1531.

1531.

the Queen had done out of confidence and hope in Your Majesty; but she must know that God Almighty was more powerful than Your Majesty, and in short that she had better refrain in future from sending him messages or visitors.

The Queen answered that she was exceedingly sorry at hearing of his anger (*courroeux*) and displeasure. She had given no cause or occasion for it, for whatever she had undertaken had been done with his permission and consent, and for the honour and relief of each other's conscience, as he (the King) was perfectly aware. Her hopes were not grounded solely and exclusively on Your Majesty, or any other living prince; but only on God, the true protector [of mankind] and the father of justice and truth. What Your Majesty had done in the affair was as much out of respect and consideration for his own honour as for love of her. To these sentiments the Queen added many others equally humble and honourable, but the King having read the letter was some time before he answered it. Three days after, having first consulted the members of his Privy Council, he made a reply in writing, meagre enough, in which he made no attempt whatever to refute the Queen's arguments; he only wrote that she was indeed very pertinacious in her oath that she had never been carnally known by prince Arthur, as likewise in publicly making such an assertion. She was very much mistaken if she trusted in such a statement, for he would evidently prove the contrary by means of good and competent witnesses,* and if so there could be no possible doubt that the Pope (Julius II.) had no right to dispense in their marriage, as he (the King) through his learning and doctrine which everyone recognized had sufficiently proved and shewn. It would be better and wiser for her to pass her time in looking out for witnesses to prove her pretended virginity at the time of her marriage with him than spend the same time in talking about it to whomsoever would listen to her, as she was doing; and as to sending messages or writing to him, that he strongly advised her to discontinue the practice and attend to her own business. Many other insulting sentences of this kind "de la mesme farine" did the King write in his letter, which have not yet been reported to me.

The missive, however, bore no address, most likely because they (the councillors) could not agree as to what title was to be given to the Queen, and yet they had plenty of time for deliberation; for I am told that for three consecutive days the Privy Council did nothing else but prepare the said document, which after all, if the Lady's authority and the good reasons (*les bonnes raysons*) therein alleged be taken into consideration, must have been decreed by

* "Quelle estoit bien obstinee davoer iure quelle navoit este cognue du prince Arthur, et ausy de ce quelle lalloit disant et preschant a tout le monde, et quelle estoit bien deçue celle (si elle) se fondoit sur cella, car yl feroit apparoystre evidentement par bons tegmoins tout le contraigre."

1531.

her. The Queen at first, seeing such rude behaviour, was very much alarmed, imagining that the King might have received from Rome some assurance that sentence would be ultimately pronounced in his favour, but I persuaded her of the contrary, and that the King's aggressive language proceeded rather from want of confidence and half despair of his ever being able to attain his purpose. This reasoning of mine has quieted her fears, and she is now comparatively calm, and yet, as she herself wrote to me yesterday, the information newly conveyed to her that the Pope has, at the intercession of the king of France, granted a new delay in the proceedings is for her a source of alarm and sorrow, fearing lest His Holiness should be induced to take other measures more injurious to her cause than the said suspension, or that during that period some novelty is to be introduced at the next Parliament. I wrote back to her that His Holiness had shewn very little favour to the king of France in this instance for that he had long resisted his prayers, and granted at last that which after all was only an act of justice, which was to observe and keep the holidays. Had he refused the application he would almost have done injury to this king, inasmuch as during these same holidays the proceedings had been suspended here in England at her own request and in her favour. She ought to be aware that the Pope having been so frequently warned by Your Majesty and by other people of the dangers and scandals likely to arise from the delay, not only in this kingdom, but in the Apostolic See and the whole of Christendom, could not grant the aforesaid delay without some sound profit or advantage to accrue from it. These and other representations of mine the Queen has accepted with very good grace, and she has just written to me saying that they have had the effect of calming her fears and soothing her sorrow. The Princess is now with her, which will in a great measure alleviate her pain and mourning at the King's absence. They will pass their time in sport and visiting the royal seats around Windsor,* always waiting for good news from Rome with the help and favour of Your Majesty, in which all her hopes are centred.

About eight days ago the elect of Amiens arrived here, sent by the seigneur de la Barre, the provost of Paris, for the purpose of negotiating with the duchess of Suffolk concerning her dower, of which he (the Provost) is the gerant and administrator. The Elect went straight to the residence of the Duchess, and on the very same day dispatched his business, intending (as he himself and Jehan Jocquin informed me) to return to France on the third day. Yet the said Jocquin having received letters from his master, king Francis, and being obliged in consequence to go to Court, he took the Elect with him and remained there 24 hours. On their return

* "La Princesse est maintenant avec elle [ce] que lui fera oblier le deul de l'absence du roy; elles prendront passetemps daller à la chasse et visiter les maysons royalles autourt duinsor."

1531.

Jocquin went to Dovres (Dover) with the intention of residing there all the time that the King is making excursions in the country, not only to avoid the dangers of the sweating and other diseases prevalent in London about this season, as for the sake of inspecting the works of a chapel and hospital which is being built at the said place at his expense.

For upwards of four months the said Jocquin has been soliciting the release from prison of six Frenchmen, convicted of having embraced the Lutheran sect, all men of low birth and of the working class; eight days ago they were set free, and delivered to Jocquin, who has sent them to France under good escort, there to be tried and punished according to law.

Within the last 10 days a captain from Monego (Monaco) to whom Your Majesty lately granted the knighthood of Santiago, has arrived here with letters of introduction from Monseigneur de Savoie, and from the lord of Monaco himself. He comes for the express purpose of exhorting and persuading the King to arm six galleys against the Infidels, and placing them under his immediate command, having pointed out in a lengthy discourse the convenience of having them armed and fitted out at the present moment, and the profit and advantages to be derived therefrom. The King thanked the captain for his trouble, as well as for his readiness to do him service, and promised that when the opportunity arrived of arming the six aforesaid galleys against the Infidel he would not fail to appoint him to their command, and in the meantime ordered a sum of 50 ducats to be given to him towards the expenses of his journey.

At the request of the abbots of this country, and by the advice and order of the general chapter of the Order of Cisteau, there has come to this city an abbot of Chalex (*sic*), a very learned and virtuous monk, for the purpose of visiting the monasteries of his order in this country, which are in great need of inspection, but notwithstanding the manifold juridical reasons and the right he had to undertake the said visit, as he himself told the Nuncio and me when dining at my hotel, the King has never allowed him to make the said visitation, alleging that no one had a right to interfere in the affairs of his kingdom, saying that he was at once King, Emperor (and if I recollect right), Pope also in his dominions.

There has been for some time a rumour current at this Court that the Pope, the king of France, and this *king have made some sort of league together to prevent the celebration of the Council.* Should there be anything in it I shall not fail to acquaint Your Majesty.

On Friday, the 28th inst., just as I had finished writing the above, Your Majesty's letter of the 23rd came to hand, together with a copy of the answer sent to the Papal Legate respecting the Queen's business, which answer I immediately forwarded to her, along with a summary of the paragraphs in the said letter relating to her. The enclosed answer received three days after was then made by the Queen, this being the

1531.

reason of the delay in dispatching this courier. I also received a draft for 1,500 livres, which Your Majesty kindly ordered to be sent to me on account of my arrears of salary. This, I must say, will scarcely cover one third of my personal debts, and, therefore, I humbly entreat Your Majesty, before your departure from Flanders, to order the payment of all my arrears, and beg leave to be excused my importunities on this head, as not only is my poverty itself great, but might seriously affect Your Majesty's reputation and service, &c.

In expectation of Your Majesty's resolution concerning the pension to Monseigneur de Norfolk, I will act towards him and other officials as I have done hitherto, without giving them hope of any such grants.*

If Dr. Faulx (Foxe) has really left Paris, as Your Majesty's ambassador in France writes, he must have gone to suborn other universities, for certainly he has not yet come back here, and is not expected so soon. During these last three days that the courier has been detained here, a gentleman equerry of this king, by name Penniçon,† has returned from France whither he was sent. He has brought letters for this King, and also intelligence of some sort for Jehan Jocquin, who, notwithstanding his purpose of staying as long as he could at Dover, has been compelled to return to Court. He arrived yesterday, and intends remaining here five or six days, which makes me believe that he has brought some important message. *Indeed, it is most probable that these people, in order to push their folly to the uttermost, will at least assume to try to make others support them in it.*‡ Which conjecture, and the avowal made by the said Peniçon to *a friend of his, by whom I have had him watched*, induce me to believe that these people are actually soliciting France to stir up a war against Your Imperial Majesty. For the said Peniçon has told his friend that whilst conversing with the king of France on military matters and warlike undertakings, he (king Francis) assured him that he would undertake nothing of the sort unless he found himself strong enough for the task without the help of anyone, for he had always been deceived by his neighbours; and upon Peniçon replying that perhaps he alluded to the dukes of Savoy and Lorraine, the King said clearly and without dissimulation that he meant those dukes and the rest of his neighbours without any exception; and I have reason to suspect that on this account Jehan Jocquin has been deputed to treat of a greater, readier, and surer subvention than there has been in the past, to commence war against Your Majesty. I purpose watching the end of this negotiation to inform you as soon as possible.

* "Sans leur donner sentiment ne fumee de pension aucune."

† Also written Penison, Penezon, or Penzon (William?). See Brewer, *Letters and Papers, &c.*, vol. iv. part 3, pp. 710, 1839, 2720.

‡ "Et est vraysemblable que ceulx-cy veuillant achever la follie commencee quilz en monstrent lapparence quilz y vouldront aussy bien fere foloyer (*sic*) les autres."

1531.

Dr. Ortiz has lately written that *His Holiness and the auditors of the Rota have declared to him that if the too great familiarity, scandalous conversation, and bad example of this king and his Lady, as well as the bad treatment of the Queen, could satisfactorily be proved by authentic documents, the Papal censure would be fulminated at once.* I am afraid that there is no possible means of having an instrument of this sort drawn up in due form here, but I think that instead of that a report legally attested might be made of the Nuncio's conversation with this king, and I must say that he has promised me to write to Rome about it. Your Majesty, therefore, might have certain letters addressed to the Pope and cardinals recommending this business afresh, so that since a sentence cannot possibly be obtained during the holidays, *declaratory letters should at least be issued respecting the brief once executed in Flanders. In this way we may obviate for the present any declarations that might be made in Parliament, and other scandalous proceedings of the same kind.* —London, the last day of July 1531.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 5½.

31 July. **776.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 635, f. 88.

. . . . . .

To establish the suit of the most serene queen of England, my aunt, it is needful, as they write to me from Rome, that all the treaties of alliance and league made at the time when the marriage of the Queen first to prince* Arthur and subsequently to king Henry was effected should be produced. I earnestly request you to have a search made for the said treaties wherever they may be, and when found, to have attested copies of the same made out and sent to Miçer Mai, my ambassador at Rome, with all possible diligence and haste.

Indorsed; "Paragraph of a letter from the Emperor to the Empress Isabella."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. 1.

2 Aug. **777.** FRANCOIS BONVALOT† to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 635, f. 90.

Has duly received His Majesty's letters of the 14th July, together with that for the King, which he delivered on the same day, requesting a speedy answer. The King told him verbally that he was much honoured and gratified at the Emperor's communication respecting the chapter he intended holding for the Order of the Golden Fleece and the election of 20 knights in the room of as many deceased since the last creation. He would not fail to send his procuration to one of his brethren to represent him at the chapter, but as to the

* "Con el rey Artur" says the original instead of "Principe."

† Brother-in-law of Grandvelle, and dean of the cathedral of Besançon.

1531.

election itself he knew too little of the candidates to load his conscience with their nomination. Some of them he knew to have been unfriendly, and to have done him as much harm as they could, serving His Imperial Majesty with their persons and property. Considering the late great changes in German politics, it was doubtful whether they would hereafter be as faithful to the Order as was expected. The King added that if the Emperor will enclose him in a letter the names of those he considers worthy of belonging to the Order, he will send it back closed and sealed, as customary in such cases.—Melun 2nd August 1531.

French. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

19 Aug. **778.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 31.

Since my last, the King, on the plea of wishing to hunt in the environs of Winsor (Windsor), sent orders for his Queen to remove to Mur (More), a manor (*maison*) close to the abbey of St. Alban's, and for the Princess to go to Richmont; which measure has seemed so strange to most people that no doubt is entertained here that he (the King) is now resolutely intent upon obtaining his divorce. As to me, I think that all this is mere artifice (*mines et grimasses*) to induce the Queen to consent to the cognizance of the cause being again brought here, to which she will not accede whatever stratagems may be used for the purpose.

Two days ago a herald of Monseigneur de Savoy came here sent by the Duke, his master, to the earl of Wiltshire, to hear from him whether he had, according to the promise he made at Chambery, shewn to the King, his master, and to the Privy Council, the copies of the papers and documents* on which the said Duke establishes his title to the kingdom of Chyppres (Cyprus). The Earl, as it appears, had promised the Duke to intercede with the King to declare that he had no title or pretension whatever to that kingdom, and if so, to fix the indemnity to be paid or received, or else prepare conjointly with him an efficient enterprize for the conquest of that island. The herald had likewise instructions to renew and confirm certain old alliances and confederacies once existing between the Tudors and the house of Savoy, and procure besides letters of favour from the king of France to the high cantons of Switzerland.

When the earl of Wiltshire heard of the arrival of the herald, he purposely absented himself that he might not give him occasion to see and report on the state of this court and government. He sent, however, for the herald four days ago, and began to taunt him with having gone (as he had been informed) to visit the Queen; though on hearing from the herald's own lips that he had not done so, he seemed exceed-

* "S'yl avoit monstre au roy son maystre et a son conseyl les copies de tiltres (lettres?) et documents &c."

1531.

ingly pleased at the news. Upon which the herald began explaining his commission as above, and the Earl answered that the King and his Privy Council had examined the documents in question, but that waiting for the gentleman whom the Duke had promised to send they had not decided anything. Just now, he added, it was impossible to take a resolution in this matter, as the King's Privy Councillors were dispersed here and there, and besides it would be necessary to see first what turn political affairs, which were now rather confused and unsettled, would take. When things were no longer ambiguous and obscure, then would be the right time to treat about business of the kind; that, he hoped, would be done in the spring, and if the Duke sent then a proper person with ample instructions and powers to treat, together with a duplicate copy of the treaties of alliance between the two countries, he (the Earl) had no doubt that the whole matter would be satisfactorily arranged, and the Duke would find his master, the King, well disposed to conclude alliances and all manner of honourable treaties. With regard to the Switzers, the King would not fail to write to his brother of France; the orders had been given, and would start by the next courier dispatched across the Channel.

After this the Earl began to speak about France, and to magnify its power and resources, and in the course of his address came to touch upon Monseigneur de Savoie, who, he said, had not been wise in accepting the county of Asti, for that surely the French intended soon to retake possession of it, as well as to conquer the duchy of Milan. He (the Earl) knew that for certain, and likewise had news from Germany that the electors of the Empire had decided, and agreed between themselves to revoke the election of the king of the Romans as unjust and illegitimate. All this will convince Your Majesty of the malignity and insanity of these people, who for the sake of seeing you in trouble will believe and attempt anything however unreasonable and improbable.

All the Court seems much pleased with the prospects of the marriage contemplated (*nouveau marriage*) of the duke of Orleans to the Pope's niece, not so much (as I presume) out of hope that they will thereby obtain the Pope's favour as that it will free them from the promise which they once made, and not long ago so earnestly solicited, of marrying him to the Princess, as I did inform Your Majesty at the time. They have, indeed, invented and spread abroad the rumour that the Pope, in consideration for the said marriage, is willing to surrender Palma (Parma), Playsance (Piacenza), and other towns; which strange and notoriously false rumour they have sedulously circulated for the sole purpose, as I imagine, of discrediting the Pope, or persuading the prelates and others of this kingdom (as they have heretofore done) that His Holiness is not on friendly terms with Your Majesty, and that the said marriage and settlement are to be made in your very teeth (*a la barbe dicelle Majesté*) as it were.

1531.

Jehan Jocquin, who intended to remain at Court only 10 or 12 days, as I wrote to Your Majesty on the 31st of July, has only passed one night in town, and has since returned to his usual residence (Dover) rather disappointed and annoyed. I have not yet been able to ascertain what he has been about. The bishop elect of Amiens arrived here for the second time just as the said Jocquin was going away, and has only visited the duke of Suffolk once or twice, without, however, shewing himself at Court.—London, 19th of August 1531.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

22 Aug. **779.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, f. 151.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 351.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 25th ult°. The holidays have been the cause of the pleadings in favour of the Queen being suspended, but once over he (Ortiz) hopes that with God's help the proceedings will be resumed with greater vigour than ever.

The ambassador (Miçer Mai) sent him some time ago the apology written in England by the Rev. Bishop of Rochester (*Obispo Rofense*), wherein its learned author triumphantly replies to the two chapters of the book composed in favour of the King. The truth is that many thanks are due to God for the many virtues and sound learning with which he has endowed that prelate, who may rightly be called the true beacon that in our days has lighted the Church. Indeed his answer is so clear, so learned, and so full, shewing the true path through which this suit may be gained, that it leaves no point untouched and very little, if any, work to do for those who like him (Ortiz) are to plead in the Queen's defence. No lawyer, however ignorant, can fail to find in the book sufficient arguments to defeat his opponents, and that is the reason why the learned Bishop is deserving of so much praise and thanks.

As he (Ortiz) is every day expecting a public hearing and full discussion on this matter, his advice is that on no account should his own writings on the subject be committed to the press until the debate has taken place; otherwise it would be tantamount to furnishing weapons to the enemy; our resources ought to be kept secret and hidden (*celadas y secretas*) in imitation of the experienced general who places part of his forces in ambush, the better to destroy his foe.

Master* Sepulveda, who is his friend, wrote some time ago a treatise in favour of the most serene queen of England, a work of much sound learning. Having found that besides its elegant style the treatise contained excellent doctrine, and such as would lead to the perfect knowledge of the case, and demonstrate the clear justice of the Queen's cause, he (Ortiz)

* Juan Ginés de Sepulveda, a native of Cordova, who in this year (1531) published several tracts at Rome.

1531.

advised him to have it printed, which has been done.* Encloses a copy of it.—Rome, 22nd August 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

25 Aug. **780.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 30.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 353.

Returned from Florence on the 14th inst., and had next day a long conversation with His Holiness concerning his contribution towards the expenses of the Imperial army, and also respecting the proposed marriage of his niece. The Pope consented to continue the same for a month or two, provided he (Muxetula) procured the money from the Roman bankers, as he himself had none to dispose of at present. Respecting the marriage he agreed in conformity with the Emperor's wishes, as expressed in his last instructions to Miçer Mai, to give up entirely the chance of his niece marrying the duke of Orleans, but with regard to the German Lutherans His Holiness is willing to make certain concessions in order to satisfy them. He is about to send Leandro, the archbishop of Brindisi, to the Emperor with a memorandum to that effect.

Attempts of the French to seize Genoa.

(*Cipher:*) The bishop of Auxerre† has arrived. He has asked the Pope to conclude at once the marriage of his niece with the duke of Orleans, and utters various threats in case of his non-acceptance. Among other things he says that unless the Pope gratifies his wishes in that respect his master, and the king of England also, will withdraw their obedience from him. The Pope is much perplexed for he knows perfectly well that the Emperor opposes the said marriage, and equally so that the king of France, should his offers be rejected, is capable of any rashness (*locura*).

(*Cipher:*) There is a report here at Rome that the French are about to undertake Genoa. Indeed it is said that Andrea Doria himself and ambassador Figueroa have stated their suspicions in writing, and that the French said the Pope approved of it. Although the suspicion was unfounded (for certainly the Pope has hitherto been the first to unveil these dark French intrigues), he (Muxetula) failed not to inform him of the rumour. He laughed heartily, and promised to write to Doria about it.

* This treatise, entitled "*De Ritu Nuptiarum et Dispensatione Libri Tres*," dedicated to cardinal Santa Croce (Francisco Quiñones, bishop of Coria, in Extremadura) was first printed at Rome in 1531, 4to., reprinted at Paris, Cologne, and other places, and lastly at Madrid with the author's *De rebus gestis Caroli V., libri* XV. and other works. See *Joannis Genesii Sepulvedæ Cordubensis Opera, cum edita tum inedita, accurante Regia Historiæ Academia Matriti, Anno* MDCCLXXX, 4 vols. 4to. from 1530 to 1554.

† François II. de Dinteville.

1531.

(*Common writing :*) The Pope has since done so, and the information received from Andrea Doria respecting the designs of the French has been of such a nature that His Holiness is known to have said lately to the Venetian ambassador : "The Signory must be on the alert, and prevent the French from again setting their foot in Italy, which is what they are trying to do anyhow." This news is confirmed by Figueroa's letters. It is also said that the infantry under Renzo de Cheri (da Ceri) have been quartered in the marquisate of Saluzzo ; that this condottiero himself, [Guido] Rangone, and Theodoro de Tribulzi (Triulzo) are likewise in the neighbourhood, and certainly if so, it cannot be for a good end. Though the said "condottieri" give out that the infantry has been sent to those parts for the sole purpose of relieving the inhabitants of France from the charge of having troops quartered upon them, there is every reason to suppose that their intentions are anything but good, for the French have lately taken into their service count Gayazzo and his men, and Guido Rengon (Rangone), and others; and besides the duke of Albany is known to be secretly treating with some Corsican captains, asking them for a list of those of their nation who could be engaged in case of need, with how many men, what pay, &c.

As the marquis del Guasto (Vasto) left a few days ago for Isola (Ischia) in consequence of his wife, the marchioness, having been confined of a son, a messenger has been dispatched to him to return immediately ; for certainly in these times the Imperial forces cannot be left without a general.* —Rome, 25th August 1531.

Spanish. Original.

31 Aug. **781.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 73.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 361.

The duke of Albany behaves very courteously towards him and endeavours to enter into negotiations. It will soon be seen what he is aiming at. Met him the other day at the Papal Palace, when he promised to call at the Imperial embassy. His orders, however, being not to treat with the Duke, he (Mai) begged Andrea del Burgo to go to him, which he did, and the Duke began at once to discuss State affairs. Three things, he said, must be promptly remedied, viz. : 1. The affair of Hungary. This the King, his master, would willingly

* As I have had occasion to observe, Muxetula's despatches are written in a sort of Spanish strongly mixed with Neapolitan which renders them almost unintelligible. I will quote, as an instance, the following paragraph at fol. 355*b* "En ser en Roma ha crecido mucho el suspecho que franceses queryan emprender las cosas de genova, y da (*sic*) genova misma el capitan Andrea d'Oria, y l'embaxiador figheroa lo escribian y suspechaven y demas avisavan que franzeses dizian que era con voluntad del papa y aunque en verdad no llevava razon, ende mas que siempre el papa ha sydo [il] que nos advertia mas que se estuviese sobre el aviso en lo de genova, por que franzeses lo deseavan, tratavan y procuravan, todavia lo avemos hablado con Su Sd. y se ha reydo desto quanto que el consentiesse en esto, mas antes se ha ofrecido en esta defension de no faltar, &c." Nor is this one of the 25th of August written in better style, having positively more Italian than Spanish words, though intended to be in the latter language.

1531.

undertake to arrange by bringing the Vayvod into concert with the king of the Romans [Ferdinand].

The second, he said, was the divorce case. The king of France did not pretend to say that justice was not on the Emperor's side, but he maintained that it would be advisable to interpose some delay; now was the occasion and the opportunity must be seized.*

The third was the political relations between France and Italy. These ought to be materially altered. The King, his master, could still do much harm if he chose, &c.

Andrea del Burgo answered that he was glad to hear the Duke's sentiments about the Vayvod and Hungary, but that personage had lately taken part with the Turks, and had thereby incurred the censures of the Holy Apostolic See.

With regard to the cause of England, Andrea del Burgo remarked that neither the Emperor nor the king of the Romans had ever been averse from a friendly settlement; but the proposal now made was against God, against justice, and against honour. The delays granted in the case had already been too great, &c.

As to his (the Duke's) threat that the king of France might if he chose do much harm, Andrea made a suitable answer as the brave man that he is (*como valeroso baron*).

Negotiations concerning the marriage of the Pope's niece, &c.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

English abstract by Bergenroth.

1 Sept. **782.** Francisco de los Covos to Miçer Mai.

S. E. L. 853, f. 8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 364.

No attention should be paid to what the duke of Albany may say. You must be very guarded in your answers, especially in what concerns Italy, and inform us of every new move. His Imperial Majesty is determined not to make any move, but leave things as they are at present.

Should the bishop of Oxerra (Auxerre)† speak to you about the object of his mission, or about the King's wishes respecting the Council, you will answer him in conformity with the Emperor's declaration to the Legate here, and you must also try to ascertain what other designs the said ambassador has.

No one desires more than the Emperor the complete settlement of the affairs of Germany. Once there he will see what had better be done.

Your own fears and the Pope's about the meeting of cavalry and men-at-arms in Saluzzo proved to be without foundation.

* "La otra era lo de la causa de los serenissimos Reyes de Anglaterra, y que el cristianissimo no querria dezir que no toviessemos iusticia, sino que se pusiese algun tiempo en medio, y que esta era ocasion que la devriamos comprar."

† "François de Dinteville, bishop of Auxerre, on the Yonne (Bourgogne).

1531.

You must insist always, and whenever there is an opportunity, upon a cardinal's hat being given to the lord of Monaco (Agostino Grimaldi). I hear that all the benefices that bishop had once in France have been sequestered, and it is but just, after proroguing—as His Holiness has just done—his reserve of Grasso (Grasse) for six months more, that he should get a more substantial reward for his services.

The wilful accusations proffered against the Emperor that he is about to take the duke of Ferrara and his estate under his protection, and that in His Holiness' disputes with the Venetians he intends taking the side of the latter, are wholly untrue. You may at once assure His Holiness that our common master, the Emperor, will not say or do anything against him or the Holy Apostolic See.

Escalengas (De Scalengues) has been written to.

With regard to the castellan of Mus (Gian Jacopo de' Medici) orders have been sent to prothonotary Caracciolo at Milan to try and settle his differences with the Duke (Francesco Sforza).

What you yourself wrote about an undertaking against Alessandria, and more recently against Cairo, or Modon, as recommended by the duke of Albany, has no foundation at all for the present.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

1 Sept. **783.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 82.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 371.

The Emperor's letters brought by Hieronimo Loarch* came duly to hand. Gave His Holiness that which came for him respecting the Council. He became rather thoughtful after reading it, especially as he knew already from his Legate what the answer was likely to be. Having been told not to press him on these matters, he (Mai) refrained from further allusion to the subject. Yet his silence must have increased the Pope's suspicions, for he said to him a few days since that whilst the French on the one hand claimed the merit of having succeeded in putting off (*desviar*) the Council, they had on the other threatened him that unless he did what they wanted in other matters they would have their revenge. On the whole, it may be confidentlly asserted that this Council is for these people (the Romans) a sort of bug-bear (*la piedra del Escandalo*). So afraid are they of it that some time ago it was rumoured among the cardinals—and Cesarino repeated it to him (Mai)—that the Emperor was only promoting its celebration that he might keep them in subjection.

Wrote [on the 8th of June] that the Pope had stated that Tarbes had brought here [to Rome] letters from the duke of Saxony (George), the landgrave [of Hesse], and the free cities of Germany to the king of France, shewing that the French

* So written that it might also be read *Exarch*, but I have reason to believe that Lasco or Lascho is meant.

1531.

were likely to bring us soon into trouble. Tried to ascertain from His Holiness whether he himself had seen the letters. His answer was that he had not, but that he was convinced that such letters had been written; Tarbes could hardly have forged them. He (Mai) believes in them, for he recollects very well that a few days before the departure of that ambassador for France he and his colleagues were distinctly told that a secretary of the duke of Saxony* had arrived at the Court of France with letters of credence from his master. He said so to the Pope, who repeated it to Maestre Fernando, his physician, and to others. Even now the rumour is very prevalent among the cardinals of the French party.—Rome, 1st September 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, &c."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

1 Sept. **784.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 77.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 373.

I thank Your Lordship very much for bringing about Muxetula's recall. I cannot help declaring that the Pope never told him a thing that he did not say before to Miçer Andrea del Burgo or to me. If at any time he (the Pope) happens to tell him more than either of us two, Muxetula sells it so dear that we would not have it at any price. I make this statement because on many an occasion I have found the Pope perfectly well acquainted with facts and words which have passed between Muxetula and me, as Don Pedro de la Cueva and Monsieur de Bauri, who were here at Rome, can testify. This, as Your Lordship can imagine, is a great disadvantage in negotiation, for as the Castillian proverb says: "An enemy warned is only half assailed."† As he (Muxetula) is lodging at the Papal Palace, if he ever hears that I am with the Pope he comes in, and I cannot say a word without his taking part in the conversation, and, absurdly enough, if I transact business, or finish an affair with His Holiness, or make a settlement of some sort, he immediately sends a messenger to the favoured parties and compliments them on their success, attributing all the merit to himself. For this last I care nought.

In this manner, by exaggerated reports of his influence with His Holiness, and by visiting cardinal d'Osma almost daily—a thing which I cannot well do owing to my many occupations—this man (Muxetula) has gained the confidence of that Imperial minister, though, to tell the plain truth, I know as a

* "The original has Jassa for Sassa, as Saxony was at that time called by the Spaniards. *Hesse* was also written *Hassa* and *Hassia* by them, and hence the frequent mistakes which occur in the correspondence of Martin de Salinas and others who seem to have occasionally mistaken the landgrave of Hesse (Philip) for the duke of Saxony (George).

† "Un apercibido es medio combatido."

1531.

positive fact that far from being the Cardinal's friend, as he professes, he has on more than one occasion done him much harm behind his back.

Cardinal Santacroce told me once that all this aversion to the Council originated mostly in him (Muxetula) through the things he told the Pope, and that if the Council is not held it is as much Muxetula's fault as the Most Christian King's. This may easily be believed if we take into account that when count Baldassar [Castiglione] died, the Pope, as reported, wanted to appoint him (Muxetula) his Nuncio in Spain, and that this very year, on our return from Bologna, he got a bailiship (*balliato*) in Naples, worth about 3,000 ducats a year, besides an abbey of 600, and an archbishopric, out of which he has made his profit.

Muxetula, besides, has a nephew—the son of a man who was sentenced as a rebel in Naples—whom he has placed about the Pope as confidential chamberlain (*camarero secreto*), and I hear from Gayoso and the rest that this nephew is as much attached to the French party as his father was, and that in the Pope's apartments conversations go on which are anything but flattering to the Emperor, our master.—Rome, 1st September 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

1 Sept. **785.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 11. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 375.

Count* del Borgo is rendering very good service in England. Some time ago he was suspected, but has already cleared himself from that suspicion. Here, at Rome, it is reported that he once asked for, and obtained, certain offices in Sicily, but was told by the Emperor's ministers that he had not behaved well during the Neapolitan wars. Thinks that answer was ill-considered. Begs him not to forget that the poor Queen is entirely in his power. If no favour is shewn him it is to be feared that he will do nothing for her. Such a man as he must not be exasperated.

Postcript of a letter dated 1st September 1531.

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and magnificent lord, the High Commander of Leon, first secretary to the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. p. ½.

4 Sept. **786.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227. No. 32.

Having lately sent to the King requesting an answer to the letter Your Majesty wrote to him concerning the meeting of a chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, he sent me

* Baron seems to have been his true title.

1531.

word yesterday that he would in 10 days send a new ambassador to reside at Your Majesty's court, who would be the bearer of his answer, as well as of the papers required for the said meeting.

Dr. Faulx (Foxe) returned a week ago from France, where he has, as I have been told, worked to the utmost of his power to persuade the university of Paris to declare that "Oeres que le prince Arthur neust copule avec la royne que le pape ne peu dispenser ce second marriage, non point la copule." This pursuit the King has caused to be made, knowing for certain "que la royne vint pucelle a luy, et que cella se pourra prouver et veriffier." What resolution the said doctor [Foxe] has brought with him from France I have not yet been able to ascertain.

The Queen, owing to some of her own maids of honour [having been dismissed] has retired to a small residence close by. There she has been but scantily visited by the King's courtiers, nor has she received from them such consolation as her case requires.* She has granted certain measures most necessary to render valid all that has passed in her business, of which two instruments have been drawn up, one to be forwarded to Rome, to Your Majesty's ambassador, the other to the president of Castille [Tavera]. Please Your Majesty to have them sent to their respective addresses.

There is no other important news to be reported, except that the wild Irish (*les yrlandois sauvages*) have recently held numerous gatherings of clans together, and made several incursions upon the lands of this king's adherents, and it is further said that they are supported and encouraged by some Scots equally wild. Of what may happen Your Majesty will be particularly informed in due time.—London, 4th September 1531.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 1½.

9 Sept. **787.** The ABBOT OF LLOR to SECRETARY COVOS.

S. E. L. 851, f. 74. B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. .

Has not heard from him for a long time; no doubt press of business has prevented his writing. He (the Abbot) continues watching the course of affairs in this capital (Rome), and principally the natural direction (or rather misdirection) of the Queen's defence.† Persuaded as he (the Abbot) is that the Emperor and his ministers are fully convinced of the obstacles

* "La royne, Sire, a cause daucunes siennes damoyselles quont [este renvoyees] sur cest (sur ce sest) retiree en une petite mayson cy apres, la ou elle a este assez povrement visitee et consoulee de la court du roy combien le cas le requeroit autremant; elle a passe certaines procurations fort necessayres pour la reualidation," &c.

† "Aqua se sigue la solita natura. y misma via (o por mas conveniente hablar digo *devia* y no via) del negocio."

1531.

daily being raised in order to ward off the Pope's final sentence, he will say no more about it except that the Emperor being much more Christian in his doings than the French monarch, who assumes that title *par excellence*, it is to be hoped that God will be as favourable to him in this question as he has hitherto been in other matters, and that he may say with Job: *Sit Dominus juxta me et cuiusvis manus pugnet contra me insuper, &c.*

The English ambassadors meanwhile work night and day. Perceiving that justice is not on their side, they are now trying by devices of all kinds to carry out their wicked purposes. He (the Abbot) can say that one of the ambassadors, also an official at this Court, bears him much ill-will on account of his attachment to the Queen, and of his zeal for her defence; but such is his independent character that he cares no more for him or any of his colleagues than he does for the dust he treads upon.*

The Imperial ambassador (Miçer Miguel Mai) begged him the other day to communicate with Master Johan Montedocca† respecting what he (the Abbot) had written at other times. Last night, at the house of cardinal Egidio, he again repeated his prayer, so that Montedocca being on the right side, and fully aware of the Queen's right, it has been settled that both will meet to-morrow, and reveal to each other their mutual secret.‡ As far as he himself is concerned, he (the Abbot) does not hesitate to state his opinion that God Almighty will be ultimately the judge of this cause, and will pronounce sentence since his ministers [on the earth] for their own private views and interests refuse to do it.

An ambassador from France has lately arrived here, a bishop [of Tarbes]. Has had occasion to speak with him, and found that he comes merely for the purpose of serving his master, bringing forth novelties, and stirring up war. May God forgive those who foster such dissensions, and let us trust in Him *et viderimus inspirata et miranda.*—Rome, 9th September 1531.

---

* "Y sé dezir a V.S. que uno de los ambaxadors y ofitial (*sic*) desta corte no me tiene buena voluntad por respetto de esta causa y selo (zelo) que tengo por la defensa de la Reyna; empero mi condition es muy liberta e ingenua; ago menos caso de semejantes que no de lo que piso."

† Juan Montes de Oca, a native of Seville, and a collegian of Bologna, where he read philosophy as early as 1499. He was some time attached to the household of Albert, count of Carpi, who sent him to Flanders and Germany on various missions. Having afterwards entered the service of Clement VII., he was appointed professor of philosophy and ethics first at Pisa, and then at Florence, until upon the landing of Charles at Genoa in August of 1529, he was appointed secretary and interpreter to Hippolito de' Medici, one of the three cardinals sent by the Pope to welcome and compliment the Emperor. He was killed by robbers in 1532 near Perugia. Sepulveda, who was his friend and panegyrist, calls him "Joannes Monsdocus," and mentions him frequently in his *Antopologia pro Alberto Pio Carpensi in Erasmum, Romæ* 1532, as well as in his *Historia Ægidii Albornotii seu Descriptio Collegii Bononiensis.* (Rome, 1521, 4to.)

‡ "Y ell mismo hallandose en estos dias en casa del Señor Cardenal Egidio me lo rogó, y pues es de nuestra parte le comunicaré mi secreto, y él á mi el suio."

1531.

P.S.—His Reverence, cardinal Egidio, begs to be kindly and affectionately remembered to the Imperial secretary. He continues to be, as he always was, the Emperor's most devoted servant, and is now as ready as ever to obey his commands. It is principally on this account, and owing also to his great authority and influence, as well as to his integrity and honesty in refusing the English bribes, that he (the Abbot) remains attached to the Cardinal's household, as he considers that in serving him he serves the Emperor's cause. Such is his duty, &c.—Rome, ut supra.

Signed: "Ell abbot Llor."

Addressed; "To the most illustrious and most noble lord, secretary Covos (*sic*), the High Commander."

10 Sept. **788.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 33.

The Queen, hearing that Agrippa had written that he had sound reasons and incontrovertible arguments to prove that her marriage was legitimate, has charged me to ask your Majesty in her name to order him to write in her favour. She has been very much hurt of late at the King's refusing her the use of certain houses (*certaines maysons*) whither she intended to retire, and having ordered her to reside at one of the worst in England (*en une des pyres d'angleterre*). She will obey the commands of the King, and go to the place designated for her residence, though she purposes immediately upon her arrival there to write a letter to the King saying, that if this kind of treatment is to last she would much prefer and would be indeed happy to be sent as a prisoner to the Tower of London, for as her sufferings could not be greater than they are now, she might, were her misfortunes generally known, hope that everyone would pray God to arm her with patience, and inspire him (the King) with better sentiments.* She is, moreover, afraid that the auditor of the Rota, who is coming here and to Scotland through France, may bring something to her disadvantage.

One of the principal servants of the young marquis [of Dorset] has been sent to the Tower on the charge of having tried to seduce some of his comrades, enjoying the most credit with the rest, to take up the part of their master, telling them that they saw well how matters stood, and that the Marquis could not fail to be king of England in time. Some time ago, as I informed Your Majesty in my despatch of the 17th ult°, the Marquis was forbidden the Court, but since then he has been allowed to return more to be under vigilance and some kind of arrest than otherwise.

Since I wrote last I have heard that the person appointed to go as ambassador to Your Majesty is called Maystre Vuyllot (*sic*),

* "Que si ce trayttemant a de durer elle se tiendroit pour plus heureu[se] destre detenue en la tourd de Londres comme prisoniere, car oultre quelle ne souffriroit point plus quelle fayt, estant a lheure son infortune notoyre a tout le monde chascung prieroit dieu pour luy fere impetrer bonne pacience et pour inspirer le roy a mieux fere."

LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1531.

a gentleman of seven or eight hundred a year. He belonged once to the Cardinal's party, and now follows that of the Lady, who, as I have been told, has promised to have him promoted to the office of Master of the Rolls the moment that its present owner, an old ecclesiastical doctor, now going to France in the room of [Francis] Brian, shall have started on his mission.*

I beg Your Majesty to think of my affairs, &c.—London, 10th September 1531.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

12 Sept. **789.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 76.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 376.

Since my last the English ambassadors have met three or four times with the one that came lately from France, and with the duke of Albany. They went all together to see the Pope with a letter from the king of France recommending the English business.

It appears that what the English now want is that the cause be again committed to England to be judged there, or else that His Holiness make here a new decretal (*decidiendo la causa a su voto*). No sooner did I hear of this than I went up to the Pope and said to him that I always thought the English would look out for excuses and shifty schemes (*diffugios y bellaquerias*), but was glad to hear that they had exhausted all their resources since they now came to ask for what they had asked 30 times before.

The English went on to say that in the expectation of Your Majesty's visit to Italy it was neither fair nor decent to proceed with the cause, for His Holiness' judgment would not be free. This being the very plea the English made once at Bologna, probably a mere feint (*cauthela*) to frighten the Pope, I reassured him by representing Your Majesty's filial affection for him, and the great desire you have of pacifying Italy and the whole world. But having since heard that the duke of Albany had said at a certain house that if sentence was given it would certainly not be obeyed, I said to His Holiness not to mind what the English and these people might say, but pronounce sentence according to justice, and that God would take care that it was executed. "I know (said I to him) that the English themselves will consider this right, and the King will obey." Upon which His Holiness promised that the cause should go on and justice be done.

The English threaten us with two things: 1st. That they will produce their King's warrant ordering them to allegate (*allegar*) the excuses for his not appearing at Rome. On this point, however, we have already gained the point that he is not to be heard unless he gives full powers for all the cause.

* "Il a este au cardinal et maintenant est a la dame, laquelle, ainsy que lon ma dit, la promeu a ceste charge quant et luy partira le maystre des rolez, quest ung vieux docteur ecclesiastique que va en france pour successeur de brian."

1531.

The second is that they will challenge as suspicious all the auditors of the Rota who happen to be vassals of Your Majesty. This article we shall also gain, for right is on our side; they will no doubt put us to some trouble and inconvenience with their delays, loss of time, &c., though on the other hand it will be very much in our favour if their applications for delay end here, and they do not ask for new ones, which, considering their fears of the sentence, can hardly be expected.

I beg for a copy of the original process instituted in England without which it is impossible to judge, for as the reporter observed the other day, this is really and truly a cause of appeal which cannot be sentenced without the above. Want also the dispensation brief because if its authenticity is brought into question it must be exhibited.

I have written to Castille to the cardinal president of the Council, and to the viceroys of Catalonia and Valencia, and to the governor of Aragon, begging them to examine certain witnesses in virtue of the remissory letters. I believe that this has been executed by this time, for I have seen letters of judges and other officials announcing that the examination of witnesses had already taken place, and that the amount of evidence collected was sufficient to establish our right. If such be the case let the papers come as soon as possible.

One article, and that a very important one, is wanting for the complete success of the case, namely, to prove that at the time of the Queen's second marriage there was war or apprehension of it between the kings of Spain and England, or between Spain and France, or between France and England. It would be highly advantageous if such information could be obtained in Spain, about the frontier of the Pyrenees, and if so let it come before the term of the remissory letters has expired. I have not the least doubt that with such weapons our victory will be complete. As to Dr. Ortiz, as far as theological points are concerned, he is doing his work well, and is prepared for the attack.—Rome, 12th September 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. R. Mt."

Indorsed; "Mai on the cause of England."

Spanish. Original. pp. 1½.

12 Sept. **790.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 85.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 379.

(*Cipher:*) The Pope spoke to me yesterday, and begged me to give him advice and help in a matter concerning the duke of Ferrara [Alfonso d'Este] about which he seemed much concerned. He complained that the Duke had done a most villanous thing (*bellaqueria*); he had forged one or two letters in cipher supposed to have been written by him (the Pope) to his Nuncio in France, and had sent the decipherings of the same to Your Majesty. The substance of the letters was to direct the Nuncio to say to the kings of France and England,

1531.

as if it came from himself, that he (the Pope) was their friend, and that they were to prevent at all risks the celebration of the Council. If so he (the Pope) would do anything they pleased, specifying among other things the marriage of his own niece to the son of the king of France, and a favourable sentence in the divorce suit.

This (he said) was not the first trick the Duke had played him, and he begged and entreated that I would write home for the original letters which had been forwarded to the Emperor, that the handwriting and cipher might be inspected here in my presence, and the forgery proved. He was an honest man, and not the bad one* which the Duke had made him appear; though he was incapable of such a treacherous act, he wanted to justify himself in the eyes of the Emperor and of the World. Had he wished to prevent the celebration of the Council he would not have hesitated in opening his breast to the Emperor, as he had done with respect to the inconveniences he thought might arise from it. He would not have consulted the French, whom he mistrusts for several reasons.

(*Common writing:*) My reply was that I knew nothing about the letters, and believed the report to be untrue, for otherwise I should have been informed thereof. Even if the letters had been sent, the Emperor was too generous and too magnanimous, had too much filial affection for him to attach faith to such reports. (*Cipher:*) Such was my answer; but should the Pope repeat his complaint, and ask for the letters, I must have instructions as to what I am to say to him; for if no letters have been sent that settles the question, but if they really have, though the matter is one that requires secrecy and reserve, still His Holiness ought to have some sort of satisfaction given him. In any case I must know how to act, and what are the contents of the letter likely to be addressed to him or to his Legate or Nuncio about the Emperor.

Your Lordship wishes to know my own private opinion about this affair. I say without hesitation that I do not believe entirely in the contents of the letters, and yet I have my reasons to suspect that His Holiness may have thrown out some sort of distant hope to the above-mentioned kings, firstly, because whatever he and some of the cardinals may say about their willingness to accept the Council I know as a fact that he and they dislike it. Secondly, because the French are now notoriously trying to prevent it, and it is not to be presumed that they will work for nothing, especially when by doing service to the Pope they forward their own plans, which consists in preventing the final settlement of the Emperor's affairs. And lastly, that for some time past the French ambassadors have been visiting His Holiness very often, and holding frequent conferences with him, which is a proof that they are negotiating something.

* "Que él es hombre de bien, á lo menos que no es mal hombre."

1531.

In short, I believe the Pope to be in earnest; he loves the Emperor and knows him well, dreads his power, and is willing to follow his fortunes. On the other hand, whether it be his nature, or the advice of those who surround him, or the condition of Italy, he will be glad to temporize (*entretenerse*) with all parties, because he thinks that course the most in keeping with the office of a good pope as regards God and the World, and that he will be more respected in consequence. With this flaw (*pepita*) we must bear patiently, because I really believe he is for us, and even in the midst of his apparent neutrality he does more for us than for the others.—Rome, 12th September 1531.

The non-creation of the cardinals recommended by the Emperor is a thing at which I am much annoyed.* God knows it is no fault of mine.

Santa Croce is still absent.

A letter from prothonotary Caracciolo has just been received dated the 3rd inst., advising that he had sent the letter to Scalenga by a private messenger, and that the Grisons and Switzers object to the duke [of Milan] listening only to the other party (*los demas*). The Castellan and his brother were both besieged, one in Mus (*Musso*), the other in Lech (*Lecco*).

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

12 Sept. **791.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 852, ff. 134–5.

The result of the duke of Albany's embassy is that no help against the Turks can be expected from his master, the king of France.

The Pope has been informed that the duke of Ferrara has accused him of writing letters in cipher to the kings of France and England, in which he (the Pope) speaks of the convocation of the General Council in a very different manner from what was expected from him. The Pope is much offended at this, and declares the whole to be an invention of the Duke. He never wrote or thought of writing such letters.

He has sent instructions to Aleandro, the bishop of Brindisi, concerning business to be transacted at the German Diet and leaves it entirely to him (the Emperor) to do what he considers best.—Rome, 12th September 1531.

Spanish. Holograph. Cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 12.

12–27 Sept. **792.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 384.

The Pope is thankful for what has been done at Modona. Pero Çapata received orders to deliver the castle to the Papal agent, and the delivery was accordingly accomplished.

Reports on a rumour of a conspiracy to assassinate Don Hercoles [the son of duke Alfonso] and take possession of Ferrara.

* Capua and Monaco, as appears from another despatch. The Pope appointed Pistoja instead.

1531.

The affair of Rafael Geronimo has been, and will be, kept a secret.

The secretary's answer :—Letters have been received here stating as a fact that levies of men were actually being made in the lands of the Church. His Imperial Majesty has no doubt that this is without the consent or knowledge of His Holiness, but still it would be desirable that orders should be issued to stop any attempt of that sort.

Levies of men in the estates of the Church, &c.

With regard to the interview the truth of the case is this :—His Majesty has been informed that the Papal Nuncio, and other ambassadors at the Court of France, had said that the Emperor had asked for an interview with the King which the latter had not accepted, and had said that he would never accept without letting the Pope know of it first. The contrary of this was the case; Balançon went to visit the king and queen of France to condole on the death of the Queen-mother (Louise), and has now returned. He never had charge of treating about an interview at all.

His Holiness approves of the proposed interview between the Emperor and the king of France, sure as he is that nothing will be brought forward there to his prejudice.

Cardinal Gaetano, &c.

No longer question of the tithe, nor of the brief in help of the duke of Savoy. Has been able to prevent both.

Domenico Centurione, the Pope's chamberlain, remained at Genoa. No suspicion can be attached to him nor to the Pope's confessor, who went to Milan.

The Catholic cantons of Switzerland are pressing for help. He (Mai) tries to temporize with them as best he can, holding before them the prospect of the Diet.

The duke of Malfi (Amalfi) has written that the Sienese consent to pay the Imperial garrison for one month more. As to the Pope, he declares that after two months have elapsed he will not contribute any more towards the pay of the Imperial troops, his treasury being completely exhausted.

A cardinal's hat has been given to Pistoia (Ant. Puggi).* He (Mai) managed that the names of Monaco and Capua should also be recorded in Consistory, but all in vain; they were not voted. Toulouse was also rejected, although France recommends it.

* There were three cardinals of this family (Puggi) : Lorenzo, Antonio, nad Roberto, all three bishops of Pistoia and Prato (Pistoria et Pratum), but the one alluded to in this paragraph must be Antonio.

1531.

Death of cardinal Sanctiquatuor (Pucci), owing to which all ecclesiastic business relating to Spain and Flanders has been necessarily suspended. The Pope is thinking of giving his office either to Cesis, or to the auditor of the Papal Chamber (Ghinucci?); but he (Mai) has strongly protested and told the Pope that neither of those cardinals ought to see the minute of a brief addressed to the Emperor. It would be a service to send here Miçer Joan Vich.

He is now coming here to plead his cause and make his excuses.

Scalengues goes on making excuses, but does not return the money. Venice has lately appointed three councillors in Milan to be superarbiters in their differences with king Ferdinand. Has written to the prothonotary (Caracciolo) asking for their names.

The ambassador is to do the King's pleasure in this particular.

His Holiness has ordered all the cardinals who were out of Rome to return immediately, excepting Burgos and Siena, who have been allowed to remain where they are at present.

The hope which the Pope has of reducing the city of Nuremberg and the duke of Sassa (Saxony) to the true Catholic faith. His Holiness writes about it to the Emperor and to his Legate. Also that he will do his utmost to prevent the departure of Renzo's son, who wants to go and serve the Vayvod.

The Imperial ambassador in England has been written to and will procure the copies wanted; but he (Mai) must urge the Pope to have the case determined as soon as possible without further delay. His Majesty has spoken to the Papal Legate about this, and hopes that every attention shall be paid to his request.

The English ambassadors have again petitioned that the divorce case be tried in England, or at least out of Rome, and that an authentic copy of the original proceedings enacted in England should be sent to him, as it is much wanted; without it no sentence can be given. In Spain, moreover, the remissory letters must be attended to, and an answer returned as soon as possible. It will be very important for the issue of the case

1531.

to prove that at the time the second marriage was effected there was war between the kings of Spain and England then allied, and the king of France, &c.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Miçer Mai of 12th, 26th, and 27th of September."

Spanish. Original report to be submitted to the Emperor.

20 Sept. **793.** The EMPEROR to GUTIERRE LOPEZ DE PADILLA.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 39.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 387.

The king and queen of France having approached the frontier of Flanders, We sent to them Silly, our Master of the Horse, with letters of credence. Silly, in the very presence of the French ambassador, told us that the King and Queen wished to have an interview with us, their near relative, saying that great advantages might be the result of it.

Considering that the king and queen of France had come so near to the place whereat We were staying, about 20 leagues distant, it would have offended the king of France had We refused. Sent, therefore, Balançon, gentleman of our household, to the Queen, and ordered him, in the presence of the Imperial ambassadors, to declare to her, with every demonstration of friendship, that We were obliged within a very short space of time to go to the Diet at Spires, but, nevertheless, that We could, and were willing to postpone our proposed departure for a few days in order to effect the said interview. Proposed any of the towns of Arras, Valenciennes, or Douay, and promised to be there in 10 days after receiving an answer from the King.

The conditions of the interview from the very beginning were that no negotiations concerning themselves (the French), nor alterations to be made in the treaties of Madrid and Cambray were to be discussed. The interview to be only a sort of demonstration of mutual friendship. We particularly insisted at the time on our inability to entertain any proposals for change in those treaties, since so many other treaties with Italian princes are founded on them.

The two queens, our sisters, may see one another whenever they like.—Brussels, 20th September 1531.

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of Idiaquez, one of the Emperor's secretaries.

23 Sept. **794.** The ABBOT OF LLOR to COVOS.

S. E. L. 851, f. 75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 388.

In the English business the dishonest practices of the King's agents continue unceasingly; it is clear that never on any occasion have they sought for justice otherwise than by promises and bribes, and they have tried in the most strange and intricate ways to corrupt both the Cardinal [my master]

1531.

and myself.* But those who like me have any regard for their duty and conscience, and for the Emperor's interests, do not yield so easily to attacks of that kind. Should more important affairs occur Your Majesty will be able to test what faithful servants and humble vassals you have in him (the Cardinal) and in me.

At the request, and by the express desire of Miçer Mai the ambassador, I have conferred with Master Julian de Monte Occa† respecting the English business, and we both have agreed as to the course to be pursued. But this is a cause for God to judge and determine, since men refuse to do it.

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very noble lord, the High Commander."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

23 Sept. **795.** The SAME to the ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO.

S. E. L. 851, f. 75.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 388.

. . . . . .

In the English business, as we had occasion to write to the Emperor, the King's ambassadors have never sought for justice except by means of promises and bribes; they have never ceased tempting the Cardinal, his Lord, and himself (the Abbot) also in the most direct and plausible way. And yet his duty towards his conscience and towards His Majesty forbids him to admit of bribery of any sort. Should other more important events occur the Emperor will see what devoted servants and faithful vassals the Cardinal and he (the Abbot) are.

Following Miçer Mai's instructions he has communicated with Master Johan Montedocca (Montes de Oca) concerning the English business, they both hold the same opinion, but since men refuse to act with justice the whole affair must be placed in the hands of God, who, since the Emperor lives and acts in fear of him, will no doubt protect and favour him on this as on other occasions. His is after all the only true assistance, for he never deserted those who loved and feared Him.

The bishop of Girona is very ill, and most likely will never rise from his bed, as his (the Abbot's) friends and relatives write from that city. His Lordship must already be aware of the state in which the whole see is. Begs to be remembered in

* "En lo de Ynglatierra no se dexe (*sic*) aquá aun de hacer pruevas egenas de los buenos, y estos del Rey demuestran apertamente que nunca han sollicitado por la justicia sino con dadivas y prometimientos, y no han dexado por vias exquisadas (exquisitas) provar el Sr. Cardenal y á mi tambien." I have had frequent occasion of pointing out the vicious style of this abbot, who, though a native of Catalonia, seems so to have forgotten his own native language as to render it necessary to translate his letters into Latin first in order to understand their meaning. The passage quoted above, and it is certainly not the worst written in the Abbot's correspondence, would read thus in Spanish: "En lo de Inglaterra no se deja aun acá de hazer pruevas agenas de los buenos, y estos [embaxadores] del Rey demuestran abiertamente que nunca han solicitado por la justicia, sino con dadivas y promesas, ni han dexado por vias excusadas de probar al señor Cardenal y á mi tanbien."

† Elsewhere Montedocca; his true name was Montes de Oca.

1531.

case of that prelate's death.* The Emperor cannot have forgotten how obstinate and unyielding the Bishop was when the Cortes first met at Barcelona; he (the Abbot) was not, and never will be, one of those who compel their King and natural Lord to do things against his will; he wishes to serve faithfully, and that grants should proceed solely from liberality, not be procured by force and extortion (*extortas y forçadas*). —Rome, 23rd September 1531.

Signed: "El abbot Llor."

Addressed:

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 Sept. **796.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 36.

The King having within the last few days granted the archbishopric of Yort (York) to Dr. Lee, and the bishopric of Winchester to Dr. Steve (Stephen) without waiting, as usual, for the whole year of vacancy, the Queen fears that he may have acted thus hastily for the purpose of having two more prelates under his hand at the next session of Parliament. But she is much more afraid still that between the Pope and this king there may be some new understanding to her disadvantage, observing that notwithstanding that the latter has had himself declared chief and head of the Clergy in England, and has forbidden any recourse to Rome, he has now allowed an application to be made for that purpose.

Dr. Fox has again been sent [to France] to obtain from the university of Paris a declaration in favour of the article about which I wrote to Your Majesty, and that he may have better occasion of urging the same, the Lady has granted him several benefices, and given him the charge of almoner, which Dr. Lee formerly had.

Five days ago the seigneur de Ris, brother-in-law of the duke of Norfolk, was re-arrested and lodged at the Tower. He was let out on bail, on the plea of bad health, but has again been constituted a prisoner. He is accused of having tried to procure the means of escaping [from England] and going either to Your Majesty's Court or into Scotland, where, owing to the credit and favour he enjoys in Wales (*au pais de Galles*), he hoped to be able to undertake something against this king.—London, 26th September, anno 31.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Angleterre."

French. Holograph. p. 1.

* The bishop, whose name was Guillen Boil, did not die until the 28th of November 1532, according to Gaspar Roig y Ialpi in his *Grandezas de Gerona*. Barcelona, 1678, fol. p. 298, and then he was not succeeded by Dr. Ortiz.

1531.

27 Sept. **797.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 12.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 384.

Modena. The Pope is satisfied with the Emperor's decision. Orders have been sent to Pero Zapata* to evacuate the place. A plan to assassinate Don Hercules and to take Ferrara is spoken of [at Rome].

Raphel Geronimo.—Domenico Centurione.—Swiss.—The duke of Malfi and Siena, &c.

Levies made in the estates of the Church.†

The Pope hopes to reconcile the city of Nüremberg, the duke of Saxony, and others.

Renzo da Ceri.

As the English have for the third or fourth time renewed their application, it is most important that a copy of the proceedings on the divorce case in England be sent to us as soon as possible.‡—Rome, 27th September 1531.

Proposed interview between the Emperor and the king of the French. Respecting the interview the ambassador must already be aware how matters stand. It was reported that the Papal Nuncio and the rest of the ambassadors in France had been told that our master was the first to propose the interview, and that the king of France had answered that on no account would he agree to the meeting unless His Holiness was previously acquainted with it. The very reverse was the case. Balançon went to visit the king and queen of France, and condole with them on the death of the Queen-mother (Louise), but had no mandate to treat of anything else.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Miçer Mai to the Emperor and to the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

27 Sept. **798.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 33.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 389.

Modena.

Raphael Geronimo, and his case.

The king of France wishes to have an interview with the Emperor.

Decima.—Genoa.—Swiss.—Marquis del Vasto.—Death of cardinal Sanctiquatuor.—Milan.

The Pope has given orders for all cardinals to be in Rome by the 1st of October.

* Pero Zapata or Çapata, according to Sandoval and others, had been appointed governor of Modena, pending the arbitration of the quarrel between Clement and the duke of Ferrara.

† "Several letters received here [at Brussels] report that in the lands of the Church levies of men are being made. The Emperor has no doubt that this has been done without His Holiness' consent or knowledge, yet it would be advisable to prevent any future armaments on any plea whatsoever without the latter's express commands." *Covos.*

‡ Another note in Covos' hand is thus worded: "Letters to be written at once to England asking for the papers, and they (the Imperial ambassadors at Rome) to wait until they receive them. In the meantime the papers sent from Spain are to be used so as to accelerate the proceedings as much as possible. No delay. His Imperial Majesty has spoken to the Legate, who has promised to write [to Rome] and see that the cause is proceeded with."

1531.

Has often begged that the original proceedings in the divorce cause in England should be sent to him (Mai). Repeats the request in the most pressing manner. No time should be lost; the papers to come by a special courier. Hopes to be able to commence proceedings in eight days from this date. Everything is ready, and there is now a good chance of success. A copy of the proceedings in England is, however, absolutely necessary, for this is not a simple "advocation;" it is an appeal on behalf of the Queen. Even if it were an "advocation," it would be necessary to have here a copy of the proceedings instituted in England. The reporter (*relator*) has positively declared to him (Mai) that without them he can do nothing, as he must see first what was done in England.

As the Pope* has advices from Germany which lead him to believe and hope that there is a disposition on the part of the people of Nuremberg as well as of the duke of Saxony (George), and other princes and towns to return to the Faith, and the matter is very important, they (the Imperial ambassadors) have decided that the Papal Legate should first bring it before the Emperor.—Rome, 27th September 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

29 Sept. **799.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 852, f. 129.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 391.

Writes in favour and commendation of the people of Lanchano, who want a bishop.†—Rome, 29th September 1531.

Addressed: "S. C. C. R. M."

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

— Sept. **800.** The CONDITIONS* under which POPE CLEMENT VII. consents to the convocation of a GENERAL COUNCIL, and the answer made by the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 162.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 392.

With regard to the convocation the Emperor refers to what he himself said verbally to the most Reverend Legate and to the bishops of Vasona (Vaison) and Tortona, and his own instructions to his ambassadors at Rome.

Should His Imperial Majesty after mature consideration decide for the convocation of a General Council His Holiness and the Sacred College of Cardinals stipulate the following conditions:

* "El Papa tiene ciertos avisos y speranza de reducir la ciudad de Nuremberga, y el duque de Saxe (Saxony) y ahun algunos otros. Tovimos por bien por ser cosa de importancia que el legado lo consultasse primero con su Magd., como mas largo scriviran estos señores á los quales me remito."

† Angelo Maccafani, bishop of Lanciano, the ancient Ansanum in Naples, died on the 1st of December 1517. He was succeeded on the 10th of April 1532 by Ægidius of Viterbo, whose death occurred on the 12th of December 1532. See Gams, *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, p. 888.

1531.

It seems that in order to preserve the order followed in other Sacred Councils, and the established custom, and also to avoid slander and contempt (*menosprecio*) it would be preferable to make the convocation *simplicitor*, and after the Council had met His Holiness might very well determine what is to be discussed and resolved therein.

1.

The Council to be convoked and held solely for the purpose of the Turkish war, the subjection (*reductur*) of the Lutherans, the extinction of heresy, and the punishment of those who still persist in their errors.

Much injury has already been sustained by the delay, yet should a prompt measure be taken, the Emperor will make no difficulty in putting aside all other private or State affairs, to attend the said Council and remain there as long as is thought necessary for its good issue.

2.

The Emperor to be personally present at the meeting from the beginning to the end; the Council itself to be dissolved immediately after his departure.

The Emperor has no objection to the Council being celebrated in Italy, and in one of the towns named by His Holiness, although the German princes and others insist upon Mantua or Milan, which are also considered by other princes to be fit places for the assembly.

3.

The Council to be held in Italy, at one of the towns already designated by His Holiness, not elsewhere.

Let this be done according to right, and to the established custom of Sacred Councils.

4.

No one to have a voice (*voz definitiva*) unless the right of deciding belongs to him according to the letter of the Sacred Canons.

The bishop of Tortona declared that he did not insist upon this last article, and he was right; because although at first sight such a course might appear advisable, it is not prudent to set it down as a condition, owing to the notorious obstinacy and pride of heretics, and to the danger of having to contend with them on such points, besides which it is well known that the chief object of the convocation is to provide measures against them.

5.

The Lutherans themselves to apply for the Council, and send sufficient powers to that effect. This seems very fitting and proper (*mucho convenir*), that they may be the more easily put down and brought back to the true Faith.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. $2\frac{1}{2}$.

* A Latin translation of this paper, which most probably was drawn out in Italian first, is also at Simancas, and a copy of it may be found in Bergenroth's collection, vol. xiii. (*Add.* 28,584, f. 158.) The answers on the margins seem to be by Covos. The draft itself bears no date.

1531.
1 Oct. **801.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep.P.Fasc.* c. 227, No. 38.

Three days ago Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd ult° came to hand, when I immediately informed the Queen, your aunt, of what concerned her, and she promised to write in a couple of days.

That I might the better find out how these people take the interview so much talked of between Your Majesty and the king of France, and as the Imperial letter contained no special mandate on that head—the documents therein referred to not being inclosed through some oversight of the clerks—I sent yesterday one of my secretaries to the duke of Norfolk under plea of asking for the release of certain property and goods belonging to Spanish merchants of this city. My secretary having stated his business, was asked by the Duke what he knew about the interview between Your Majesty and the king of France, and whether the report was true or not. The secretary answered that it was perfectly true, and he believed that I (Chapuys) was only waiting for the official announcement of the same by Monseigneur de Balançon to go and inform the King thereof. Hearing which the Duke seemed very much astonished, and having called one of the courtiers to entertain my secretary, whom he begged to wait in his cabinet, he went suddenly out of the room without saying where he was going, entered the King's apartments, and remained closeted with him for nearly one hour. After this the Duke sent for the chancellor (Sir Thomas More), the earls of Vulchier (Wiltshire) and Succez (Sussex) and having held a long conference with them, sent word to my secretary to enter the Council room. When there the duke of Norfolk addressed him and said in the presence of the said lords that he had just announced to the King the news of the [proposed] interview, and that his answer had been that desirous as he was of promoting the welfare and perfect union of Christendom, he would do nothing to prevent the interview, and yet he thought it might perhaps not take place, or if it did that it would be unimportant and futile (these last words were said by the Duke with a sarcastic smile on his lips, as if he were glad of it), for it was to be believed, he added, that the friendship between the King, his master, and his brother of France, his good and perpetual ally, was so firm, so perfect, and so binding that neither of them would take a step of such importance without the knowledge and consent of the other. "Before three days are over (said the Duke to my secretary) you will witness the effect and evidence of that firm friendship to which I allude, and you may tell your master, the ambassador, so." Such was the language which the Duke held to my secretary, but it must be said that before his taking leave he increased to eight days the period he had fixed for the open manifestation of that same friendship. He likewise told my man that the King had been exceedingly pleased at what had lately taken

1531.

place in Barbary, and sent me word that he was very thankful at my reminding him of the affair of the Spanish merchants, for certainly he would look into it and my wishes would be complied with.

The bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has already finished his reply to the book printed by order of the King. I forward it by this post. Let it be sent to Rome immediately for the Bishop's testimony is very valuable and most important for the Queen's cause.—London, 1st October, anno XXXI.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

1 Oct. **802.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227. No. 41.

For some days past, in consequence of the prorogation applied for by the French, it has seemed as if a rupture of the negotiations would take place owing to some scruple of the parties, and that the proposed interview would not be held. Brian, who was to leave [for France] immediately after Langeay, delayed his departure. Many of the principal courtiers like the duke of Norfolk—who arrived in this city only the day before yesterday to buy silken cloth—gave no signs whatever of preparing for the expedition; in short everyone thought that the journey, if not abandoned altogether, was at least suspended. To-day, however, the whole thing is again warming up, and this time in earnest. Instead of Brian the Grand Esquire (Carew) will start to-morrow to stir up the French, and announce the speedy departure of this king and suite, who will leave on Friday next, St. Francis' Day, and in order to avoid Rochester and other places, where the plague is raging and people are dying, will go straight from Grinuych (Greenwich) to Gravesend in his barge, and pass that night and the next day at the house of a gentleman of the neighbourhood. He will then embark on a ship of 150 tons called "La Mignone," which is very well fitted up and in good order, (*plus que mignone*), and sail to a small island at the mouth of the Thames, where he will spend three days at the house of a gentleman of his chamber, named Chennet.* From thence he will go by land to Canterbury, and then to Dover, there to embark in the said "Mignone," so as to reach Calais on the 15th instant.

However cold and indifferent the King's suite may seem to be about this journey to France, certain it is that the Lady who knows full well the wisdom of making hay while the sun shines, has not been idle in the mean time, procuring with the

* Though Guillaume Dinteville, the brother of François, bishop of Auxerre (*see* above, p. 231), is also called Mr. de Chennets, from the name of a fief he held in France, I am inclined to believe that Cheyne (Sir Thomas) is here meant. He was gentleman of the Privy Chamber since 1526, and became treasurer of Calais and Knight of the Garter in 1539.

1531.

King's money a number of costly dresses,* and various other things. Although all the Royal jewels were from the very beginning placed at her disposal, the King sent word the other day to the duke of Norfolk to try through a third person to get those belonging to the Queen, who, I am told, answered the gentleman bearer of the message, that on no account would she dare send her rings and jewels to the King, her husband, knowing, as she knew, that he had forbidden it on a previous occasion; and moreover that it would much distress her conscience were she to deliver up her jewels for so bad a purpose as that of decorating a woman who was a scandal to the whole of Christendom, and a cause of infamy to the King himself who dragged her after him to such an assembly. If, however, the King sent expressly for them, she was ready to obey him in this as well in other things. Such was the Queen's dignified answer, and yet though somewhat touched at the message received the King failed not to send a gentleman of his chamber to the Queen's chancellor and to one of her chamberlains with an order for the delivery of the said jewels, and with a letter of credence to herself from the King, stating his astonishment at her refusal when her sister the queen of France and several other [princesses] had done the same on similar occasions. Upon which the Queen, after graciously making her excuses for the refusal, sent him all the jewels she possessed, at which the King, as I have heard, was exceedingly pleased and happy.

About eight days ago, as the ambassador of France was going to Court, whither he had been summoned merely to attend a dinner party (*banquet*) the Lady was giving at a house this king has presented her with, he happened to pass my door. I seized the opportunity of giving him the summary of certain news received from the Turkish camp as related by prisoners there. At which intelligence the Frenchman not only seemed highly annoyed, but remained some time silent without knowing what to say. Which summary of news, according to his promise, he took forthwith to the duke of Norfolk. *I really think that* had he not undertaken, before I read it to him, to put the same into the Duke's hands, he would willingly have been relieved from his engagement. As it is he took his revenge, for not only did he contradict the said news, saying that it was evidently fabricated, but added that Neustat (Newstadt) had been taken by the Turks, and that in two different encounters, in front of that city, no less than 10,000 lanskenets had been slain, laying much stress on this last circumstance, as the Duke himself related to me the day before yesterday, when I shewed him the official account of the raising of the siege of the castle and small town of Gurk (*chastel et villette de Gurc*), at which intelligence the

* "Quelque froydeur quaye monstre la (sic) reste, la dame qui cognoist trop bien la saison de vendanger et de cuillir prunes na esté paresseuse a soy fere achester par le Roy, &c."

1531.

Duke was pleased, especially for the sake of giving the lie *to the said ambassador, who was much in the habit, as he told me, of forging news at pleasure.* And certainly the Duke was right; the ambassador is a regular newsmonger who delights in fabricating all manner of stories. Not later than yesterday *he spread all about Court, and gave this king to understand that the two dukes of Bavaria, owing to* the Spaniards having crossed the sea, had sacked some small town, and wounded a Spaniard whom Your Majesty had sent to them to ask for some artillery. The Spaniard having made use of threatening language, the two dukes were in consequence not on good terms with Your Majesty. This, and other lies the ambassador goes on spreading about, either because he would like them to turn out true, or perhaps because they corroborate and favour the plea on which this meeting is to be held.

The said duke told me also that his opinion in the Privy Council had been that all foreign ambassadors, and especially that of Your Imperial Majesty, should receive due notice of the proposed interview, in order to do away with all possible suspicion that whilst Your Majesty was engaged in distant parts, something would be undertaken against Flanders; and upon my observing to him that it could never have crossed my mind that kings who had no right or pretension whatever to the possession of that country could possibly think of invading it, even if they had the means or the power of doing so, the Duke replied: *that is by no means so sure as you imagine; only let the French have their own way, and you will see.* As to us, the English (the Duke added) I believe that the King, our master, has not really the power of stirring us up against our neighbours, the Flemings nor do I think that the Emperor can easily turn his subjects of the Low Countries against us. *By this and other innuenda the Duke wished no doubt to hint that he himself was not very favourable to the French, and yet immediately after, and to make up as it were for this admission, he began to praise and extol the friendship and amity between his master and king Francis,* which (he said) was to be now further strengthened and increased at the next interview. My reply was that no one was more glad than Your Imperial Majesty of the alliance he spoke of between his master and the king of France, for certainly you had always desired most ardently the union of all the princes in Christendom, but *that the more binding and close the alliance, the more dangerous it was* for certain causes and reasons, which I failed not to point out, and to which he (the Duke) readily assented, declaring to me that he coincided so much with my ideas that he wished *the French ambassador (La Pommeraye) were present to hear them.* He would, however, lose no opportunity of relating to him word by word what I had said about him and his nation. The Duke did actually fulfil his promise, for the ambassador came to me this morning and said that the whole of our conversation had been reported to him. *And I must*

1531.

say that on this occasion I found La Pommeraye more moderate in his language to me, and more courteous than ever he was, for he praised Your Imperial Majesty immensely, and said over and over again that he sincerely hoped there would be between you and his master greater friendship than ever, and that he plainly saw that the hour and opportunity for this were close at hand.

About eight days ago the King met the Princess, his daughter, in the fields (*aux champs*), but did not stop or converse long with her, asking only about her health, and promising that in future he would see her oftener. *There was no question of the King daring to take her to the place where he is living with the Lady* [*Anne*], *for the latter has already declared that she will not have it nor hear of her,* as I have had occasion to write to Your Imperial Majesty. I really believe, however, that the King would have remained longer, and conversed more familiarly with his daughter, the Princess, *had not the Lady sent two of her own suite with the King, that they might hear and report what he said to her.* There is no probability, in my opinion, of the reported marriage of the Princess to the duke of Orleans having been spoken of at that meeting, for I am told by one of those present that not a word was said about it. After the King's departure [for France] the Princess is to live at Windsor, which is a strong place, and at the same time a very pleasant residence; as to the Queen, her mother, it is not yet known where she will go. *She has been terribly afraid of late of the King marrying the Lady* [*Anne*] *at this next interview, but she is now more calm since she has* been told that the Lady herself has declared to a great personage whom she most trusts, *that were the King to wish it she would never consent to the marriage taking place out of England, but only on the very spot and with the same ceremonies used by the English queens at their marriage and coronation.**

Three weeks ago the king of Scotland ordered all men throughout his kingdom between 20 and 60 years of age to take up arms and prepare themselves for military service. I have been told this by two servants of the Papal Nuncio in that country, who by the advice of the governors have been requested to leave, owing to their being both Englishmen; and I am told that in consequence of the said order no less than 20,000 men have crossed the borders, and that certain Irish had likewise left the country. These latter do not neglect to fortify their frontiers; every day a number of horse and foot pass on this side, and when the two above-mentioned servants of the Nuncio left Scotland there was already a large body of troops on English territory, raids had been made made on both sides, and some villages of little importance destroyed and

* "Mais la dite dame a dit et affirme a quelque personnage dont elle se fie que oerez que [le roy voulut elle ny consentiroit car elle veult que se soit ici au lieu que lon a accoustume de esposer et coroner les autres roynes."

1531.

burnt. Most people think nothing of this movement of the Scots,* which the English might now repulse with greater ease than they have done at other times; but others think that at the present juncture the enemy might have a better chance, owing to this king's bad government, which has alienated from him both the nobility and the commons. The Scots, however, prosecute their undertaking, and yet the French take no notice whatever of it, nor do they declare openly in favour of the English, as was expected, at which these last begin already to grumble, saying that their neighbours and cousins are hoaxing them (*les pipent*), and do not behave as neighbours should do. Just at this moment one of my men whom I had sent with a message to the Grand Esquire has come back to me saying that that official is decidedly going to France against his will, and though sent, as I have said above, for the express purpose of soliciting and urging the interview of the two kings, will, if he can, bring on a rupture; and moreover that this king is anything but pleased at the announcement that his brother of France intends bringing with him as a counterpart for the Lady [Anne] his own sister, Madame d'Alençon, and that now it was rumoured that the latter being unwell and unable to attend, Mme de Vendosme would take her place, at which these people are by no means pleased, saying that whereas the latter lady has been at other times good company, she may now bring in her train disreputable people, as she did in old times, which would be a shame and an insult to the ladies of this country. In which rumour Your Majesty will easily discover the wilful blindness (*laueuglement*) and poor judgment of people who do not see the beam in their own eyes whilst they quickly find out the mote in those of others.

The King has ordered general processions to be made three days of this week. They began in the last Ember week (*Quatretemps*) and were attended by great crowds of people devoutly and intently praying God to grant victory to Your Majesty's arms, though the cause and object of the said processions has nowise been notified to them. *Indeed, I am told by the Lord Mayor of this city, who has charge of those now being made here, that notwithstanding all his inquiries and his efforts to find out the object for which the processions are intended he has never been able to obtain any information about them, and it is to be apprehended that had it not been for France, where this sort of duty has been properly attended to, this king would never have consented to have them in his kingdom. With regard to the indulgences* this king would

* The original has *des françoys*, which is evidently a "lapsus calami" of the writer: "Plusieurs ne font grand cas de l'esmotion contre les françoys que beaucoupt plus aysement le repouseroint ylz maintenant, mais il semble a plusieurs autres que les dits escossois auroient maintenant ieu plus a leur auantage."

1531.

on no account have them published, that he may, as I presume, *go on bullying the Pope.*

The duke of Norfolk has told me that the King was about to recall his ambassador residing at Your Imperial Court, and send in his room a doctor, archdeacon of Yly (Ely), of whom the King has made great use ever since he bethought him of proclaiming himself the head of the Church in England, to which end the said Archdeacon has worked, and is still working very hard, *being considered the author of everything that has hitherto been attempted or written against the Pope.* That Your Majesty may better know what sort of a person the Archdeacon is, *and who are the people whom this king credits and favours,* I will only mention the fact of his having been for a length of time in prison, as a Lutheran, and sentenced by his own uncle, the bishop* of Yly (Ely), to carry on his shoulders in a public procession a faggot, which in this country is always considered a preamble to the stake.

2 Oct. **803.** GIO. ANT. MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 851, ff. 19–20. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 1.

The Imperial letters of the 20th of last September have been duly received.

Will do all he can respecting the Pope's monthly contribution towards the expenses of the Florentine war. This very morning, in the presence of cardinal d'Osma, who happened to be with His Holiness, he (Muxetula) mentioned the subject to him.

Gave him also the Emperor's letter, and read to him the paragraphs of the one which the ambassador (Miçer Mai) has received respecting the interview proposed by the Most Christian King. The Pope was satisfied with the explanation, greatly praised His Majesty's sincerity, and condemned the wily practices of king Francis. (*Cipher:*) "To shew you (he said) how little the French king is to be trusted in such matters, I will relate to you a little anecdote. The other day the French ambassador called and said to me: 'Your Holiness must not imagine that my master is going to Picardy to see the Emperor; he only goes there for the purpose of visiting that province.' I answered him (continued His Holiness) that whatever the object of the interview, I was perfectly sure that nothing would be discussed to my disadvantage; yet I saw from the ambassador's manner that he wished to make me believe that the interview had been planned by the Emperor, not by the King, his master."

The Pope said further: "He was convinced that king Francis had himself solicited this interview for no other purpose than that of forwarding his own interests in Italy. The French ambassadors (he added) have no doubt written to him that his project of a marriage between his son [the duke of

* The bishop of Ely at this time (1515–33) was Nicolas West, formerly dean of Windsor.

1531

Orleans] and my niece does not meet with my entire approbation, and hence his attempt to drive me into terms which he knows I cannot accept without the Emperor's sanction."

The Swiss Catholic cantons must be helped and attended to.

Saw the Pope again last night. He told me he had received letters from his Nuncio in France saying that the King had shewn no good will in his answer to the duke of Savoy's application, and that he was much displeased with him for having shewn himself such a party man and engaged to deliver such messages. Help against the Turk he would not give, nor money either, and he thought it very strange that whilst the Pope was spending all his substance with the Spaniards in Italy he should apply to him for help against the Infidel.—Rome, 2nd October, 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº. Muscetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

8 Oct. **804.** The ANSWER to be given to the MEMORIALS of the PAPAL NUNCIO, and the LETTERS from NAPLES.

S. E. L. 854, f. 155.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 4.

To the proposal that the Swiss Catholic cantons be helped with 2,000 hackbutiers, and that these be Italians, not Spaniards, and paid out of the tithe of Milan, the answer must be that His Imperial Majesty praises and commends the Pope's Christian zeal, and thinks that the Catholic cantons should be protected at any risk. The Emperor has no objection to the hackbutiers being Italians and paid out of the tithe of Milan, provided the Pope does not have that sum discounted from the payments he himself is obliged to make to the Spanish infantry.

Respecting the assistance against the Turk the Emperor cannot do more than he has done hitherto. Since His Holiness' exertions and his own have been unsuccessful let the matter drop altogether; there is no need of again returning to the subject.

With regard to the help for which the duke of Savoy (Carlo III.) asks against the Lutherans of Switzerland, on the borders of his estate, the answer must be that since His Imperial Majesty is about to go to Germany it will be advisable to leave this matter for future consideration according to time and circumstances.

In the matter of the General Council, if what cardinal d'Osma and the others write from Rome respecting the confusion into which the Pope seems to have beeen thrown by the Emperor's demand be true, and on the other hand if it be also true that His Imperial Majesty's good fame and reputation cannot suffer through the Council not being held since so much has been done for its convocation, it seems as if neither could the Pope's friendship be lost through our pressing it,

1531.

and, therefore, no answer should be given to this article save referring to what has been said on other occasions.

With regard to the matrimonial cause of England, and the marriage proposed by France, between the Pope's niece (Caterina) and the duke of Orleans, since the Legate is satisfied with the verbal answer His Majesty gave him, there is no necessity for further explanation, only to repeat the very instructions which the ambassadors at Rome have received at various times on the matter.

Respecting the new Italian defensive league proposed by the Legate in His Holiness' name, the answer is that one of the same sort was once made at Bologna against any Christian prince who should attempt to disturb the peace of Italy. If His Holiness thinks that a new league and confederacy is really wanted, the Emperor cannot possibly have any objection to it.

Thomas Vosio to be vice-chancellor of the Order of St. John. —Duke of Milan. He is to be told that the Emperor has been, and is still, trying to obtain the hand of the Pope's niece for him. Should this suit fail, His Imperial Majesty will look out for another fitting wife for him.

Naples, &c.

The Albanians who rose against the Turk, after gaining a great battle over his troops and slaying numbers of them, are now about to fortify the city of Cimarra. They beg for assistance as they have no money; 2,000 ducats will be sufficient.

Carbon, the postmaster of Naples, being out of health, and unable to attend to his duties, begs for the appointment of a coadjutor to help him, and recommends the person of Diego Jaymes de Haro, his nephew.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

9 Oct. **805.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u K. Haus-Hof-u-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 39.

Notwithstanding the assurances given by the king of France to Your Majesty's ambassador that in future he would allow no discussion of the affair pending between this king and his Queen, the fact of the matter is that some time ago the Faculty of Canonists in the university of Paris published an opinion, of which the enclosed is a copy.* The said opinion, as far as the King's excusator (Karne) is concerned, seems to have given great satisfaction here, for six days ago the King dispatched to Rome a courier with it, besides allegations of another sort, such as bills of exchange, &c. But it would appear that one of the articles of the document has not been exactly to this king's taste, since the majority of the Paris doctors are of opinion that the Pope ought to commit the cognizance of the affair to a perfectly unprejudiced place, whilst the King pretends that the prelates of this country ought to be the judges without any further commission from the Pope, and that the case ought not to be tried or sentenced

* Not in the bundle.

1531.

out of this kingdom. This opinion of the King is entirely founded on the text of certain ancient councils, a copy of which has been forwarded to Miçer May (*sic*), though the words adduced are decidedly against him. I fancy that it is partly on this account that Dr. Fox has now returned to France; also to have news of the French negotiations [at Rome], and what Francis' ambassadors may have achieved there, so as to be ready for the next Parliament, which has been prorogued for 25 days to expire on the Monday after All Saints' Day.

There is no one here of whom the Lady is more afraid than the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), for he is just the man who without fear of any sort has always defended and upheld in the most unanswerable manner the Queen's cause, owing to which the said Lady has lately sent him a message persuading him to remain where he is, and not come to London and attend Parliament for fear he should catch fever, as he did last year. The Lady may do what she likes in that respect, the Bishop is resolved, should he meet with one hundred thousand deaths, to come and speak in the Queen's favour more openly than he has ever done.

This Court has greatly rejoiced at the news of the rupture of the negotiations respecting an interview between Your Majesty and the king of France, and they are now spreading the rumour that it was you who first solicited it. I believe it is Jo. Jocquin who has told them so, for he said to me the day before yesterday that he thought such an idea could never have entered his master's head, since he had not thought proper to inform this king, from whom, owing to their intimate friendship, he had no secret whatever, and whom he acquainted not only with every new occurrence but with his most hidden thoughts, of it. I made no attempt to contradict these false statements, thinking that when the King himself returns to town and speaks to me about them, it will be a better opportunity to do so. Jocquin, moreover, tells me that this king was much grieved when he heard of Madame the Regent's demise, and that he called her his second mother.

A Spanish friar has lately arrived in town, the same who was the bearer of the above-mentioned opinion of the Paris University. He tells me as a fact, and as if he knew it from the man's own lips *that a German student of the name of Gervais, a man of some wit and learning, but a Lutheran, had been sent twice to Germany within the last three months to pave the way for certain intrigues on behalf of the king of France.* What the plans were the friar could not tell me, but the student himself had owned the fact to him. However this may be, if those who govern France are of Jocquin's opinion there can be no doubt that the student went to Germany for a bad purpose, *for that ambassador keeps saying to all those who will listen to him that Your Majesty's power is becoming by far too great and too alarming, and that Germany, and even Turkey if necessary, ought to be called in aid to prevent your further*

1531.

aggrandizement. These, as I hear from many quarters, are the French ambassador's sentiments.

Some days ago by order of this king a census was taken of all foreigners residing in this country, the same sort of numbering that was made in cardinal Wolsey's time, when war was declared to Your Majesty at Burgos. Some people think that this is being done for the purpose of creating some agitation in the kingdom; others say, and this is more likely, that it is for the purpose of making some of them leave the country owing to the dearth of provisions, and the famine with which this country is threatened.

Before the departure of the three Venetian galleons (*galleases*) for these ports the King had given them permission under his hand and seal to load wool (*tirer laynes*); which permission he now refuses to ratify on two grounds: first, that since the permission was granted Parliament has made ordinances to the contrary; the second, that when the Venetians applied for it the King thought that their galleons would have come here laden with goods of all kinds as usual, whereas they have arrived in England empty and poorly furnished. The dispute has already lasted nearly one month to the great inconvenience and annoyance of the said merchants, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of their ambassador.

The Papal Nuncio has just forwarded to the King two briefs he had received from His Holiness, one for united resistance to the Turk, the other to help Monseigneur de Savoie (the duke Carlo) to defend himself against the Swiss (*Suyssez*) who are trying to invade his dominions and infect them with the Lutheran errors. This king, however, has taken very little notice of the briefs, and sent word to the Nuncio that whenever he should have occasion to write he would instruct his ambassadors at Rome (*par della*) to make a suitable answer.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, the 9th of of October. Received the 14th."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Oct. **806.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress Isabella.

S. E. L. 854, f. 98.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 10.

Her Majesty's letters of the 26th July and 26th of August were duly received. Is glad to hear that his services in the English business have been acceptable; will go on doing his best for the Queen's defence, and if his own life were at stake would not hesitate to offer it as a last proof and argument in so just a cause.

The king of France, through his ambassadors, is openly trying for a suspension of the proceedings. It is a great pity to see princes thus interposing their influence and their

1531.

favour, as well as the offer of matrimonial alliances, in matters of Faith. The arguments adduced by the contrary party shew their utter disregard for justice, for they happen to be derived from Tertullian, from that very passage in which that doctor is evidently mistaken, and thus made the founder of heretical doctrines disproved by the Church, viz., when he asserts that second nuptials are not permissible. Indeed, it is much to be wondered at that the very erroneous ground on which Tertullian establishes his opinion should have been taken up by the English agents as a proof of their assertion.

As he (Ortiz) has written at full length on this subject to the cardinal of Santiago de Compostella,* he need not trouble Her Majesty with futher details.

Has been for upwards of a month waiting for some courier to take this present despatch; during the last fortnight also the ambassador (Miçer Mai) has been unwell. He is better now thank God, and since the holidays are over the legal proceedings will be resumed. The opponents have presented a letter from the king [of England], in which he commands his excusator (Karne)—who hitherto pleaded in the name of the kingdom—to go on pleading as long as the cause is open, and propose various exemptions for his not appearing personally or by proxy. The King's letter, as he (Ortiz) has been informed, has the royal seal, but is not signed by him.—Rome, 12th October 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

15 Oct. **807.** The Emperor to the Same.

S. E. L. 496, f. 89. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 12.

For the reasons stated in my last it has been impossible for me to proceed at once to Italy, as I at first thought to do. Important business obliges me to leave this country and repair to Germany; but I sincerely hope to be soon disengaged, and return to my Spanish dominions.—Brussels, 15th October 1531.

Signed: "Charles."

Spanish. Original. p. 1.

16 Oct. **808.** Eustace Chapuys to the Emperor.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 41.

On Friday last Dr. Lee, archbishop-elect of York, the earl of Sussex, treasurer Feuvenllem (Fitzwilliam), and Dr. Sampson waited on the Queen, and represented to her in the King's name the manifold inconveniences that might arise from the

* Juan Tavera, the archbishop of Santiago (Compostellanus), was created cardinal Sancti Joannis ante portam Latinam in 1529, at the same time with the archbishops of Seville (Manrique) and the bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza).

1531.

continuance of the difference between the King and herself should the pending suit be carried on by rigorous terms of justice. It was much better (they said) at once to decide the affair by amicable compromise, by means of judges appointed from among the prelates and lawyers of this kingdom, for there was not even a shadow of reason to justify the advocation of the cause to Rome, where, through fear of Your Majesty, the Pope would not dare do justice, or act otherwise than by Your Majesty's commands. They reproduced all the arguments which the duke of Norfolk had made use of on a former occasion when they visited the Queen at Grynuyhe (Greenwich) on Whitsuntide (Pentecost Day), as I informed Your Majesty in one of my former despatches.

This appeal the Queen answered in the mildest and most moderate terms, saying that from the very beginning, thinking that the King was really promoting the divorce out of a scruple of conscience, she herself had begged the King to assemble the prelates of his kingdom, and bind them by oath to speak the truth, and determine the case, promising to abide by their decision whatever it might be. This the King had refused to do alleging as an excuse that he would not abide by any other decision except that of justice and law, and therefore as he himself had opened that way, and the affair had gone so far, it was imperative for the relief of their mutual consciences, the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the future prospects of the Princess, their daughter, that the case should be determined and declared by Him who gives the law, the rule and the example to all the World. Now that she was aware that the King was not actuated by mere scruples of conscience, but by passion pure and simple, she could not possibly think of consenting to the compromise proposed by the King, especially in this country where all those consulted would by dint of threats or corruption say white was black and black white. That the King ought not to be sorry to see her prosecute the process commenced by himself inasmuch as whatever she or her legal advisers had done in it, had been done with his permission and consent.

With regard to other arguments brought forward by the royal deputies on this occasion, and the inconveniences and evils which, they said, are likely to result from her stubborn adherence to principle, the Queen answered them in the same terms as at the Greenwich conference, as I informed Your Majesty at the time. At last, after many answers and replies of the same kind, the four above-named personages went down on their knees before the Queen and humbly entreated her for the sake of the King's honour, for the Princess' welfare, for the peace of the kingdom, and for her own repose (as the King promised to treat her much better than ever before) to consent to the process being tried in this kingdom, whether in a court of law, or amicably. Hearing which the Queen went also on her knees praying each and every one of those

1531.

present for the sake of God's honour and glory, and of His sufferings and death on the cross, for the discharge of the King's conscience and their own, and for the removal of such a scandalous example to Christendom, to persuade the King their master, to return to her, since he well knew that she was his true and legitimate wife. If, notwithstanding this (she added) the King should still entertain some scruple, let him allow the case to be heard and sentenced at Rome, where he may be sure no undue influence or violence will be exercised, and no intrigues practised, Your Majesty being a prince who on no account would appeal to other means save those of truth and justice, owing to which God, she remarked, had always made you prosper in all your undertakings.

To the Queen's sound reasoning and earnest entreaties the King's deputies knew not what to answer; they were actually moved to pity, and I am told that although all the gentlemen and ladies of the Queen's household were present at the conference, and the royal deputies addressed the Queen in low voice, she herself would speak loud enough to be heard by every one of the bystanders, very few of whom escaped without shedding tears.

When, however, the said gentlemen were about to take their departure they announced to the Queent that the King gave her her choice between staying where she then was, going to another small house of the King's, or retiring to an abbey. The Queen answered that it was not for her to choose; whereever the King should command her to go, even to a fiery stake, she would willingly repair.

On the return of the deputation, and upon their relating what had passed, the King caused his Privy Council and several high officers of State to assemble, whether to deliberate upon the Queen's answer, or take measures respecting the public reception of Monsieur de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay), I cannot say, but the latter arrived here by post on Sunday last, and went off on the ensuing Monday to see the King at one of his royal residences, 10 miles from this city. He (Bellay) purposes staying there until Saturday next. Though I have tried hard, I have not yet been able to ascertain the cause of his coming, or what his mission may be, but will not fail to inform Your Majesty of any particulars that may come to my notice.

From the above Your Majesty will be able to judge whether the treatment of the Queen by the King is likely to improve. In my humble opinion it will grow every day worse and worse, considering the coldness and indifference with which the affair is treated at Rome. Indeed it is to be feared that unless a remedy to this evil be soon applied, and that should His Holiness refuse to do justice and sentence the cause, there will be for certain some disorderly act here. That is why His Holiness ought to be asked, if he does not feel disposed to see justice done at once, to issue at least some declaration respecting the brief granted at Bologna, since it is quite notorious that the

1531.

King is already almost divorced from the Queen, and has excluded her from all communication with him, whereas when the said brief was first issued she still lived with him in appearance.

There is in Paris a Spanish doctor-at-law named Moscoso, who has written a book in favour of the Queen. The bishop of Rochester (Fisher) has examined it, and finds it very apropos. The Bishop wishes to have the book printed, and that its author should also undertake to answer the work published here by order of this king. The Queen herself has written to Dr. Moscoso on the subject, and ordered me to write to Your Majesty in his recommendation.

There have been on the frontiers of Scotland and England some skirmishes, in which some Englishmen have been slain, besides many houses and farms plundered. In consequence of which the bishop of Durham and others, who have charge of the English frontiers, have hastened to the spot to have matters settled amicably.—London, 16th October anno XXXI.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

18 Oct. **809.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 496, ff 84-5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 13.

Begs her to keep the galleys ready in case he should have to return to Spain by the Mediterranean.

Provision for the pay of the galleys.—Armaments.—Expedition to Algiers to be made next year.

The archbishop of Toledo (Fonseca) to be thanked for his offer of 50,000 "fanegas" of wheat and 12,000 ducats to buy meat and provisions for the fleet that is to attack Algiers.—Ordnance.—Ammunition.—Oran.—The son of the king of Tlmesen.—Marquis of Comares, &c.

Has read what she writes about procuring flour (*harinas*) from England; finds, however, that it is impossible to get any there, and therefore she must do all she can to procure it in Spain or in Sicily. Fortresses and castles on the French frontier to be looked to.—Brussels, 18th October 1531.

Signed: "Charles."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter from His Majesty to the Empress."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 8.

22 Oct. **810.** The EMPEROR to MAI.

S. E. L. 1,558, ff. 409-11.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 15.

Negotiations with the duke of Albany in Rome.—Swiss Lutherans.—General Council.—Archbishop of Tarbes, &c.—Proposed interview with the king of France.

He is to insist very strongly on the matrimonial cause of the queen of England being determined [at Rome] without further delay. Has spoken in this sense to the Papal Legate and begged him to write to the Pope about it. No proposal of a compromise calculated to delay or postpone the final

1531.

judgment of the cause to be accepted, or even entertained for one single moment. The suit to be decided strictly according to law.

Has written to his ambassador in England ordering him to send to Rome an attested copy of the proceedings once enacted in London. Orders have likewise been sent to Spain for the depositions of witnesses and all other legal documents to be forwarded without delay; also that the examination of witnesses to the probable fear of war existing at the time of the Queen's second marriage, be extensively made, as he (Mai) has pointed out.—[Brussels], 22nd October 1531.

Addressed: "To Micer Mai, our ambassador in Rome."

Indorsed: "From Brussels the 22nd of October."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of Idiaquez, Secretary of State. pp. 12.

24 Oct. **811.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 110. B.M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 16.

At the end of the last vacation the English orator and his assistant instead of a regular power from their master presented a letter from the king of England, a copy of which is here enclosed. It is astonishing what want of respect and even of common courtesy there is in this letter, but it has not been accepted as of sufficient power for his agents. The ambassador (Mai) will write more about it.

Hears that a preferment which pope Adrian granted him whilst in Paris has been violently taken from him by Don Martin de Mendoza, son of the duke of Infantazgo, who had himself ordained for that purpose. Hopes that justice will be done in this respect.—Rome, 24th October 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "From Dr. Ortiz at Rome, 24th of October."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

24 Oct. **812.** Doctor Ortiz to Eustace Chapuys.

S. E. L. 854, f. 112. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 20.

Your favour of the 30th of July last was duly received on the 13th of September. You are pleased to refer me to another and more detailed one written to the Imperial ambassador (Mai) here, but it would appear that the latter has received no such letter from England; only one from the Imperial Court, purporting that the Queen was actually removed from the King's Palace, and as I have since been given to understand, living in some straightness (*estrechura*), all her household servants having been taken away from her. God knows how grieved and sad I feel at the occurrence, &c.

On the receipt of your letter I went up to His Holiness, and was with him full two hours, pointing out the many falsehoods and fallacies of this last book written in favour of the English king, and representing to him in most forcible terms the many

1531.

evils likely to result from the delay, and how he (the Pope) was bound to forbid the King under pain of excommunication any sort of intercourse with his mistress (*manceba*), adding that so scandalous a sin indeed deserved, both on account of England and of the whole Christian community, to be visited by the censures of the Church, without waiting for the declaration of witnesses in the cause, and so forth, &c. His Holiness heard all I had to say in this particular, approved of my plan, and said that if we would only apply for such a brief in the Queen's name he would grant it forthwith. Though such a brief after all may never be issued, yet that people may see that nothing on our part has been omitted out of neglect, I called upon the ambassador and represented to him my own suggestions, and the Pope's answer to them. Unluckily Miçer Mai is still unwell, and though he has promised that within four or five days the petition shall be drawn out, I doubt whether it will be ready then.

I wrote to Your Lordship by the last two posts, and sent some papers for the bishop of Rochester (Rophense); I should very much like to know whether he has received them, and am also anxious to read the rest of his very learned apology, which cannot be otherwise than equal to the first part.

Please to offer my services to the Queen, whose hands and feet I humbly kiss, daily praying God that he may give her consolation and courage in the midst of her tribulations.

The testimony of the witnesses who, according to the Papal Nuncio in that country, are ready to prove that prince Arthur was impotent, His Holiness thinks to be insufficient, inasmuch as the parties have not been cited by a competent judge. But Her Highness the Queen must not be alarmed on that or on any other account, for the archbishop of Santiago (Tavera), in virtue of the compulsory letters sent from hence, has used all diligence in this respect, and even if the marriage with prince Arthur had been consummated there would be no obstacle to the true justice of our cause, which consists in this that such degree of affinity is only forbidden by Canon, not by Civil Law, as has been sufficiently proved by the papers I sent to Spain.

The former part of this letter was written many days ago. After the vacations the King's excusator and his colleagues exhibited a letter from their master, of which a copy is here enclosed. The said excusator pretended that it was a mandate, but a report has been made to shew that it was not. The Pope tells me that the English ambassadors shewed a letter from their master stating that the Queen was as well treated and thought of as before, and that the rumours that had circulated here at Rome were completely false.—Rome, 24th October 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious Señor Eustacio Capacho (*sic*), His Majesty's ambassador in England."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1531.

24 Oct. **813.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 110.

The vacations over, the English ambassador and his colleague presented instead of a mandate a letter from the King, their master, to His Holiness, of which the enclosed is a copy. It is really wonderful to see the truly irreverent and disrespectful terms in which it is couched. An inquiry and report (*information*) have been made to shew that the letter in question could not be taken as a mandate from the King. As I have no doubt that Your Majesty's ambassador has already written about this, I will only add that His Holiness is very well disposed, and that with God's help the cause is in a fair way of being settled and sentenced.

As I have already had occasion to inform Your Majesty, Don Martin de Mendoza, the son of the duke of Infantazgo, still opposes the Pope's injunctions, and refuses to give me possession of the benefice [of Galapagar] granted to me by pope Adrian. Now I hear from Guadalajara, that in consequence of a brief which the Empress [Isabella] obtained from His Holiness in my favour the Apostolic Nuncio* who presented the same was ill-treated and wounded in that city whilst in the exercise of his duty. I have no doubt that by this time Your Majesty's Privy Council as well as the archbishop of Barri (Fr. Gabriel Merino) and Mons. de Granvelle (Nicolas Perrenot) have reported fully on so grievous a case, and therefore it only remains for me to ask for justice, &c.—Rome, 24th October 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

24 Oct. **814.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 45.

On Thursday morning Monseigneur de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) and Jehan Jocquin, on their return from Court came to call on me, and in the course of conversation with them both, and particularly with the said sieur de Bayonne, this latter told me among other things—with the report of which I will not trouble Your Majesty—that the King, his master, having heard of the taking of Modon had prognosticated that such a feat of arms would prove to be either a great boon or a great misfortune for Christendom. That it would be a real boon if the town could be efficiently kept and retained, but that if it could not it would only be the cause of further irritating the Turk, and goading him on to the invasion of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. The Bishop did not mention France as one of the points to be attacked, but he proceeded to say that this enterprize concerned exclusively

* "Parece que en Guadalajara al Nuncio Apostolico que le fue a presentar le an pelado las barbas, y malamente acuchillado."

1531.

Your Majesty, not so much on account of the dignity and authority of the Empire, as for the advantages or losses that might result therefrom. The undertaking (he added) belonged entirely and exclusively to Your Majesty, who had in Italy plenty of land and sea forces with nothing else to do, besides which you were, as he said, the richest monarch in Christendom. With regard to France, the Bishop observed that his master, the King, was not in want of men, well trained to war, but Your Majesty had so plucked their feathers that they could not fly, besides which the King knowing that he had good reasons to be satisfied with such a kingdom as France, and to thank God for taking away and removing that which kept him and his kingdom in continual sorrow and anxiety, wished to live in amity with all those who sought his friendship, and to look only to the defence of his paternal dominions against whomsoever should try to invade them; the cares of war he intrusted to his sons, the princes, who were already able to take up arms.

After this and other like expressions, which shewed sufficiently how little disposed the French are to aid in the said enterprize, the Bishop owned, though not until I had met his arguments with several proofs to the contrary, that the danger of a Turkish invasion was imminent and affected all the princes of Christendom, and that his master, the King, had more desire now than he had ever had of assailing the Turk in his own country, provided the rest of the Christian princes did their duty. He did not specify what those duties were, which makes me believe that by duty (*debvoir*) the Bishop meant the restitution by Your Majesty to the King, his master, of the many things [he lost by the last war]. May God by His infinite bounty inspire the king of France and his ministers (*suppoz*) with better sentiments for the service of God and the exaltation of the Faith!

The Bishop then said to me that the King, his master, had been very much astonished to hear of Monsieur de Balançon's report of a proposed interview with Your Majesty, as if he (the King) had solicited the said interview. He had never thought or dreamt of such a thing; the Queen, his wife, (Eleanor) denied having ever made overtures in that sense, and, therefore, all that had been said or published about it was a mere joke (*mocquerie*). Hearing this I dissembled and made as if I knew not the truth of the matter, that I might ascertain the extent of the Bishop's imaginative powers (*fantasie*) and not have to contend with him. He, however, said nothing more on the subject but went on to speak of the difficulties and embarrassments in which they (the French) had been placed, and which, he said, still existed in procuring gold of the standard required and fixed at Cambray to pay the price of the lands, which they were bound to repurchase; at the same time complaining most bitterly of the excessive rigour with which they had been treated, the whole of the

1531.

operation having (as he said) cost the King upwards of 50,000 crs., without any visible profit to Your Majesty.

The Bishop, nevertheless, took very good care not to reveal to me what his mission was, no more than he did when he came last to England. I cannot, therefore, guess what he has come about, unless it be to remove all causes of suspicion and jealousy which these people might entertain respecting the above-mentioned interview; perhaps also to excuse their delay in the payment of the pensions, which ought to have been made on the 1st of May, but did not take place until a few days since, and that only in part, for as I hear a considerable sum is still owing by France to this country. I wonder whether on the plea that their gold is not of sufficient standard to be received by Your Majesty's treasurers the French are now trying to borrow money from this king, or at least to obtain a prorogation of the term at which the next instalment of their debt is due, viz., on All Souls; the thing seems to me probable.

As I have already informed Your Majesty, owing to the long absence of the Court from this city, and to the circumstances that few people, if any, dare visit me nowadays—those with whom I used once to communicate wishing to have pensions, and others who formerly had them begging for their renewal—I am deprived of the means of obtaining credible information. I therefore call Your Majesty's attention to this last point which I consider of the utmost importance.

The Bishop also told me that by the command of his master he had advised this king of the funeral-services held in France for Madame, the Regent [Margaret of Austria], and that the King would have liked to know the order and ceremony thereof. He tells me, moreover, that he stimulated the King to have the same held here (whereas before his arrival here there had been no question of it). The solemnity (he told me) is to take place on the eve of St. Simon, and already the courtiers are preparing their mourning dresses to wear on the occasion.

On Thursday, after dinner, that I might draw out the Bishop, I called on him, accompanied by the ambassadors of Milan and Venice, whom I met on my way to his dwelling. Once admitted into his cabinet the Bishop began in the presence of the said ambassadors to resume the conversation of the other day respecting the taking and succour of Modon, and to exaggerate the difficulties of the task Your Majesty had in hand, repeating several times that Your Italian armies did nothing, that Doria wished to call himself the king of the sea, in the very teeth (*à la barbe*) of the Venetians, and of the rest of the maritime nations; by which crafty insinuations, and other similar ones, the Bishop meant (if I am not mistaken) that the land and sea forces which Your Majesty has now in Italy were as obnoxious and unbearable to his master as if he had them on his own shoulders and had to support

1531.

them. But the Bishop's argumentation, however well coloured, convinced no one; the bystanders could not be persuaded that the Imperial forces had been up to this time unnecessary, and the ambassadors in particular could not fail to perceive that the continuance of your victorious armies in Italy is most unpleasant to those who wish to disturb the peace of that country and of the whole of Christendom. The Bishop, moreover, went on speaking against Andrea Doria, whom he called a traitor, though when he was asked to give his reasons for such an appellation, and we had extolled his (Doria's) many virtues, he kept silence, and said no more on the subject. When I was taking leave of him the Bishop said to me that he would return to Court on Saturday, and that if he had the leisure would call on me, that we might again have a talk together. On Saturday, after dinner, he left for Court. Yesterday, Sunday, the King came to the house (*lougis*) of Brian Turc (Tuke), where the two French ambassadors (Monsieur de Bayonne and Jehan Jocquin) are staying, which is about one mile from the King's present residence, and all supped together. At the upper end of the table were the King, the Lady (Anne), and Monseigneur de Bayonne. At the lower one Jehan Jocquin, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Wiltshire, and his wife, the Countess; the Secretary bishop-elect of Winchester, Feuunllier (Fitzwilliam) the treasurer, and two ladies. After much eating and drinking the said bishop of Bayonne took his leave, and returned to London. He has since given me to understand that he will start to-morrow morning as early as he can, and make all possible speed. On Friday I sent one of my servants to Court for the purpose of recommending to the duke of Norfolk the widow and children of one Captain Charran, a Biscayan, as instructed by Your Majesty's last letter to me. The Duke with great kindness of heart went immediately to the King, whose answer was that nothing was due to the captain, as he had been paid his wages regularly so long as he was in the King's service. After which answer from the King, which the Duke himself communicated to my servant, he inquired kindly after me, and gave him the following message for me: "Tell your master (said he) that I knew very well what I sent to say to him the other day about an interview between the Emperor and the king of France would turn out true; there has never been a question in France of such an interview. Had it been so we should have been apprized of it, for the friendship between the Most Christian King and my master is as close and binding as it can possibly be, and instead of diminishing will be on the increase." This the Duke repeated more than 10 times over, at the same time praying God to extend and prolong the same amity and good intelligence with all the other princes. And upon my man assuring him that as far as Your Majesty was concerned it would not be your fault if such amity and friendship failed, and that there

1531.

was nothing Your Majesty prized so highly as the peace, union, and mutual love of Christendom, the Duke made no reply, but began again to extol and magnify the advantages of his master's friendship to the Most Christian King, of which he seemed to be so proud that he could hardly drop the subject.

The Queen continues at the same place (More), and there is no appearance for the present of the King sending for her. Parliament has again been prorogued until the 15th of January next; perhaps they are waiting till Your Majesty has departed from the Low Countries for its re-assembling.

The King has been for some time in much anxiety and fear of the Scotch, but has lately been relieved of this trouble by a very gracious letter he has received from the king of that country; on the receipt of which, as I have been told, he feasted and rejoiced as much, and gave as marked signs of contentment, as if he had won a great battle or heard of the conquest of some great kingdom by his people.

Along the coast some military preparations have been made, and a close watch has been established in consequence of the appearance of the king of Denmark's fleet, for fear of which permission has been refused to five English ships laden with merchandize to sail for Flanders until it be ascertained what route the said Danish fleet will take. Meanwhile the citizens of London, and others interested in that trade, have, notwithstanding the said danger, assailed the King with all manner of importunities, petitioning for leave to depart, and complaining that should the prohibition last long it will cause the ruin of thousands of families. This is no doubt for the purpose of making the King understand that this country cannot possibly support itself without the Flemish trade, and it will perhaps be the cause of the government here paying more attention in future to matters which, if neglected, may eventually put a stop to commercial intercourse.

Three different copies of the process instituted here between the King and Queen have been forwarded to Rome, and yet Miçer Mai (*sic*) writes lately that not one has been received by him. I now send home a fourth, that Your Majesty may be pleased to have it forwarded as soon and as securely as possible, for it is the foundation of the whole affair, and without it no sentence can be pronounced.

As I said before, there is no chance nowadays owing to the Court being absent, and to other causes which I need not point out again, of obtaining reliable information. I am, therefore, obliged to be rather prolix, otherwise that Your Majesty may judge of these people's plans from the above details, and beg to be excused if I have entered into unnecessary ones.—London, 24th October anno XXXI.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

1531.

24 Oct. **815.** CARDINAL D'OSMA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 99.
S. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 17.

. . . . . .

That the Pope and the whole of Italy know well the reason why the king of France did not attend the interview.* It was not the death of his mother (Louise de Savoie) that prevented him, as he said, from attending, but the condition imposed by the Emperor, that no personal matters should be discussed thereat. All here believe what His Imperial Majesty wrote about the intended interview. His Holiness says he knows from a very good source that the king of England is secretly aware of the fact, notwithstanding that the Most Christian King has positively asserted to the foreign ambassadors at his court, and written also to the Pope and to the Venetians, that he neither sought nor asked for the interview. The Pope and he (Loaysa) are both of opinion that the Emperor ought to dissemble in this instance and not heed the statements made by the Most Christian King, for all know for certain, and hear by letters from France, that what has been said about it is the exact truth.

Indorsed : "Summary of a letter from the cardinal of Osma to His Majesty."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract for the Emperor's inspection. pp. 3.

24 Oct. **816.** GIO. ANT. MUXETULA to the SAME.

S.E. RomaL. 853, f. 91.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 22.

Your Majesty's letters of the 28th September last to this ambassador (Miçer Mai), informing him of the reasons why the concerted interview of Your Majesty and the king of France did not take place, were duly received here. At the same time there came letters from His Holiness' Nuncio in France announcing the death of the Queen-mother, and saying that the meeting would not take place in consequence, but the Nuncio added (*cipher :*) that although common rumour attributed to that cause the putting off of the conferences he had reason to think differently, and that when king Francis heard the answer given by Your Majesty to the Queen's gentleman sent to speak about the interview, and the conditions you chose to impose, should it take place, he withdrew from it, giving as his excuse his mother's demise though the real motive was that he had lost all hope of obtaining what he wanted. Such, at least, is the Nuncio's opinion and that of His Holiness, and also of all sensible people here in Italy.

(*Common writing :*) On the receipt of the letters both from the king of France and that of England, commanding their respective ambassadors here to call on His Holiness, and say that never at any time had the former asked for an interview with Your Majesty, nor had it ever crossed his mind,

* A marginal note in the handwriting of secretary Covos has the following : "His Imperial Majesty has written nothing but the truth as to what passed concerning the proposed interview."

1531.

to hold it, some impression was made on the minds of these people. "His Holiness," added the letters," was not to believe the reports of people interested in sowing dissension between princes." Since then His Holiness has received letters from France informing him that the English ambassadors had called upon king Francis and remonstrated with him as to the interview having been preconcerted without their being informed thereof, adding that that was not a suitable proceeding. "On this account (the letters say) the strength of the King's friendship and alliance was decreasing; but it was thought that the king of France might have said those words to prevent any slackening in the friendship and good-will of the king of England, who seems determined to shew the Pope that he is on the very best possible terms with him of France. This king Henry does and publishes to frighten His Holiness, and make him proceed with caution in these matters of the divorce." I fancy he has also written that the interview was altogether against the will of France.

The Pope's answer to the French and English ambassadors has been that he very much regretted that the interview did not take place; he could nowise have been a loser by it, on the contrary, Christendom would have been benefited by the meeting of two such powerful and magnanimous princes. He was sorry that the death of such a good and virtuous princess as the queen-mother of France was the cause of the interview not being effected. He would not enter upon the question, whether the conferences had been proposed first by their king, or by Your Majesty, as the ambassadors maintain. That was a delicate subject, and one which His Holiness would not willingly discuss for the moment (*cipher:*) though he knew very well what to believe on these matters. Indeed, the other day, whilst conversing together upon the affairs of England and France, he said to me: "the king of England is urging him of France to declare war against the Emperor, pretending that he can, if he likes, inflict great injury by sea along the Mediterranean coast of Spain. The king of France has answered that the time for such an aggression had not yet come; England should have patience and wait until the Emperor should be more weakened, which would take place shortly. "I fancy (continued the Pope) that their plans are to detain Your Majesty in Flanders, because should any rising of the German Lutherans take place in the meantime Your Majesty could not so easily go to Spain and back, the sea passage being, as they imagine, impracticable during the approaching winter season."

What the Emperor ought to do to defeat such wicked plans would be first to carry some effectual measure at the Diet of Spires; he might after that come to Italy and return to Spain by a more secure and commodious route. Should the Diet last longer than is anticipated, then in that case the meeting might be prorogued to some convenient place nearer the frontiers of Austria, the county of Tyrol and Italy, where

1531.

the Emperor might have his own particular dominions at his back, &c.—Rome, 24th October 1531.

Signed: "Juan Antonio Muxetula."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

24 Oct. **817.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 90.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 18.

At the very beginning of this month's audiences, and when my illness was at its worst, I sent for the Queen's lawyer and procured the examination of one witness, whose summons and evidence did not appear in the proceedings. Besides this I had five or six more witnesses examined whose evidence was both opportune and valuable. As on the previous days I had been labouring hard to have the process adjusted (*igualado*), I urgently solicited a sentence, expecting that in the meantime a copy of the original proceedings in England, for which I have written so often, and without which nothing can be materially attempted here, would arrive. I, therefore, earnestly request Your Lordship to forward it to me as soon as possible.

Meanwhile the same English lawyer, who came once here as excusator but was not admitted in Court owing to his not bringing sufficient powers, brought new ones, of which a copy is enclosed, drawn up with such evil intent that I can assure Your Lordship at the sight of them the fever of which I was then convalescent at once revived. It is indeed the vilest document of the sort ever produced; its sole purpose is to cause further delay, and it is sure to be followed by a dozen more of the same quality and stamp. I sent Vaisona to the Pope to remonstrate, and I myself went afterwards and complained in the bitterest words, for the truth must be told: *His Holiness is somewhat lax and procrastinating in this affair.* On the other hand, I caused a statement of our cause to be presented to the Rota, and tried to ascertain what was the argument of our opponents; indeed I *actually succeeded in having one of their allegations stolen from them.** But whatever has been done on my part with the Pope and the Rota has hitherto been of no use. We are already near the end of October and nothing has been done. My advice is that a pressing letter be written to the Pope in the Emperor's name, or else one reprimanding me for not having promoted this affair as I ought, that I may shew it to the Pope.

It is positively asserted that the king of England has sent orders to his ambassadors that should His Holiness ultimately declare, as he has so often been requested to do, that the cause is to be tried and sentenced here at Rome and not elsewhere, they are to take leave forthwith and return home, for from that day will he consider the Pope as his public enemy. These threats and others of a similar

* Y tove modo á hazerles hurtar unas de sus alegaziones.

1531.

nature have made great impression here among the cardinals; it is therefore necessary to meet them with encouragement and with promises of help and favour.

Let this paragraph of my letter be copied and forwarded to the ambassador in England (Chapuys), because, what with my own severe illness, and the death of my nephew, the son of Señora Malla, whom may God forgive, who died towards the middle of September, I have had no humour or leisure to write to him, though I know he is daily expecting news from me.

An answer to the people of Lanzano (Lanchiano) would be very opportune just now, for they have here one of their agents.—Rome 24th October 1531.

Signed; "Mai."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious lord the High Commander of Leon, first secretary, and of the Emperor's Council."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

4 Nov. **818.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 45.

Your Majesty's letter of the 13th ult° did not reach me until the 15th, owing to the rough passage from Calais. Immediately after the receipt of it I informed the Queen of the arrival of despatches, and sent her a copy of the articles on which the advice of her Council was required. The Queen was then on the point of starting for a country house within the precincts of the Abbey of St. Albans, which the King has chosen for her residence. Some time after her arrival at the place she sent back the articles, trusting entirely to me as to the answer that was to be made thereto, for (said she) she knew nothing about the matter, and had no councillor by her to give advice, all and every one of the prelates appointed [by the King] to counsel her at the beginning of the suit here having since the advocation of the cause to Rome resigned their offices, saying that they dared no longer interfere in her affairs. I have, therefore, done my best to collect such information as I could respecting the wars, or the fears that might have been entertained of such wars [at the time that the Queen's marriage was first spoken of], as contained in the said articles. I must, however, declare that up to this day I have found no one able to procure me reliable information on this subject. I am now writing to Miçer Mai and stating to him my opinion in this matter, with the details of which I will now avoid troubling Your Majesty, as Monseigneur de Grandvelle, with whom I am in correspondence, will, if required, fully report on it, as well as on my own private ideas respecting the production of the original brief [of Julius II.] The letter for Miçer Mai I have forwarded to Monseigneur de Grandvelle open, that he may correct or add whatever is wanted as

1531.

one more versed than I am in such matters. Respecting the original process—which was the principal point on which Miçer Mai insisted—I have already provided in the manner that Your Majesty knows, though at some amount of trouble. I have, therefore, no doubt that Your Majesty, knowing full well that without the said original process nothing can be done at Rome, has caused the copy which I sent to be immediately forwarded to the said Mai by a safe route.

I have heard lately from an authentic source that Monsieur de Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) has come to this city for the purposes of which I advised Your Majesty.

The funeral service in honour of Madame the Regent [Margaret of Austria] was duly performed on the very day that I was writing to Your Majesty. The King attended personally, dressed in a blue velvet robe, the colour here used for mourning, followed by 24 lords in long robes of black velvet. The solemnity took place at a castle 10 miles from this city, but no general commemoration was made in all the churches of this city as was the case when the emperor Maximilian or king Louis XI. died. The Princess will remove on Monday next from Richmond to a castle of the bishop of Winchester 40 miles from hence. I fancy it is not for change of air, as they say, but because the Lady who wishes her far off has procured her removal.

With regard to the questions and answers interchanged between the King's Councillors and myself respecting the proposed interview and enterprize of the king of Denmark [Christian III.], I have adhered most strictly to my instructions, and will continue doing so whenever I am asked what Your Majesty's intentions are respecting the prolongation or removal to another place (*transmutation*) of the Diet of Spires.

Yesterday a courier arrived from Rome, dispatched by the King's ambassadors at that court, and was on the same day sent back with an answer. I am told, and I believe it, that he has come for the sole purpose of inquiring what sum of money was to be paid for the expedition of the bulls of the two bishops [lately appointed by this king], for which a very large one was at first asked. This, it would appear, has been reduced to 20,000 ducats. The courier came also to ask for letters in favour of the King's own ambassador, the auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci), who not being able to obtain a cardinal's hat, wishes by his master's favour to be promoted to the office once held by cardinal Sancti Quatuor, and I am told that letters of recommendation have been made out in the most favourable terms.—London, 4th November [1531].

Signed: "Eustace Chappuys (*sic*)."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

1531.

6 Nov. **819.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the SAME.

S. E. L. 22, f. 147.

My sorrows and my distress are so great, and my life is so embittered and disturbed through the plans which these people are continually devising the better to carry out their wicked purpose; so fierce the attacks daily directed against me by some of the King's Privy Councillors, and so harsh and undeserved his general treatment of me, that God only knows how I can support all that I have to suffer. All this put together is enough to put an end to the lives of ten people, how much more so to mine, which is now so shattered by misfortune that no human creature among Christians ever suffered so intense an agony. And yet without deserving it in the least, for in this business I never offended God, nor the King, my Lord, whom I have always obeyed as his true wife, being quite unconscious of having ever done in this business anything against his will. I have, nevertheless, been treated in such a manner, and reduced to such a condition, that I know not what to do, except addressing my complaints to God Almighty and to Your Majesty, on whom the remedy to my misfortune solely depends. I, therefore, humbly beg Your Majesty, for the love of God, to procure from His Holiness the conclusion of this affair by such a sentence as the truth and righteousness of my cause demand, and let this be done as soon as possible, for such is the activity and haste displayed by my enemies that the utmost diligence is required to arrest them in their march.

I pray and beseech God for the remedy to come soon, and may He forgive His Holiness the many suspensions and delays hitherto granted by him, which are the only cause of this suit being in the state it is, and myself reduced almost to extremity. May God infuse his grace, and so enlighten the heart of His Holiness, that better fruits may be reaped in this affair than have hitherto come from it. Otherwise the whole must be at once placed in the hands of God, for Him to dispose as is best for His service. I confidently hope that He will not give occasion for these people to exercise their malice. As long as I live I shall call myself the true and legitimate wife of the King, my Lord; I will in this world confess that I am such, whilst in the other world, which is eternal, those who intentionally drove the King into this error will be compelled to acknowledge how ill-treated and afflicted I was without the least cause.

Your Majesty's ambassador residing at this Court has sent me certain articles that came from Rome that I might have them examined in my Council; but I must here declare that I have no other advice to ask or take but that of Your Highness,* and of your ambassador, who, being as he is, a very wise man,

* It will be observed that Katharine uses indiscriminately the title of Highness (*Alteza*), and Majesty (*Magestad*) as applied to the Emperor, her nephew. The former, however, was that usually given to kings, whereas that of Majesty or Imperial Majesty was only granted to emperors.

1531.

encourages me continually and quiets my sorrows, assuring me that Truth will at last come out victorious of this contest, and frequently reminding me of the trouble and anxiety Your Highness naturally feels at this delay in the proceedings, as well as of your own continual and pressing solicitations at the Roman court. As the learned and experienced lawyer that he is, Your Majesty's ambassador shews, when consulted, such tact and wisdom that some of my former Councillors assure me that Your Majesty could not have chosen a better person under the afflicting circumstances in which I find myself. And since God has permitted that my Councillors, owing to the fear they have of the King's wrath, should not dare to speak, let the charge of answering the said articles devolve upon the said ambassador. I find no other remedy in my distress; it seems to me as if it were the best and the surest, under present circumstances.

Meanwhile, and until the sentence which will effectually extinguish this fire comes [from Rome], there is much need that Your Majesty say and publish among such people as may bring the news to this country that you are extremely sorry for my sufferings, and that you wonder how the King, my Lord, can treat me in this humiliating manner, and whatever else you may think advisable in my behalf; because I can assure Your Highness that the Pope's tardiness in giving sentence makes many on my side waver, whilst those who would otherwise speak out the truth dare not utter a word in my favour. Indeed so pampered and feasted are my enemies that like so many falcons they come down upon the lure held out to attract those who love me well.* It is needed that such people should know how much Your Highness feels for my sufferings. My opinion is that you ought to speak loud, in order that my friends may be somewhat encouraged, and not fancy that I am entirely abandoned and deserted by all the world.

The Imperial ambassador (Chapuys), whom I beg particularly to recommend to your notice, as in former letters, will, I am sure, inform Your Highness of many particulars concerning this case of mine, and the manner in which I am treated; he pays such careful attention to me and to my affairs, as well as to other matters concerning the Imperial service, that I consider him fully deserving of your favour. —Mur (More), 6th November [1531].

Signed: "Your Majesty's aunt, Katharine."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful, the Emperor and King, my nephew."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty, the Emperor; from the queen of England; 6th November 1531."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

* "Por que la tardanza de su Sanctydad aze a muchos tybios en el negocyo, y a los que osan dezir la verdad ponenles (poneles) tanto myedo que ya no osan ablar, y a los que les favorescen danles tanto que muchos vyenen a ellos, como los alcones al señuelo, solo por [des] anymar a los que me quieren byen."

1531.

6 Nov. **820.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress, and to her Council in Spain.

S. E. L. 854, f. 113. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 25.

As he (Ortiz) had occasion to advise by the last post the King's letter to his ambassadors, a highly disrespectful and irreverent paper enough as concerns the Pope, was formally rejected by the Rota. This has greatly irritated these people against the King, and now that the vacations are over the proceedings will be resumed with greater rigour than ever, so as to remove any obstacles the King and his agents may raise against the case being tried here.

The archbishop of Compostella (Santiago), president of the Council of Castille, has sent us the answer to the compulsory letters, and likewise some treatises written in favour of the Queen, among which those by the archdeacon of Toledo and the "Maestrescuela"* of Salamanca are very praiseworthy, since, besides the elegant style in which both are written, they contain many sound arguments in favour of the Queen, thus proving that their authors have not lost their time at the University.—Rome, 6th November 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish Holograph. pp. 1½.

6 Nov. **821.** The Same to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 113. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 25.

The king of England has addressed a letter to his ambassador which he intended to be accepted by the Pope as a mandate and credentials. The letter itself contains many invectives against the Holy Father. On this occasion the King has made many enemies through his insolent behaviour and language.

After the vacations the divorce case will be resumed with greater activity. The objections of the English lawyers shall be refuted and set aside.

The cardinal of Santiago† has according to instructions received from Your Majesty sent us the depositions of various witnesses, and likewise the written opinions of Spanish lawyers and canonists. The most remarkable of which, in form as well as in substance, are those of the archdeacon of Toledo, and of the "Maestrescuela" [of Salamanca]. They have come in time, and will serve our purpose well.—Rome, 6th November 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed; "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

* Properly a schoolmaster, a dignitary in some Spanish cathedrals, the same as chancellor (*canciller*) in others.

† Don Fernando Tavera, at this time president of the Royal Council of Castille, and also of the Council appointed by the Emperor to assist the Empress in the government, and administration of public affairs.

1531.

7 Nov. **822.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 26.

Wrote by the last post, &c., [copies the preceding despatch, and after the two first paragraphs continues:]

A letter from Your Majesty addressed to Prior Muros (now deceased), respecting the Hospital of All Souls at Avila, and the confirmation of certain indulgences, was received by the last post. Has handed it over to Miçer Mai, who, no doubt, will execute orders and report thereupon.

Great rejoicings have taken place here in consequence of the signal and almost miraculous victory which the five Catholic cantons of Switzerland have gained over their enemies, since, being only 8,000 in number, they defeated the Lutherans of the other seven cantons, who mustered 20,000; slew 2,000 of them, wounded 10,000, and took the rest prisoners, with the exception of a few who saved themselves by flight. The enemy, who were commanded by the heresiarch Zwingli, lost all their artillery besides. This Zwingli followed the abominable sect of Viclepho, once condemned by the Council of Constantia, and maintained that Jesus Christ was not present in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist. He perished in the battle, because both Zwinglians and Lutherans agreed that he and the others, who had induced them into error, should be in the first rank, the consequence being that they fell under the blows of the Catholics, &c.

Again recommends the affair of his brother, Fr. Francisco, the preacher, because the longer his process lasts the scantier will be the fruit which by God's mercy he can hope to gather in the souls of Christian folk.

Another brother of his writes that the royal treasurers aim at shortening the Emperor's bounty to him by discounting the 300 crs. formerly received; if so he (Ortiz) will be in extreme want, for the university of Salamanca still refuses to pay him the salary of his professorship.—Rome, 7th November 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

7 Nov. **823.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. Roma. L. 853, f. 112.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 30.

In the matter of the matrimonial cause these people will send me mad, for I can assure Your Lordship that ever since the re-opening of the sittings our poor proctors have done nothing but report every day, and yet one audience succeeds another without the least progress being made in the cause. Notwithstanding my illness, though, no time has been lost. I have caused several allegations to be drawn up and presented in Court, but still little or no advance has been made, though they still offer to conclude the matter soon. I must have the letters I alluded to in my last, they are very much wanted. The

1531.

declarations made in virtue of the compulsory letters have arrived from Spain; I hear that they are very good. At any rate, I must have a copy of the original process instituted in London, and for which I have applied so many times, for I am persuaded that without it nothing can be done. It would not be amiss if by the first trusty person coming to these parts I could have the original brief of Julius II., &c.—Rome, 6th November 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

7 Nov. **824.** Benedict degli Accolti, cardinal of Ravenna, to the Emperor.

S. E. Roma. L. 854, f. 122.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 28.

Your Majesty must have heard from Miçer Mai what has been done by me in the Scottish affair. Since then I have received a letter from king James in credence of Miçer Thomas Erschin (Erskine), his secretary, requesting me to attach faith to anything he may say in his name, but I need not say that whatever has been said or done in this affair I have previously communicated to the said Mai. The letters I have seen from the Scottish king make me hope that the negotiation will soon be at an end, for he (the King) seems willing to accept the proposed marriage and reject all offers made to him from other quarters, and is now preparing, as I am given to understand, to send an embassy to the Imperial Court to treat at once of this matter. There is only one small difficulty in the way, which is his treaty with the king of France, but this the King hopes will be removed very shortly.—Rome, 7th November 1531.

Signed: "Be[nedicto] car. di Ravenna."

Addressed: "Sacratissimæ et Invictissimæ Caesaræ Majestati."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Nov. **825.** Cardinal d'Osma to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,554, f. 32.

Writes in favour and commendation of Luys Gomez, one of the auditors of the Rota, a very honest and learned man, who has done, and is doing, much service in this English business. Not only has he at all times furnished us with information respecting the operations of that tribunal, but yesterday, as he went out of it, he came and told me what had been decided that very morning, viz.: that after a long debate the application of the English excusator (Karne) was positively denied until he could shew mandate and powers from the King, his master, to appear before that court. This decision of the Rota has not yet been made public, for it must pass first through a consistory [of cardinals]; but it is nevertheless highly important for us that such a measure has been taken, because the cardinals will no doubt confirm the decision.

The said auditor (Luys Gomez) is well deserving of His Majesty's favour. As to the one applied for from Castille, he

1531.

[d'Osma] is really astonished at his not having yet heard of his appointment. So important is the nomination of a Spanish auditor under present circumstances that he cannot guess what can be the cause for such negligence.

Indorsed: "Copy of a holograph postcriptum out of a letter from cardinal d'Osma to the High Commander, dated Rome, 10th November* 1531."

10 Nov. **826.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 33.

Received by Diego Jayme [de Haro] the Emperor's letter of the 22nd ult°. All orders conveyed in it have been punctually executed. Communicated its contents to cardinal d'Osma and to Miçer Jo. Antonio Muscettola (*sic*), and gave His Holiness the enclosure that came for him. Pressed him hard respecting his contribution towards the expenses of the army of Lombardy, and it was agreed to impose a tithe upon all towns and districts which had not been previously subjected to it, and raise besides a sum of money by contract.

The Pope was very glad to hear that His Majesty had decided to succour the Swiss Catholics. The offer of 4,000 crs. he knew already of by letters from the Legate. He was also delighted to hear of Ratisbon having been chosen for the meeting of the Diet, for that will be the means, he says, of effectually checking the Turk's progress.

Rodrigo Niño often writes to us such news as he can procure at Venice. It appears that the Turk in the Levant is fitting out a fleet against the Portuguese in India. We shall soon hear from Venice whether the last advices from Ragusa are true or not. Cannot enclose the copy of them because cardinal d'Osma asked for it, and has it still in his possession.

Notwithstanding cardinal Tarbes' assertion that he had not left behind copies of the letters written by the duke of Saxony and landgrave of Hesse to the king of France, he (Mai) has since ascertained that they really exist here at Rome. Will do everything in his power to procure them and send them on, as well as the King's answer.

A cardinal's hat for the lord of Monego (Monaco) has been applied for. The queen of France (Eleanor) also wanted one for the archbishop of Toulouse, a Frenchman†; he (Mai) did all he could to forward her application, but the Pope refused.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Most Sacred Majesty, the Emperor."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2½.

10 Nov. **827.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853. f. 99.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 31.

The great distance from here to Scotland, and the want of regularity in the post, have been the causes of the delay in Ravenna's answer. Your Majesty sent us word that you

* The letter itself is not among those published by Dr. Heyne.
† Jean d'Orleans, who died on the 24th of September 1533.

1531.

wished the negotiations with that country and King to be conducted in the Low Countries, owing to their greater vicinity to Scotland. I always thought so, and believed besides that it was more to the advantage of the parties (*de maior auctoridad*) that the affair should be discussed at Your Majesty's Court. King James, as it would appear, has consulted the point with the Cardinal, whose advice is also that the matter be treated there [in Flanders]. He promises to send shortly to the Imperial Court some members of his Privy Council, that the business may be the sooner settled. The Cardinal does all he can to encourage the Scotch in their purpose, and I have induced him to write to the secretary (Erskine) a letter, of which the enclosed is a copy,* telling him what the ambassadors are to say and do; also a draft of another letter which they are to present to Your Majesty. That for the secretary Your Majesty might forward by merchants, or otherwise as it may seem better, and I trust to God that the whole will be done according to Your Majesty's wishes. There seems only to be one obstacle to the marriage, according to what people write from Scotland, namely, (*cipher:*) that the duke of Albany made the King promise, when a child, to marry a daughter of the king of France; but this promise the Scotch do not consider as of great importance nor sufficiently binding, because they say it was not, nor could it be a true and real engagement on account of the King's age at the time, besides which the Scotch say that their king has oftentimes applied for the hand of the French Princess, though in vain, the King, her father, having invariably answered that she was not of age to marry, so that it would appear as if the French themselves wished to get rid of the engagement.—Rome, 10th November 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "S. C. C. R. M^{ti}."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

10 Nov. **828.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 853, f. 19.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 35.

His letters by Diego Jayme were duly received, and the Emperor's commands faithfully executed. After communicating with the cardinal [of Osma] and with Gio. Ant. Muscettola (*sic*), he (Mai) delivered into the hands of His Holiness the Emperor's holograph letter, at which he was much pleased. Spoke to him about the contribution. His Holiness agreed to impose a tithe here in Italy upon such towns and villages as had not yet been taxed.

As to *the Catholic cantons of Switzerland* His Holiness was glad to hear of the offer made by the Emperor of 4,000 crs. He himself (he said) had already paid 4,000 or perhaps 5,000 for the purpose of helping them against the Lutherans, &c.

* Not in the packet.

1531.

With regard to the letters said to have been written by the landgrave [of Hesse], elector of Saxony and free towns to Francis, he (Mai) can only repeat the information conveyed in previous despatches as well as in his last to the Emperor. Tarbes left no copies of them behind him; he only said that the letters existed, and this statement was confirmed no later than yesterday by the Pope himself. Has, nevertheless, heard from another source that Tarbes really left the copies of such letters behind him, as well as of the King's answers, and that they are actually in Rome. Will do everything in his power to procure them.*

Monaco and the Grimaldi.

Hears that in the matrimonial cause of England the article lately discussed has been decided in favour of the Queen. Cardinal Caietano has rendered great service by writing in favour of the Queen.

Savoy, &c.

Indorsed: "From Miçer Mai, 10th November. Received at Brussels on the 27th."

Spanish. Abstract made for the Emperor's inspection. pp. 2.

11 Nov. **829.** News from Constantinople.

S. E. L. 852, f. 138.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 37.

Advices from Constantinople of the 11th of November give it as certain that next March the Turkish fleet, consisting of 300 large galleys, 50 "bastarde," and 70 "sottile," and 150 more sail fit for the carrying of horses and provisions, will visit the coasts of Puglia (Apulia). Abrahino (Ibrahim Pasha) with 40,000 assapi† and 10,000 janissaries is soon to join this fleet in whatever river is considered most fit for the embarkation of men and horses.

The Sultan himself to invade the dominions of His Imperial Majesty and of the king of the Romans at the head of 150,000 horse and an immense number of foot.

The writer being a Christian considers it his duty to tender this information, which, however, is kept so secret between the Grand Turk, Abrahim (Ibrahim) his vizier, and Aloyse (Luigi) Gritti, that nobody in these parts of the Levant knows a word about it.

The advices from Persia are that the Sophi has sent to request the Turk to allow free passage to his ambassadors, and has at the same time made his excuses‡ for what was done to Justiniano, throwing all the blame upon an old and

* "Que ahun ayer me lo dixo otra vez el Papa, pero por otra via he sabido que es aqui la copia de la carta que [aquellos] escrivieron, de la qual son las respuestas que me han mandado enbiar; trabajo por haverla y embiarla (*sic*) á V. M^{d}."

† Assaphi, or spahi, a Turkish Militia.

‡ "Et si e scusato di quella cosa dil Justiniano, imputando un suo grande et vecchio [amico] al quale prestaua molta fede, et li ha fatto mozzare la testa come piu a pieno lo fara intendere per essi oratori, et che vuol esser suo figliuolo et servitore [e] che non duvitano punto di quelle bande."

1531

intimate friend of his in whom he trusted. The Sophi, moreover, had caused the man to be beheaded, and sent a message that he is willing to live in terms of friendship with the Sultan, &c.

You may give our Lord good hope that if His Holiness will, or can, bring about an agreement between Christian princes, all this storm will clear away before next March.

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

14 Nov. **830.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 859, f. 106.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 38.

. . . . . .

(*Cipher :*) Having last night inquired from His Holiness whether there was any news from France, as I heard that the ambassador of that country had been long closeted with him, he said to me: "No; there is nothing new, save that the Frenchman told me two very big lies, as he is in the habit of doing. One is that he had no letters from home respecting Mr. de Bayonne's [Jean du Bellay] embassy to England and to the Emperor, for the purpose, as it was said, of consulting his master on certain matters. The other lie was that the Emperor was daily importuning for an interview, which I know for certain is not the case."

The Pope also told me that having seen and read the letters which the kings of France and England had written to the Lutherans, he observed to the ambassador how improper it was for two Christian princes like them to write in that strain, since not only did they actually shew an inclination to help and favour the said Lutherans, but encouraged them to ask that the Council should be one of their own making, not a true and œcumenical one, as Your Majesty proposed. His Holiness added that he had asked for a copy of the said letters, but this the ambassador refused to give under various pleas.

With regard to the contribution, it is settled that since the Italian Estates will not come down with the money, His Holiness the Pope will dispose freely of what is his own, and establish the tithe at Milan, as well as at Ferrara, including Modena and Rezo (Reggio) still under dispute, &c.—Rome, 14th November 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 2½.

20 Nov. **831.** NEWS of the TURK and of the LUTHERANS sent from GERMANY.

S. E. L. 365, f. 128.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 40.

A messenger just returned from Constantinople says that the Grand Turk (Solyman) was already cured of his late disease "il morbo caduco," but was still very pale. He had given permission to four "sangiacs," or corsairs, to arm against all Christians except the king of Poland, Venice, and their tributaries.

1531.

Ybrayn Bassa had been ill with fever, but had recovered. Aloisio* Gritti was still at Constantinople; his brother Giorgio was sick in bed.

The ambassador of Pedro Pereni (?) arrived at Constantinople and stayed there from the 16th of September to the 18th of October. He had presented Ibrahim with a large precious stone. It was not known yet what he would give to the Grand Turk, for he had had no audience yet. It was stated there at Constantinople that Peter Pereni had asked to be the vassal of the Turk without depending upon Johannes Sceputiensis.†

Orders have been issued for Ibrahim and the rest to get ready for war with the king of the Romans (Ferdinand) and the whole of Germany. The Purveyor-General is to see that arms, provisions, and all kinds of ammunition be prepared. Great stores are being made at Belgrade, and likewise by sea. The Grand Turk says that he will expel the Portuguese from Calicut, for which end he is now fitting out 100 galleys in the ports of the Red Sea.

Ibrahim Bassá is asking the Venetians to deliver into his hands the Grand Master of St. John [of Jerusalem] on account of his having attempted to take Modon from them, and he threatens that if they do not he will try, no matter how, to get him into his possession.

What was said about a man who had fallen down from Heaven was a complete hoax.

The Turk is sending much powder and shot, and all kinds of ammunition of war down the Danube to Belgrade, which is rather a sign of war.

Spanish. pp. 3.

Headed: "Abstract of letters from Bucignola of the 20th of November."

20 Nov. **832.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 100.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 33.

Has received the Emperor's letters of the 22nd ult° brought by Diego Jayme [de Haro]. Communicated with cardinal d'Osma and Jo. Ant. Muscettola (*sic*) according to orders, and gave the Pope the letter which came for him. He (Mai) and his colleagues have since pressed him hard about the contribution, and it has been agreed that a tithe shall be imposed on all those Italian churches which have not been taxed before.

His Holiness was glad to hear of the Emperor's determination to succour the Swiss, and more particularly of the election‡ made at Ratisbon. "That election (he said) will

* Alvise or Luigi, though the copy from Simancas reads distinctly *Alonso*. The "Gritti," both natural sons of doge Andrea, were two, *Giorgio* and *Aloise* or *Luigi*. They are often mistaken one for the other in this correspondence. See above pp. 210 and 219.

† Johannes Sceputiensis is meant for Giovanni Sepusio, as the Italians generally called John Zapoli or Zapolski, the vayvod of Transylvania, who assumed the title of king of Hungary.

‡ That of Ferdinand as king of the Romans, which took place in November 1530; the coronation on the 10th of January 1531.

1531.

perhaps prevent the Turk from invading Germany, since the new king of the Romans is thus more bound to the defence of the empire and of Christendom at large."

All the news we have of the Turk is that he is at present strengthening his Indian fleet for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese. Rodrigo Niño's next letter will tell us whether the last news from Ragusa is true or not. He (Mai) does not enclose the account by this post because he gave it to the cardinal [of Osma] to read, and the latter has not yet returned it.

As he has already informed His Majesty, cardinal Tarbes (Gabriel de Grammont) did not leave behind him when he went away a copy of the letters which he said the duke of Saxony, landgrave [of Hesse], and others had written to the king of France. Has since discovered that he really left one which he has procured, as well as the answers from the King. Encloses them for the Emperor's perusal.*

A cardinal's hat for the lord of Monego (Monaco) has again been applied for. The Emperor's orders shall be punctually obeyed in this particular, and every effort made, but he (Mai) cannot help observing that the Pope seems exceedingly reluctant, and will not easily grant it. The queen of France (Eleanor) sent some time ago an express to recommend the archbishop of Toulouse† for one. He (Mai) spoke earnestly to the Pope to prevent this, and the consequence was that the hat was refused, but all the same Monaco did not get his.

The Venetian negotiation and appointment of a super-arbiter to decide the questions still pending between them and the king of the Romans.

Will give cardinal Pistoya‡ the Emperor's letter. The pension of 2,000 ducats which his uncle [Lorenzo] was to have may now be disposed of in favour of some other cardinal.

The Pope was glad of the arrival of Juan Vincle§ He asked when the Auditor was coming who was to fill the vacant post at the Rota. If he has not started by this time, orders should be sent to him to Spain to hasten his departure, for certainly his presence here at Rome is most wanted just now.

Has now received from Spain the greater part of the affidavits (*probanças*) so that the affair is in very good train. *Was told yesterday in great secrecy that this article now being interposed has already been voted in our favour*, and fancies that the votes gained by the opposite party in Paris will be the cause of the justice of our cause being declared the sooner.

* Not in the Archives.

† Jean d'Orleans from 1503 to his death, on the 24th of September 1533. Seven months before, in February, he had been appointed cardinal Sancti Martini in Montibus.

‡ Antonio Pucci or Puggi, for I find his name written in both ways, bishop of Pistoia in Tuscany, and cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor; his uncle (Lorenzo) mentioned a little lower down, died on the 16th of September 1531.

§ An individual of this name, an engraver by profession, lived about this time at Saragossa.

1531.

That is the reason why he (Mai) said in his last despatch that he would take advantage of cardinal Caietano (Gaetano) having once written in our favour.*

With regard to the duke of Savoy's promised help there is no counting upon it just now, for the report is that he has already made, or is about to make soon his peace with the Lutherans.

Not a word more has been said about the Council since the Emperor told us not to mention it any longer. These Romans, however, dread it, because they say it will be the natural consequence of this next Diet.

His Holiness is quite convinced of the Emperor's good intentions towards him. Neither respecting the Ferrara business nor in the matter of the intercepted letters has he now any suspicions. He denied having ever given orders to enlist troops in the estates of the Church, and as to the commissary, who was collecting the tithes at Modena, the thing was actually stopped before the Emperor's letter arrived.

With regard to the *Duchessina's marriage*† the Emperor's instructions have been followed to the letter. Told the Pope that were there any chance of that peace being solidly established through the marriage of his niece to the son of the king of France, His Majesty would have no objection whatever to make; but as he did not believe in that he much preferred the other alliance (that of the duke of Milan). The Pope approved of this, and said to him smiling: "The French ambassador at the Emperor's court *is a liar and a scoundrel; you should always be on the alert with him.*"

The man who spoke to the Pope about the reduction of the city of Nüremberg and of the duke of Saxony was a private merchant (*privado mercader*). His Holiness says that the Emperor's advice shall be followed in this as in other matters.

Respecting the Duchess' journey,‡ he said that she might come when the Emperor pleased, but that winter having now set in he thought she had better remain where she was until next summer.

The duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) has been requested by the king of France to marry a sister§ of Mr. del Abrid (Labrit). His answer was that his marriage was to be treated with the Emperor. These negotiations have been carried on by a certain captain Maravella, of Milan, the same gentleman who afterwards went to Venice to try and engage count Guido Rangone for the service of France. As the Count happened not to be

* "Y por esta causa dixe [en mi ultima] que me aprovecharia del cardenal Cayetano por haver escrito en favor nuestro."

† Catherine or Caterina de' Medici, generally called la Duchessina, or the little Duchess, owing to her being the daughter of Juliano, duke of Urbino.

‡ By "the Duchess" Margarita, the Emperor's natural daughter, who was to be married to Alessandro de' Medici, duke of Penna, is here meant.

§ Jeanne, daughter of Henri II., she married in 1541 William duke of Cleves.

1531.

in Venice at the time he (Mai) has not heard anything more about him.—Rome, 20th November 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

22 Nov. **833.** Queen Katharine to Eustace Chapuys.

S. E. L. 22, f. 228.

Ambassador: Your letter by the Licentiate (?) was duly received, as likewise that which came with it [from Rome]. I will not conceal from you that both gave me much pain, for they re-opened all my wounds, proving as they do that justice which should never be refused to any human creature, is entirely withheld from me and from my daughter. Indeed, that justice which we all are bound to seek and give is forcibly taken from us under colour of political considerations. I do not ask His Holiness to go to war, because that is a thing that I would rather die than provoke. I only ask for true justice, for I have been appealing to him, the Vicar of God on Earth, and to his Court and Rota for nearly six years, and his tardiness in sentencing my case has caused me such distress as is patent to everyone. Now that I am almost at the end [of my troubles] should definitive sentence be pronounced in this my case I shall have to begin by accepting certain proposals which two years ago my Lord, the King, and his Council made me, and which I, for the sake of my soul and conscience, then refused, certain as I was that they were only devices to prolong the negotiation that I might in the meantime be conquered by a greater power than the one at my command. Since then I have received most grave injuries, and when I think of my innocence in this case, of the separation between my Lord and me, of his leaving me behind at Windsor without any knowledge on my part of his reason for so doing, and of his having since married another woman without obtaining a divorce I am almost in dispair. As this last act was done whilst the suit is still pending at Rome, and in defiance of him who has the power of God upon Earth to whom only I applied for justice, I cannot do less than pen these lines which I cover with my tears for the purpose of confiding to you as a friend what I feel and suffer at heart, and to beseech you for the love of God to help me to bear this cross of tribulation, and write to His Majesty to relieve my sufferings by commanding his ambassadors at Rome to solicit the definitive sentence as soon as possible. I have no other remedy left but this. Should a just one be pronounced many souls that are now in danger of perdition shall be saved, since far from profiting by what was said and treated at Bologna, they took it as a sort of encouragement for this second marriage, though in truth it was not so. This next Parliament, I am told, is to decide whether I and my

1531.

daughter are to suffer martyrdom, which I hope to God will be for her and for me a meritorious act as we shall suffer for the sake of truth, trusting that although all the world abandon us in this emergency we shall not lose the joy and pleasures of the other. Many thanks to you for the trouble you are taking for our sake.—Bugden, 22nd November.

Signed: "Katharine."

I beg of you to send off these letters as soon as possible, that the many offences being done to God may be avoided. It is far worse to suffer his punishment for having neglected this duty, and I am more afraid of that than of all the tribulations and sorrows which in this world may come over me. Let the Imperial advocates at Rome insist on the cause being determined without waiting for an answer from their Lord and master. Such is my determination and will; His Majesty commands it. Write for God's sake to the High Commander of Leon (Covos) and to Monseigneur de Granvela thanking them in my name for the care they take of my affairs, and begging them to excuse me if I do not write to them.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

23 Nov. **834.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 99.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 42.

Wrote by the last post that in consequence of the English king's letter to his ambassadors having been rejected, he (Ortiz) had profited by the circumstance to push on the proceedings. The Rota has since confirmed the sentence then given, and decided that the English excusator shall not be heard. The decision, however, must pass through the Consistory, and that being done we shall go on with the suit. Of course the English ambassadors will throw as many impediments in our way as they possibly can, pretending to adduce proofs and lawyers' opinions to shew that their king is not obliged to appear here at Rome personally or by proxy, but when the decision of the Rota comes to be confirmed in Consistory—and there can be no doubt that it will be done, and soon—then we shall proceed by contumacy (*por contradictas*) unless the King's excusator produces a new mandate.

The cardinal of Santiago de Compostella (Tavera), has sent us the affidavits (*probanzas*) from Spain, and likewise the summary of certain legal inquiries (*informaciones*) to ensure the better issue of this cause, in which I intend to present two different allegations, one short and concise, intended for the cardinals and the auditors of the Rota, another more extensive, which I have decided to put into print.—Rome, 23rd November 1531.

Signed: "Doctor Ortiz."

23 Nov. **835.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 854, f. 99.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 42.

Wrote by the last post advising the progress made in the English business since the vacations, and sent a copy of the King's letter to his ambassadors, w hich was not accepted as a

1531.

mandate for them to plead in his name. After this the majority of the auditors in the Rota decided that the English excusator (Karne), who had come to Rome on behalf of the kingdom should not be heard. It now remains for the Consistory of Cardinals to confirm the said decision, which it is to be hoped will soon be done, though the English ambassadors and the excusator himself are throwing every possible obstacle in the way of that body saying that they wish to bring forward lawyers' opinions to prove that the King, their master, is not obliged to appear personally or by proxy in this suit.

As soon as the Consistory of Cardinals shall confirm the above decision of the Rota, the cause shall be proceeded with by contumacy (*por contradictas*), unless there should be a new mandate.

The cardinal of Compostella (Santiago) has sent the evidence obtained in Spain, besides certain documents to be exhibited in the defence, of which it is his (Ortiz's) intention to make two different abstracts, one short and concise, to put into the hands of these cardinals and auditors of the Rota, the other fuller, to have it printed.—Rome, 23rd November 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

25 Nov. **836.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 114.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 45.

Has received the Imperial letter of the 22nd ult°. Nothing new has occurred in the English cause since the vacations, except the rejection by the Rota of the excusator's application. It has been decided that the King's letter to his ambassadors could not be taken as a mandate or new commission to plead. It is for the Cardinals' Consistory now to approve of that determination, and for the Rota to proceed by contumacy. This once done a sentence will be obtained on the principal point, so that the cause may be perfectly declared and settled and no more doubts entertained for the future, which is the principal point in his charge.

The last portion of the apology written by the bishop of Rochester (Rofense) has come to hand, which is such as was to be anticipated from his great learning and sound doctrine. He (Ortiz) loves and respects the Bishop for his strenuous efforts to uphold our holy Catholic Faith, and also because he is adorned with the learning, gifts, and virtues which all cardinals ought to have.

Thinks that the patriarch of the Indies (archbishop of Bari) must have reported on the injury inflicted at Guadalajara by the servants and retainers of Don Martin de Mendoza, upon an Apostolic Nuncio sent expressly for the purpose of putting him (Ortiz) in possession of an ecclesiastical benefice. This being the cause of the Holy See rather than

1531.

his own, he (Ortiz) cannot do less than claim the Emperor's favour. The Pope knowing the justice of his case has ordered his Apostolic Chamber to proceed in this affair, but he (Ortiz) has declined to send in the report (*informacion*), which at his own request came from Spain, until he hears whether the Emperor is willing for him to prosecute, after nine years' unlawful detention his just claim to what belongs to him by right, as secretary Covos cannot fail to report.—Rome, 25th November 1531.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

25 Nov. **837.** The EMPEROR to PROTHONOTARY MARINO CARACCIOLO.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 204.
R. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 44.

(*Cipher:*) Respecting the Switzers, We told you at the time what our intentions were, and what We intended doing by way of helping them against the Lutherans. After writing to His Holiness on the subject it was agreed that a succour of 8,000 ducats and 2,000 Italian hackbutiers should be sent to them, half on our account and half on that of His Holiness, though to avoid further complications and not to raise the suspicions of our neighbours, it was resolved that it should appear as if His Holiness, out of his own free will and without any assistance from us, had furnished the whole.

You must try to persuade the duke [of Savoy] to do the same, for it is but just that he also should help the enterprize, and let him not excuse himself by saying that the Lutheran cantons complain of his having allowed people from his estates to go to the assistance of the Catholics. You will endeavour to induce him [the Duke] to temporize with the said Lutherans and nowise furnish them the 2,000 hackbutiers for which they say they ask him.

We have written to His Holiness, as We now do again, to send to Switzerland some person of trust to encourage the Catholic cantons.

We do not consider it prudent under present circumstances to take any part of our Italian army for this or any other service, and therefore you will take care that the hackbutiers be all Italians and none of our own, for they can be easily recruited.

We have seen the articles sent by the castellan of Mus.

Spanish. Ciphered minute in the handwriting of Idiaquez.

25 Nov. **838.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. *Wien, Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 48.

The letters which Your Majesty was pleased to send by Master Jean de la Saulx,* were duly received, together with the papers and instructions relating to the intercourse of trade,

* Jean de le Sauch was his name; not to be mistaken for La Chaulx (Charles), as many before me have done. The former was ambassador from Margaret to Henry in 1525–6.

1531.

about which we both have been negotiating, but as the said La Saulx [on his return to Brussels] cannot fail to make his official report, and relate all the conversations and debates we have had on the subject with the King's Privy Councillors, I shall only add that I am afraid the work will be more costly than profitable, for considering the manner in which these people proceed, and that they are already in possession of all the advantages of international trade with us, it will be very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to make them come to the point and listen to reason. But, on the other hand, if this affair is of such importance for Your Majesty and for your subjects of the Low Countries as Master La Saulx represents, and if at the time when the peace of Cambray was concluded and sworn to it was considered both reasonable and equitable to attend to the mutual requests and representations of the parties at the conferences to be held at Cambray as well as here, *it strikes me that we can now, without infringing the said treaties, look to our interests and have them revised,* which might, in my opinion, be the means of bringing these people to their senses.* *Indeed the opportunity seems to me most favourable, for the English, who are certainly very fond of Your Majesty,* will find their affection for you diminish in proportion as their interests are attacked, and will naturally impute the injury of the said measures to a retaliation for their poor and wretched treatment of their queen. There will be plenty of means of inculcating this idea in the minds of the people, especially through the merchants frequenting the ports of the Low Countries, who will not fail to acquaint their correspondents in England with the prevailing state of things. In this manner merchants and workmen of this country will be induced to address petitions to Parliament, and strongly remonstrate against the manner in which the Queen is treated (this being considered the principal cause of Your Majesty's displeasure), or at least to prevent the King from carrying his plan into execution. This would seem a more profitable, honourable, and safe course to pursue than that of using harsh and strong language as the Queen recommends.

I submit this plan to Your Majesty's consideration, and beg to be excused if I have ventured to offer my poor advice on such matters. My own duty, the pity I feel for the Queen, and the wretched state of her affairs—which is growing worse and worse every day—compels me to offer the above remarks. Indeed, not only is there no probability at present of the King sending for her, but on the contrary it would seem as if he wanted her further off, *for the Lady commands absolutely, and her will is done in all things, so much so that Jocquin*

* "Pourquoy sembleroit [il] si cest affaire este (estoit?) de telle impourtance et preiudice pour vostre maieste et ses subiectz que ma fait entendre le dit Maistre Jehan, et quil fust trouve par raison et equite, actendues les requestes et interpellations, de dresser iournee tant a Cambray que yci du temps que la paix fust iuree, et maintenant que lon peust sans infraction des traictez pourveoir des maintenant."

1531.

having told her some days ago that she would soon be Queen, and that Your Majesty would make no opposition, she answered deliberately that she was nowise anxious for the crown, or for her own happiness, if they were to come from your hands.

The King has had his book printed in English and has caused it to be distributed all over the kingdom, that he may (as I presume) attract the attention and win over the people to his opinion against the new meeting of Parliament. The bishop of Rochester has also completed his answer to the King's book. I enclose the last part, that it may be forwarded to Rome, for it is a remarkable work of its kind and cannot fail marvellously to help the Queen's cause.

Not to trouble Your Majesty further I omit other news, as I have no doubt that Master Jehan de la Saulx will duly report them on his arrival.—London 25th November anno XXXI.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, the 25th November. Received the 9th of December."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

27 Nov. **839.** MARTIN DE SALINAS to KING FERDINAND.

M. Re. Ac. d. Hist., *Salazar*, c. 71, 55 v°.

Received on the 25th inst. in the morning His Highness' despatches of the 16th, and delivered the letters that came for the Emperor, and which His Majesty read in his presence, stopping from time to time and answering its paragraphs one by one. With regard to his journey [to the Diet], and the difficulties detailed in the memorandum, the Emperor observed that His Highness was quite right in his suspicions. So great have hitherto been the obstacles by which His Imperial Majesty has been surrounded that he has actually been prevented from going to Germany, as he fully intended. This, notwithstanding, he has now sent the marquis of Brandemburgh (Frederic) to the prince-electors to inform them of his speedy departure, and sound them as to their intentions. All have answered through the said Marquis that they are ready to accompany and escort the Emperor, and that they will meet him at any town on the road. This offer of some of the electors to make part of the journey with the Emperor naturally entails upon him the duty of conversing with them, respecting the affairs to be discussed at the Diet, and for this reason he wishes to know as soon as possible what His Highness' views are on those matters, and whether the Lutherans are to be dealt with mildly or with rigour, and to ascertain also in either case how far the electors are prepared to follow his steps, because should their views coincide with his own the Emperor will not hesitate to grapple at once with the difficulty.

1531.

Respecting the Swiss, the Emperor does not seem to agree entirely, though he approves of the ways and means proposed in His Highness' note, yet he thinks for many weighty considerations that some modification ought to be introduced. Cornieles (*sic*),* who starts to-morrow, will take a memorandum with the Emperor's views on the subject.

To the letters received on St. Katharine's Day the Emperor did not answer as soon as he wished, being then engaged in making preparations for his departure, which will take place very shortly. He is to be at Tournay on St. Andrew's Day, stay there eight days, and then come back to Brussels. This seems to be the route decided upon, for he intended at first to return by Bruges and Enberes (Antwerp). At any rate he will pass the Epiphany at Cologne (Kohl).

Delivered his letters to the queen of Hungary (Mary), and also to Monsieur de Nasao (count of Nassau). The latter had on that very day received his brother's answer respecting the governorship of Wurtemberg offered to him, and had forwarded it to Rocandorf.† The substance of which answer is that the Count's brother does not find it easy to do what is asked of him, principally for fear of the landgrave [of Hesse] who might easily destroy him. It was then agreed that Nassau, Rocandorf, and he (Salinas) should meet at Tournay, and there discuss the matter together. Will do so when he next joins them.

The queen of Portugal (Catalina) has been confined of a son. To-day, Monday [the 27th], he [Salinas] intends leaving for Tournay. The Emperor has given orders for the whole of his household to be ready to start on the 15th of next month.—Brussels, the 27th of November 1531.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 3.

28 Nov. **840.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor (?)

S. E. L. 854, f. 114.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 45.

Has received the Imperial letter of the 22nd of October.

Great progress has been made since the holidays in the matrimonial cause of England. The King's irreverent letter has nowise been accepted as sufficient credential for his envoy. The Rota, by a majority of votes, has declared the opposition of the King to the Pope's orders for the advocation of the cause to be null and void, and that the person sent to excuse his non-appearance at Rome is not to be heard. These decisions have not yet been published because they must first pass through a Consistory of Cardinals and be approved. The debate and pleading to begin as soon as the Consistory has given its verdict on this point, and the whole cause may soon be finished. There never was a more just case than this one of the Queen, and its final decision can hardly be doubtful.

Has duly received the second part of the apology of the

* Cornilles or Corneil, that is Peter Cornelis Duplicius Scepperus, about whom see vol. iv., part 2, pp. 577–9.

† "Y este mismo dia hera (*sic*) benido el criado que avia embiado a su hermano sobre lo que se le avia escripto sobre la gobernacion de Biertanberge, la qual respuesta abia ynviado a Rocandorf."

1531.

bishop of Rochester (Fisher) on the divorce case. His opinion is distinguished by great learning.

The servants of Don Martin de Mendoza have, he hears, insulted the Papal Nuncio. Begs that prompt satisfaction be given to that functionary.—Rome, 28th November 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To His Imperial and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord.*"

Indorsed: "From Dr. Ortiz. 28th November."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

30 Nov. **841.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 98. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 69.

Received on the 16th inst. his Majesty's letter of the 31st ult° and 6th inst. Three days after the servant of prince Bisignano came with the duplicates of the same date.

After communicating with cardinal d'Osma and Mugettola (*sic*) he (Mai) waited upon His Holiness, and gave him the Emperor's message. He was very glad of it, and said at once that he would willingly go on with his monthly contribution towards the expenses of the Imperial army. If he had at times delayed the payment it was no fault of his. If we could only point out to him whence he could draw money it should not be wanting.

With regard to the 2,000 hackbutiers for the Swiss there is no difficulty at all; the Pope will pay one half and His Majesty the other. To his demand that captain Zuccharo should at once take the command of them, he (Mai) objected that it had been agreed to keep the matter secret, and make as if the whole of the contingent were defrayed by the Pope; for this reason it was preferable that the nomination should come from him through Caracciolo, who is still at Milan, and will know perfectly well how to conduct this business. But His Majesty should know that this affair cannot be a secret in Italy, because the Legate has already written about it from that Imperial court; the Pope himself has told some of the foreign ambassadors of it, and has besides applied to Venice and Milan for help. He himself (Mai) has written to Rodrigo Niño about it, and, therefore, the secret is by this time in everybody's mouth. That ambassador, however, writes that the Venetians refuse to help, pretending that His Majesty had already attempted to have these matters settled pacifically at a Diet, but had failed, and also that the duke of Milan intended trying to adjust the differences of the Swiss cantons. With these and other like excuses Venice shirks helping the Catholic cantons of Switzerland against the Lutheran.

(*Cipher:*) Since the receipt of these last letters from His Majesty, the Pope fancies that the negotiation now being carried on with the duke of Milan [Francesco Sforza] is not to his advantage, and though he does not entirely disapprove

* So in the indorsement, but most probably to the High Commander, since its contents are nearly the same as those of No. 836.

1531.

of the proposed marriage it is easy to perceive that he dislikes it.

He (Mai) has at other times spoken his mind openly. He cannot help thinking that these Roman ecclesiastics seem very much inclined to this war between the Swiss cantons, and that the warmth they shew is more owing to other causes than to their zeal for the Faith. However, should war be rekindled among the Swiss, and should the Lutherans have the best of it (which God forbid), they of themselves will do little towards the protection of the Catholics, &c.*

Asked the Pope, according to His Majesty's commands, what his wishes were in this particular matter. His answer was that since the enterprize (*empresa*) had commenced it was necessary to persevere in it. Having on another occasion inquired what he meant by persevering, he answered: "I mean going on upon the terms the Emperor wishes," and upon my again entreating him to specify those terms as Your Majesty desired to know how to act in the matter, he returned the same answer, namely: "Let the Emperor's commands be done," from which he (Mai) concludes that the Pope would be glad of succour being sent to the Catholic cantons. Another day he said he was sorry that the 5,000 men enlisted for the Danish affair had been dismissed, because, he said, with that force and that which could be recruited here [in Italy] the Swiss Lutherans might easily have been kept in check.

(*Cipher:*) The copy of the letter of the Imperial ambassador in France, which His Majesty forwarded no one saw but cardinal Osma. Everywhere the restless ambition, bad intentions, and folly of the French shew themselves. Their ambassador here is continually asking the Pope why he gives money to his enemies, meaning His Majesty, and his brother, the king of the Romans. They believe that His Holiness is only your friend in appearance, and because he cannot help himself.

The Emperor must have been informed that the galleys and other war ships of France are now stopping all Spanish vessels at sea, and robbing the passengers of their goods and merchandize on the plea that they are Genoese and belong to that port. He (Mai) happening the other day to mention this subject before the Pope he said: "There can be no doubt that the intentions of the French are very evil; before March next we shall hear what they are about." Hearing this he

* "Yo por mi sé decir que me paresce que estos clerigos van muy encaminados á esta guerra, y el calor que muestran para ella es mas que no el zelo de la fe, y si la guerra, lo que Dios no quiera, engrossasse, ellos seran muy poca parte para ello, mayormente teniendo Vrã Magd. tantos principes enbidiosos de su grandeza; y como quier que todas las vitorias sean gloriosas, principalmente contra sus subditos, y mucho mas las que son por servicio de Dios y por la fee, tambien suelen ser dubias y á lo menos trabajosas, y crea Vrã Magd. que los de aca no tienen fin sino á lo que les está bien, y pienso que seria buen seso hacer lo mismo, y asi no podria sino mucho aprovechar este bollicio, y este socorro de los cinco cantones pues que con el perderan animo los desviados de la fe y Vrã Magt. podra tomar con ellos el asiento que fuere servido syn esperar de llegar las cosas al extremo." The whole of the paragraph is in cipher.

1531.

(Mai) asked him whether he had any particular information to go upon; he said he had none, but that such was his impression.

Told him also that the king of France and his sons would infallibly come to a bad end, for he had lately seen it in an astrological prediction (*pronosticos de astrologia*) which he promised to shew him, though what with his mourning [for his brother], and the Pope's own illness (for he has been five or six days laid up with the gout) he has not yet been able to do so.

(*Common writing:*) The king of England has here among his ambassadors a lawyer (*letrado*), the same who accompanied Your Majesty from Bologna. They say that he enjoys the confidence of his master, and that he has now sent for him. Some say that it is for the purpose of ascertaining the real state of the matrimonial suit, and what they think of it, both here and in the rest of Italy. The Pope has sent by him several briefs to the King, exhorting him to adhere to the cause (*al bien de la causa*). The Englishman is an honest man, and I am sure will do all he can for the good issue of this affair, though, at the same time, I am afraid because hitherto my anticipations in such matters have always been disappointed. And I say this that Your Majesty may be informed that when the French ambassador heard of these briefs—which the Pope is now sending to the king of England—he went up to him and complained bitterly of his writing to the King, and, moreover, dispatching the English ambassador with letters without acquainting him of their contents, or letting him know of the ambassador's departure. The Pope excused himself, saying that the ambassador was going back to England at the King's summons, and that the briefs were only answers to certain letters from the King. Still the French ambassador grumbled, and said that if the Pope wanted anything from the king of England he ought first to acquaint his master with it; in that manner and through his means he might obtain what he wanted, otherwise he would never get anything from the English.

A post has lately arrived from France. All he brings are complaints of the Duchessina's contemplated marriage [to the duke of Milan], and the proposal of an interview between His Holiness and the Most Christian King. This interview has been solicited no less than 11 different times in this year, and I recollect that about eight months ago speaking to the Pope about it, he said to me that *on no account would he consent to it.* He is still *in the very same mood,* and continues to think that these insane Frenchmen will one of these days *commit some extraordinary act,* and that we ought to be prepared, &c.

Cardinal Osma is urging the Pope to arrange the *Milan marriage,* and although His Holiness is continually promising that he will see to it, I am afraid that he will do nothing of

1531.

the sort, for in this matter he is likely to gain by delay, as he once did with the French. I will, however, go on with my solicitations as if I were ignorant of the Pope's intentions.

Cardinal Colonna promises to send shortly from Naples, not only the pay for the army, but also the 4,000 ducats for the Swiss, and whatever else may be needed for the hackbutiers. All that is required, for the marquis del Gasto (Vasto) writes from the camp very much disgusted at his not having received funds.

Contract with Ansaldo Grimaldo not approved of in Naples.

The Pope is urgently asking for the auditor from Castille, who is to fill the vacent seat here in the Rota.

The duke of Milan is pressing hard the castellan of Mus, which, joined to the rumour that was spread the other day of the Imperial army being about to enter the Val Tellina, has caused the Grisons to withdraw from the Swiss Lutherans, with whom they had formed a confederacy.

The duke of Mantua (Federico Gonzaga) has arrived in Rome with his wife, the Duchess. The river had flooded its banks much more than last September, the consequence being that the damage caused by the inundation has been very great.

P.S.—After the above was written, I had again occasion to confer with His Holiness on the affairs of France. He told me that the count of Geneva was about to institute a law-suit against the duke of Savoy, his brother, claiming for himself one half of Piedmont; lawyers on each side were to meet, and some excitement prevailed. (*Cipher :*) The Pope told me that all this was owing to the king of France stirring up (*solevanta*) the Count, and that he had heard some one say that he wanted to become a "condottiero."* Having asked him whether it was the Count, he said "No, another man," but he did not say whom. He also told me that the duke of Savoy had signified to cardinal Ybrea,† who belongs to the French party, that he was not much pleased with cardinal Moriana, who is now Papal Legate in Savoy, and that if he wanted to become such he would have the former recalled and himself appointed in his room ; *which intelligence, if true, seems likewise rather strange.*

As it is publicly stated in the streets of Rome that the king of France has summoned (*citado*) the duke of Savoy, I asked him what for, and what he knew of it. He answered that he was not aware that he had done it yet, but that certainly he was threatening to summon him, or seize Nizza, which he says was pawned [by a king of France to a duke of Savoy], and that he now wishes it back. The Pope then added that the Most Christian King was doing all this out of spite for the cession of Asti to the Duke.

* "Y mas dixo ; que un otro le avia hecho entender que se queria levantar por capitan aventurero."

† Philiberto Ferrerio, bishop of Ibrea, and cardinal from 1518 to 1551.

1531.

(*Cipher:*) I also asked him what had been the result of the negotiations of which he spoke to me some time ago as having been entered into with the people of Nüremberg, the duke of Saxony, and others who had forsaken the Faith. His answer was that he had very recently received letters from the person in charge of the said negotiations, saying that the inhabitants of that city, and others he had spoken with, were ready to treat, but had referred him to what the duke of Saxony himself would say, and that he had accordingly gone to his court to inquire.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Oiginal in cipher. pp. 7.

30 Nov. **842.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 98.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 50.

. . . . . .

The king of England has here now, among other ambassadors, a lawyer (*letrado*) who accompanied Your Majesty from Bologna to Mantua (?), and they say that he trusts him much. He has now sent for him, for the sake, as many here believe, of hearing his opinion about the state of the matrimonial cause in Italy and here at Rome. By him His Holiness is sending to the King some briefs, wherein he exhorts him to work for the good issue of the matrimonial cause. The lawyer is certainly an honest man, and I believe will do all the good he can for the affair, but I trust slightly in such hopes because I have found them often deceitful and vain.

And I say this because I hear that when the French ambassador heard that the Pope was writing, or had written to the king [of England], he was jealous, and went to the Pope and complained of his being actually in correspondence with England without his knowing anything about it. "That was a thing (he said) which ought not to be done without the knowledge and consent of his master, the king of France." The ambassador would never rest until the Pope had completely undeceived him, and said it was not he who had sent the English ambassador back with letters; he had gone to England by the King's commands. The dispute ended by the French ambassador telling the Pope that in future, if he wanted anything from the king of England, he had better inform him of it, that the King, his master, might intercede and get it for him, otherwise (he added): "Your Holiness will never obtain your wishes."

Lastly a courier has come from France. He only brings complaints of the Duchessina's intended marriage to the duke Sforza, and the request of an interview of the Most Christian King with His Holiness. This is not the first time that a similar application has been made this year, for upwards of eight months ago the Pope told me that he had been asked

1531.

for an interview, and that *certainly he would not grant it.* He seems to be now of *the same mode of thinking;* he says that *these madmen* (*locos*) *are sure, sooner or later, to do something strange,** and that we must be prepared to defeat their plans.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 2.

30 Nov. **843.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 135.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 53.

Wrote long ago that the delay (*intermedio*) in the English cause had been voted; but whilst he (Mai) was contriving that the reporting officer (*relator*) should do his duty in Consistory, the English ambassadors presented a petition asking that the article should be disputed in public. Although this seemed to me an empty excuse (*vanedad*) yet, to avoid further delays, I consented to it, considering that the only harm that could come therefrom was delay, and that were I to oppose it they would still insist, and much valuable time would be lost in altercation.† As I am fully convinced that all the harm the English can do us in this cause proceeds from delay, I economize time as much as I can.

After this, for the English have lost all sense of honour and shame, they alleged that they wanted to send for practised lawyers from some parts of Italy, and likewise from other countries, and that four months' time was required for that work. No sooner was I apprized of this fact than I went to the commissary of the trial, and then to the Pope, and said to them all that could modestly be said, and perhaps a little more. I am now informing the cardinals one by one, and my idea is that they will allow the dispute to take place, but nowise the delay of four months that has been asked. I have been told by some of them that in three days' time there will be a Consistory, and that the decision will be as above, so that between the dispute in public and the reference to the Consistory some time will elapse, but we are sure that the article will be passed about Christmas.‡

Dr. Benet, who was here as ambassador, has gone back to England recalled by his master. Some say that he goes for the purpose of telling the truth and informing the King that the matrimonial cause is held in different estimation here from what it is in England or in the King's Privy Council, and that he takes with him a Papal brief of exhortation to the King (*lleva breve exhortatorio*); but we have been so often

* The words in Italics are in cipher.

† "Y si lo pusiera en disputa si [se] deve hacer o no tambien dixeran que se hiziesse, y perdierasse el tiempo en la altercacion."

‡ "Pienso que entre desputar este articulo en publico y referirlo despues en Consistorio, para la Pascua de Navidad ternemos este articulo deciso."

1531.

deceived by such hopes that I dare not trust in him.—Rome 30th November 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "From Mai, 30th November, on the affairs of England.

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

Nov. 30. **844.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 496, f. 107.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 61.

The Emperor's letters of the 6th inst. came duly to hand. The Pope was glad to hear that the cause of the five Catholic Swiss cantons would be taken up. He immediately sent to Milan the money required for the levying of the 1,000 hackbutiers, and pressed us to do the same on our side. As the 4,000 crs. which we expected from Naples were not forthcoming, we have borrowed them from bankers of this city. They must already be in Caracciolo's hands at Milan. To the command of this infantry the Pope has, according to Your Majesty's suggestion, appointed a captain named Zucaro, and in case of his not accepting the charge—which the Pope considers improbable—a comrade of his, now in the marquis [del Vasto's] camp, called Pirro de Cipizano, will be named. The bishop of Veroli is, moreover, to go thither and persuade the Swiss to remain staunch to the Faith.

After this came letters from the Swiss themselves, intimating that their fears had been somewhat allayed. The Lutheran cantons had, as it would appear, retreated, and the Grisons, for fear of our troops in Lombardy entering the Val Tellina, had actually refused their co-operation, and therefore it might after all be that the hackbutiers from Milan were no longer wanted.

Respecting the contribution towards the Imperial army [in Lombardy], His Holiness is as inclined as ever he was; only he says he has no money at all, and that unless we point out to him the way to procure it he does not know how he can remit his contingent. We all have suggested to him that he must levy a tithe on all churches in the Venetian estate, in Mantua, Siena, Genoa, Lucca, the marquisates of Saluzzo and Monferrara, and, in short, on all those Italian estates which did not pay at first.

As the marquis [del Vasto] was continually clamouring for money, and the sums which cardinal Colonna had promised to send from Naples were not forthcoming, he (Muxetula) was obliged to borrow from Ansaldo Grimaldo money enough to pay the army for the next four months, at an interest of 16 %. Finds, however, that the Cardinal and the treasurers at Naples find fault with this contract, saying that the interest is too high, when it is known that they themselves have paid 28.

1531.

The last news from Switzerland is that the Catholic cantons have made a separate agreement with Zurich, and broken the capitulation entered into with the Lutherans (*las tierras Francas Luteranas*). The principal leaders of that sect had abandoned Zurich, and now the chief magistrature is occupied by a man who was a Catholic at heart, and had in former days suffered greatly for his Faith. It was also reported that the said five Catholic cantons were about to march against the Bernese and other Lutherans, and were sanguine for victory, and that the French ambassador was trying all he could to set them at peace, but that the Catholics refused.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 14.

30 Nov. **845.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, ff. 102–3. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 55.

Besides my despatch of the same date which goes with this I consider it my duty to inform Your Majesty of the following facts:—

(*Cipher:*) Since the receipt of Your Majesty's letter of the 6th inst. I have never ceased whenever an opportunity offered itself to press His Holiness respecting the Milanese marriage. I have explained to him that what the king of France wants is to create disturbances in Italy. I have told him that the offers of the French could not be sincere and were only made with a view to disturb the peace of Italy. That peace he and Your Majesty were bound to foster and protect; and certainly the marriage of his niece to the duke [of Milan] and that of his nephew, Alessandro de' Medici, to Your Majesty's daughter (Margaret), which had already been arranged, were in my opinion the most efficacious means of ensuring it.

His Holiness took time to answer, and some days ago told me confidentially that he was of the same opinion as Your Majesty in these matters; he thought that the French were after no good, and said he approved thoroughly of the Milanese marriage, provided Your Majesty undertook the protection of that estate against the French; he alone was not strong enough to defend it. The Venetians (he said) might also help, the more so that they evidently disliked the other marriage of the duke of Orleans. He thought, however, that until the Diet of Ratisbon was at end, and Your Majesty came to Italy, not a word of this ought to be said, and that in the meantime, without altogether dismissing the proposals of the French king, he (the Pope) might go on temporizing with him and raising difficulties so as to get out of the engagement.

The king of France meanwhile has instructed his ambassador to ask for an interview. The Pope has answered that he will with great pleasure meet the Most Christian King at any place that may be agreed between them, but must first apprize Your Majesty with whom he has made a league

1531.

thereof. He could not but use towards you the same courtesy you had used towards him when you announced the interview you intended holding with the king of France. Besides, Your Majesty had promised to come to Italy after the Diet, to discuss with His Holiness the affairs of the Lutherans and of the Turk, and that seemed to him the fittest time and place to hold an interview, the more so that king Francis might then see the Emperor also. It appears that when the French ambassador heard this answer of the Pope he begged him not to write or mention the thing to anyone, as it might happen that his master after hearing His Holiness' reasons would no longer wish for the interview. However this may be, His Holiness is thinking of sending the abbot of Nero to France that he may verbally explain his objections to the proposed interview.

His Holiness also told me that from certain expressions of the French ambassador, as well as from advices received from other quarters, he concluded that the king of France would not let matters rest in Italy as they were at present, but would try to create all manner of troubles. The other day he told me: "The Emperor and I must see what is to be done with this terrible man (meaning king Francis). We must consider war as already commenced; I am sure we shall have it soon, perhaps before the year is over, for the king of England is continually importuning him to break the present peace."

The Swiss Catholic cantons, &c.

The man who went to the duke of Saxony has already done some good at Augusta (Augsburg). He hoped to prevail upon the inhabitants of that city to recall the Dominicans and the Franciscans, who had been expelled therefrom.

Count of Geneva and his quarrel with the duke of Savoy.

French intrigues to get possession of Genoa.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Signed: "Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

[Nov. ?] **846.** The EMPEROR to the POPE.

S. E. L. 854, f. 153.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 82.

Expecting that some resolution would be taken in the matters of the Faith, I have delayed writing to Your Holiness, as Miçer Mai, my ambassador, has no doubt already informed you. Now that all hope of success is lost, I take up my pen to say: that I have seen and much applauded the honourable determination taken by Your Holiness and the cardinals appointed to look into this matter, of allowing the convocation of a General Council. Although many obstacles stood in the way of its celebration, as Your Holiness rightly observes, I always thought that, however great the difficulties, Your Holiness would surmount them, &c.

I had some hopes from what many people here, and the Christian princes, who remain true to their Faith, tell me that the promise by Your Holiness of a General Council would

1531.

have been the means of recalling the heretics from their errors and inducing them to live in the Catholic creed; so at least they asserted by word and writing. Your Legate thought so, that being the reason why I pressed Your Holiness to allow the celebration of a General Council. The result, however, has been contrary to our expectations; the Lutherans persevere in their errors, as Your Holiness will see by the enclosed memorandum. I am, as Your Holiness may imagine, sadly grieved at this result, and at the danger which threatens the whole of Christendom, in a case closely connected with our Faith, which we are all bound to observe. And although no other remedy is, in my opinion, available in this case but the one so often thought of, namely, the convocation of a Council equally demanded by the generality of both Catholics and Lutherans, I have not dared take any engagements respecting this matter owing to the rejection by them of some of the conditions, as for instance that our Holy Mother Church shall be again united, and that they will live and continue in the Faith until the determination of the Council by those sectarians. Which Council, I repeat, all parties are anxious for, and demand—the good Catholics as well as the bad ones—for though the latter asked at first that it should he held with certain conditions of continuity (*con algunas calidades de contino*) they have since desisted upon being told that it will be celebrated at the place and in the manner most befitting Your Holiness' authority, with your perfect will and consent, and with the approbation and advice (*parecer*) of all the princes of Christendom.*

Since Your Holiness asks my advice on these matters I do not hesitate to say that the only remedy to the present evil is the convocation of a General Council, for, in my opinion, the inconveniences pointed out as likely to arise therefrom would certainly be much less than those which are sure to spring up without it. As to the objection that this is not a fit time for such an assembly on account of the war threatened by the Turk, which will require all the attention of the Christian princes in that quarter, it seems to me, on the contrary, as if it had no force whatever. I think the circumstance of Your Holiness meeting in the Council all the princes or their representatives would afford greater facilities for the defence of invaded Christendom.

I, therefore, beg and entreat Your Holiness to agree to the speedy convocation of the said Council, and write letters to that effect to the kings and princes of Christendom. As to the place of the meeting, any of those designated by Your Holiness is good enough for me. Let the other Christian princes be also consulted about it. The general opinion here is that the most convenient spot would be either Mantua,

* "Donde y como convenga á la autoridad *de Su Mayd.*," says the text, which I have not hesitated to change into V. S^{d}.

1531.

already named by Your Highness, or else Milan, as being nearer to this Germany, and to the cradle of most Lutheran errors* . . . . . .

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 6.

30 Nov. **847.** The COUNCIL of WAR in Spain† to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 496, f. 87.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 14.

Have read his letter to the Empress dated Brussels the 18th of October.

Galleys to be fitted out for the Algiers expedition.

Since flour or wheat cannot be procured in England, as was expected at first, it must be got somewhere else. In Spain the harvest has been very indifferent, and consequently the prices are high. A "fanega" of wheat sells in Malaga and other ports of the Mediterranean coast for 7½ reals, and perhaps for more. In Sicily, they say, wheat abounds.

All fortresses on this side of the Pyrenean chain shall be attended to.

Indorsed: "The opinion of the Council on military matters and provisions for the Fleet."

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 7.

Nov. **848.** MEMORANDA on the matter of the SWISS CANTONS given by the PAPAL LEGATE at Brussels.

S. E. L. 854, f. 152.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 75.

His Holiness must be aware that Miçer Stephano [dell' Isola], ambassador of the five Catholic cantons of Switzerland, is as devout a servant of the Holy Apostolic See as myself, and has stated with entire accuracy whatever he had charge of representing [at Rome]. Indeed I can bear witness that whilst discussing with him the occurrences of every day among the Catholics and Lutherans of Switzerland, and the chances of the war, even that of the latter remaining masters of the field (which may God forbid), the said Stephano has given me ample testimony of his sincere attachment to Mother Church, and of his perfect willingness to set the Swiss at peace, and

* The minute, which is unfinished and undated, is placed in Bergenroth's volume immediately after the memorandum presented by the Legate (November 1531) on the business of the Swiss cantons. The last paragraph stands thus: "Y asi por lo que á mi toca me contento de qualquier de los dos que V. S. señaló; comuniqueles V. Sd. con los otros principes, que lo que acá parece mas conveniente seria Mantua, que V. Sd. nonbra, ó Milan, por que son las [mas] cercanas á esta Germania asi [como] por ser [alli] los mas herrores." . . .

† The document itself has no date, and is placed in Bergenroth's volume of "Transcripts from Simancas" immediately after the Emperor's letter, No 846. It is quite clear, however, that as the letter of the 18th of October is mentioned in it, and the report and resolution of the Council is based upon that same letter, this could not have been drawn before the 16th of November. As, moreover, many days must naturally have elapsed in the transmission of the Emperor's orders to Valladolid, Madrid, or Toledo, the usual residences of the Empress and of her Council, and the report of that official body upon it, I consider myself justified in calendaring it here.

1531.

re-establish the old confederation, if the means could only be found of accomplishing so desirable an end.*

Persuaded as I was, however, that the intentions of the said five cantons were anything but pacific, and that they had decided to make war upon their neighbours—in which opinion Stephano himself and prothonotary Caracciolo concurred—I advised the former to return to Switzerland and tell his people to desist altogether from the undertaking. This I did for the reasons specified in cardinal Salviati's letter of the 16th ult°, and accordingly Stephano left for home. But I advised him to tell his countrymen that our advising peace instead of war was not so much owing to our own particular view of the case, as it was to the necessity in which the Emperor found himself of waiting for the issue of certain negotiations (*pratiche*) being carried on in Germany for the purpose of putting down without bloodshed the dissensions of princes and free cities. That, and no other, was the reason for our advice, for blood once spilt there would be no resource left but that of arms. Should the German troubles be appeased they (the Swiss) would soon be obliged to return to the confederation, or else be vanquished and subdued.†

To this plan of ours His Holiness willingly assented, inasmuch as he will never consider it wise or consistent with his own authority and power to trouble himself with negotiations which neither His Imperial Majesty, nor his brother, the king of the Romans, with all their greatness, has yet been able to bring to a satisfactory issue.

Miçer Stephano's objections, however, which I once transmitted to Rome, are chiefly founded on fear of rebellion on the part of the Swiss,‡ who, it appears, are daily getting more and more contaminated with the Lutheran heresy; for after trying, by Zwingli's orders, all possible experiments to reduce to their own heretical sect the five Catholic cantons, the Lutherans have as a last resource procured (or they themselves have come of their own accord) orators from Argentina (Strasburg) and Constantia (Constanz), two most Lutheran (*lutheranissime*) cities, to go and preach their damnable heresies among the Catholics. For the sake of obtaining more credence and for the better accomplishment of their mission these orators have taken with them others from Friburg and Soleure, cantons which still adhere to the true faith.§ They

* "La Sta. di N. S. ha a credere che M[icer] Stephano, oratore delli V. Cantoni, gli sia non manco seruo & deuoto ch'io stesso & che discutendo insieme quanto ogni di occorre tra Elvetii Christiani & Lutherani & quello possa importar la rottura loro & quando, quod absit, Lutherani restassero vincitori, esso s'é fatto ben capace del buon animo di S. Sta. et che saria tutto per pacificarli & conseruarli solum che ni fusse il modo."

† "Et che per questo si cerca farli capaci che, mitigate le cose della Germania, seriano sforzati reunirsi & tornar su la prima reputatione & grandezza, o esser battuti & soggiogati."

‡ "Della sollevatione de subditi che di mano en mano se li contaminano da Lutherani."

§ "Hanno condotti seco li oratori di Friburgo & Solodoro, cantoni che ancora tengono la fede."

1531.

are to propose to the other five such conditions as will most please them, namely, that each man and woman remain in their Faith and practice it in public unmolested until the festival of the Resurrection. Through which terms, if accepted, the five Swiss cantons are afraid that feeling themselves secure, and living as it were in domestic intercourse with the other eight, these latter being chiefly, if not entirely, composed of Lutherans, will little by little induce the Catholic ones to forsake the Faith of their fathers, and rise against their superiors and lords, compelling them either to embrace the false Lutheran creed, or run the risk of being slaughtered or sent into exile. That the fears of the Catholics are well founded there can be no possible doubt, as we daily hear of the rebellion against them of their own castles, with which, and with the closing of the passes and stopping of provisions the said five cantons have been reduced to the verge of despair.*

Owing to these considerations, and fearing lest the defection of their subjects should leave them no hope of safety, and that consequently the Lutherans should proudly raise up their heads, the Catholics are obliged the sooner to take up arms and to proceed at once to chastize their said rebellious subjects, the more so that the canton of Urania (Uri) has already begun to listen to the above-named Protestant orators, saying that the proposed agreement for each canton, whether Catholic or Lutheran, to retain its own free usages, and for each man to have full liberty in matters of Faith, is acceptable enough, and that since they have till next Easter for deciding they had better take that offer into consideration and repose meantime without fear of war.†

In this manner have the four [other] Catholic cantons‡ discovered that many among the principal inhabitants of Urania (Uri) are already contaminated with the Lutheran heresy, for they openly entertain hopes "boni et pacis," saying that in order to obtain that desirable boon it behoves them to avoid a rupture with their Lutheran confederates, and acquiesce, if possible, in some of their demands.

As by means of such stratagems and treasons the Lutherans have gained over to their cause almost the whole of the other [cantons], and finally created such rebellion and disturbance among them that governors have been deposed, and others appointed from the lowest ranks of society—by which means they have annexed Raspuil, a territory for the recovery of which, as it might be a sort of bridle upon the Zurichians,§

* "Et che cio sia da dubitare se ne certificano per le rebellioni delli castelli loro con li quali con serargli li passi & uituaglie li hanno redoti alla extrema desperatione."

† "Et con causa uoler castigar detti subditi, quanto Urania ha cominciato a prestar l'orechie a detti oratori con dire che gli piace questa proposta."

‡ That is Schwytz, Unterwalden, Lucerne, and Zug, generally called the Waldstettes, or habitants of the forest.

§ "Et demum con li loro medesimi fatta tal sellovatione et tumulto in populi, che anno deposti dalli regimenti li private, et messi sue le plebei ribaldi có li quali l'hanno uinta có Raspuil qual terra per che teneua la briglia á Zuriche, li unque cantoni expenderiano un pezzo d'oro per ricuperarla."

1531.

the five cantons would willingly spend a mine of gold—it is high time to put a stop to this threatening evil. In these dangers, as represented by Stephano, his Reverence Prothonotary Caracciolo could not make up his mind to believe; I myself should have agreed with him had not the enclosed letter been received from a chancellor of the duke [of Milan], who happened to be at Zurich at the time, and who afterwards came here and confirmed the alleged facts. He says that there is no other question in that town save gaining over the five Catholic cantons to their side. Zurich would then become the head (*la testa*) as it were of all the princes and free Lutheran towns, who have promised to take that city for their capital, and hold there all their meetings, boasting among themselves that had they been able to reduce the five Catholic cantons before the Diet of Spires they might easily, on the Emperor's arrival, have marched against that city and besieged him in it until he had fallen into their hands, vaunting also that they had as much money and men as they wanted for the purpose, as they were able to dispose freely of the purses of princes and merchants.

During the siege of that city (they said) they could easily promote rebellion in the empire from Basilea (Basle) to Spires, then turn towards Italy, enter Rome, and do with His Holiness* and the Pontifical estates what it is maddening only to hear.

A good Christian has given me to understand that I ought to warn His Holiness of the fact that Zurich is nowadays the head and capital of the Lutheran sect, and that its citizens have intelligences with mighty princes, one of whom, according to one of Zwingli's principal followers, is the Grand Turk. For the present they (the Lutherans) will not declare themselves openly, but should they succeed in gaining the five Catholic cantons to their sect we should see such a fire kindled [in Europe] as was never seen before, for they [the Lutherans] would at once contaminate with their heresies the rest of Germany, and perhaps also the whole of Italy.

It is natural that Zwingli, perceiving his increasing credit among these people, who already call him a second Moses; finding that he has a good game in hand, and perhaps fearing that should the five Catholic cantons ultimately prevail,† he himself will inevitably be cut to pieces, will principally seek to persuade the people to follow his tenets, as he is now doing; but as this he cannot achieve by moderation, he will certainly attempt it by violence and force of arms. In consequence of which (*sollevamenti*) the elders of the five cantons have come to the resolution that rather than be slaughtered by their

* "El durante questo assedio si teneuano in mano far rebellar a S. Mta. tutti li dominii de Basihea sino a Spira; poi uoltarsi contra Italia & uenir a Roma parlando publicamente di S. Sta. quanto dir se possa, minacciando di uoler venir a Roma & far di quel Regno Pontificale cosa che mi fanno desperar a sentirla."

† "Trouandosi un bel giocco in mano, et temendo che si le cinque cantoni preualessero."

1531.

own people—as in that case they would undoubtedly be—they will attack the Zurichians in their city, and die like brave men and not give the enemy time for gaining greater credit with their subjects and vassals.

Notwithstanding the above stated reasons Miçer Stephano has taken his departure, and will do all he can to restrain his countrymen. He has requested me to put down the above statements which, His Holiness may believe me, contain the sentiments of all good and devout Catholics.*

By letters of the 12th of October addressed to the bishop of Veroli (Ennio Filonardo), of which we have seen a copy, a great battle had been fought the day before between the Catholic and Lutheran cantons, in which the former were victorious, notwithstanding which they asked for a succour of 200 or 300 hackbutiers, good soldiers, and paid punctually.†

Battista da Insola (Isola) writes also to the bishop [of Veroli] on the 12th that the battle was fought at a place called Capel‡ over the cantons of Zurich, at two and a half Lombard miles from Zug.§

The bishop [of Veroli] himself writes in date of the 15th ult° that Caracciolo's advices from Milan are that there is no need of Spaniards as many Italians had already enlisted, more than could possibly be wanted. He also writes to Jacopo Salviati on the 28th: "Miçer Stephano da Insola (*sic*), the ambassador of the five cantons, tells me that had it not been for the delay caused by the agreement between the cantons, which was to last until Easter (*la Pascha*), and the overtures afterwards made to the Catholics through the instrumentality of great princes, the capitulation would doubtless have been accepted. Every Swiss would then have remained at liberty to believe what he pleased; and as immediately after this the Lutherans would naturally have become the friends and confederates of the Catholics, it was to be feared that the plague of heresy would soon have corrupted the whole.‖ Yet not only had these terms been rejected, but irritated and in despair the Swiss had actually set on the mediators with the intention of murdering them. Macreti,¶ the ambassador of

* "Cosi m'la pregato che per ultima sua excusatione jo faccia questo discorso quale S. Sta. puo tener che proceda da tutti buoni Christiani."

† "Et recercano aiuto di cc o ccc archibuseri buoni & pagati."

‡ Cappel, three miles from Zurich.

§ "Per litere di Battista d'Ynsula di xii. al detto Vesco (*sic*) si da aviso di detta vittoria ottenuta in un luogo di Capel sopra'l paese de Surigani, appresso á Zug, miglia dua e mezzo Lombarde."

‖ "Che se non erano questi intertenimenti fattili da Pascha en qua alli pratiche che sono girate attorno con exhortatione de gran Principi, senza dubio s'accettavano li ultimi capitoli: che ogni homo restassi in liberta sue di credere quel che gli piaceua sino a Pascha, et per che incontinenti si domesticauano Lutherani con li vilani loro era com' vna peste di amorbare il resto."

¶ "Et chel Macreti, oratore di Franza, fu più al pericolo del resto." This Macreti is evidently the French general Lambert Maigret, of whom D'Aubigny says that he was in correspondence with Zwingli, and had been employed by Francis I. on an embassy to the Zurichians; but whether he be the same, or only a relative of treasurer *Megret* "le Magnifique," mentioned in a chronicle of that monarch, who was tried and exiled to Switzerland in consequence of serious

1531.

France, was in greater danger than the rest of losing his life. That these were the true facts no one could doubt who was acquainted with the state and condition of the Catholic cantons, for the elders among them knew very well that if ever the Lutherans got the upper hand they themselves would be cut to pieces (*tagliati in pezzi*), and that besides when people saw the efforts that were being made to alienate them from their Faith, rebellion would most infallibly break out. Whilst they were preparing to chastize the people of Zurich (*i Zuricani*) they had themselves been attacked. It seemed, therefore, as if one of two expedients should be adopted, either to furnish the Catholic cantons with the means of prosecuting the war against the Lutherans, or else help them to obtain an honourable peace.

The captain (governor) of Lugano on the 17th ult° writes to the bishop of Veroli (Filonardo), in the name of the said five Catholic cantons, and asks for money and hackbutiers.

On the same day the Bishop wrote to Jacopo Salviati that prothonotary Marino [Caracciolo] having informed the Emperor of the state of affairs in Switzerland, he (Salviati) had addressed a letter to cardinal Campeggio with all the particulars, adding that if it were true that Marco Demps* and the men of the Black Forest had decided to assist the Catholics, there was a good chance of their coming victorious out of the contest, and perhaps, too, of their attacking afterwards the German Lutherans, that is provided they were opportunely helped with money and men.

It was confidently expected that the Valesians, who were not present at the defeat of the Lutherans at Capel, would not be wanting in the hour of need, provided the Catholic cantons were helped with the said 2,000 hackbutiers. If these could be raised to the number of 4,000 no doubt would remain as to their success.

Captain Zuccaro† would willingly accept the command of the light horse, but required an experienced officer under him to be his lieutenant.

On the 18th Miçer Stephano da Insola wrote to Jacopo Salviati that his countrymen pressed urgently for assistance, for the Bernese were soon to invade the canton of Lucerne. And on the same day the bishop of Veroli (Filonardo) wrote:

---

defalcations in the funds entrusted to his care, I have no means to determine. Certain it is that the names appear the same though differently spelt. See Merle d'Aubigny *Histoire de la Reforme*, translated by Davis Dundas Scott, vol. iii., pp. 440–1, 457, and *Chronique du Roy François I. par George Guiffrey*, Paris, 1860, 8°. p. 108.

* "Se fosse certo che Marco Domps (*sic*) et la Selva Negra, &c." I have changed *Domps* into Demps, because the captain here named can be no other than Marc Sittig, a native of Ems or Embs, in the Grisons, about whom see vol. iii., part 1, pp. 939, &c. of this Calendar. In D'Aubigny's *Histoire de la Reforme*, vol. iii., p. 427 of the English translation, a certain *Didier d'Embs* is mentioned as being the brother-in-law of the marquis of Mus.

† A Burgundian formerly in the Emperor's service, whose name is variously written Çucar, Zucharo, Chucharo, &c., vol. iii., part 2, pp. 59 and 72.

1531.

"If the five Catholic cantons are not speedily succoured against the Bernese about to invade their territory they will be in great danger of being destroyed. Marco Demps, with the people of the Black Forest, should make a diversion against Zurich, whilst a band of at least 2,000 hackbutiers from the Imperial army should shew itself towards the Val Tellina and the Grisons, so as to prevent the Bernese from effecting their junction with Zurich; or else they might come down by the route of Belinzona, as from thence they might easily turn their arms against the Grisons, or succour the Catholics. If there be no means at present of recruiting the said number of hackbutiers let us at any rate have 500, and 200 light horse under captain Zuccaro; that will be enough for the present."*

Indorsed: "The memorials of the Papal Legate."

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 13.

30 Nov. **849.** The Pope to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 110.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 52.

Has had great pleasure in learning that His Imperial Majesty has decided to help the Catholic cantons of Switzerland. It appears to him that the victory they have recently obtained over their enemies,† besides contributing to the preservation of the Faith in Switzerland will also powerfully help in the settlement of the affairs of Germany. Should, moreover, the Swiss come to an agreement among themselves it might be advisable to temporize with them, as cardinal Campeggio will explain more at length, and transfer the Diet to Ratisbone for a time, where it could be held with better result.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Addressed: "Charissimo in Christo filio nostro Carolo, Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty from the Pope, and in his own hand. Last day of November 1531. Answered."

Italian. Holograph. p. 1.

30 Nov. **850.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, ff. 102–3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 47.

Has seen a letter from the man who said he had intelligences among the Lutherans. He has written to the Pope, and gives hopes of some good being possibly worked in that quarter. It appears that he has already gained over an

* This paper must have been written at various times, probably between May and November 1531, and professes to be a summary by the Papal Legate of the various opinions entertained at the Imperial court about the help to be given to the five Catholic cantons of Switzerland. The former part seems to contain the Nuncio's opinion; the latter refers to events after the death of Zwinglius, who fell on the 12th of October. That this conjecture is plausible is manifest from the fact of the document itself being indorsed in the hand of secretary Idiaquez: "Los Memoriales que el Legado de Su Santidad entregó en Bruselas sobre la materia de los cantones Catolicos de Suiza."

† That of Cappel, where Zwingli was slain. See above, p. 312.

1531,

Italian preacher, Bartholomeo* by name, and a native of Venice, who, being a staunch Lutheran, enjoys great credit among his countrymen for his extreme hostility to the Pope, who has exiled and expelled him from his order [*de la religion*]. This preacher (he says) can and will secretly do good work in matters of Faith. He is first of all to try the destruction of the Zwinglians by means of the Lutherans, and then persuade some of the latter to return to the Catholic Faith and Roman Church. He seems pretty sure of his affair, but wishes it to be kept a secret, because were his plans to be divulged, all schemes would be put an end to, and he himself perhaps lose his life through it.

The said man writes that he intended shortly to go to the duke of Saxony's court, and that he was in hope of doing some good there. At Augusta (Augsburg), whence he wrote, some good had already been effected in matters of Faith by conversing with a certain provost (*preposto*) of that city, who would endeavour to induce the inhabitants to recall the Franciscans and Dominicans, whom they had expelled.

The Pope does not trust entirely in this man's professions and promises, and yet feigns to listen to them until more is known about him.

The king of France has induced the count of Geneva† to institute a law-suit against his own brother, the duke of Savoy [Carlo III.], on the plea that one half of Piedmont belongs to him. He says that he does it merely to annoy the Duke and compel him to meet his wishes, especially since he has accepted the county of Asti from the Emperor. He intends, moreover, to take Nizza away from him, because he says it was only mortgaged to him, and that on the plea of assisting the Count, if necessary, he is collecting troops on the frontiers of Italy.

Hears besides from His Holiness in a most confidential manner that the said king [Francis] is continually intriguing either with Andrea Doria, or with the Genoese opposed to the rule of this latter, in order to find the means of getting possession of that city. He flatters the Genoese by telling them that he does not want to exercise dominion over them, but only to become their protector, &c.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

30 Nov. **851.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 853, f. 107. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 61.

Since his despatches dated the 7th, 9th, 10th, and 14th inst. he (Muxetula) has had occasion to write once more by a courier who came through Rome from Naples. Has since received the Emperor's letters of the 30th of October and 6th instant, and hastened to communicate their contents to the

* Respecting this Bartholomeo [Fonzio], who belonged to the Order of the Augustinians, see M'Crie *History of the Reformation in Italy*, p. 163.

† This count of Geneva was Pierre de Savoie, son of Philipe *sans Terre*, and consequently brother of Carlo III., surnamed the Good. Francis I. gave him the duchy of Nemours.

1531.

Pope, and do what else was required for the better issue of pending negotiations.

An agreement has been entered into to assist the five Catholic cantons of Switzerland against the other eight who profess the Lutheran doctrines. The Pope has handed over to him (Muxetula) 4,000 crs. for the pay of the hackbutiers, and captain Zuccaro had been written to inquiring whether he or his lieutenant, Pirro di Cipizano,* would take the command. Just as this was done, and the money remitted to Caracciolo at Milan for the enlistment of the hackbutiers, letters arrived from the Catholic cantons, stating that they were no longer in want of that force owing to the Lutherans having retreated hastily, and the Grisons not choosing to move in consequence of the rumour that the Spaniards of Milan were soon to cross the Val Tellina and fall upon them, &c.

With regard to the contribution the Pope says he is willing to fulfil his engagements, and furnish the 100,000 ducats which he promised to the king of the Romans for the defence of his dominions in the event of their being invaded by the Turk; but the money, not the will, is wanting. The ambassador (Mai) and he have suggested to His Holiness that if he applies to that purpose the new tithes lately laid on the Italian churches, namely, those of Venice, Siena, Genoa, Lucca, the marquisates of Saluzzo and Monferrara, and others, the thing might be accomplished, inasmuch as the said churches have not been subjected to the payment of the tithe for the last six years. As to Milan, Naples, and Florence there is no question, the two former having already paid more than their quota.

The marquis del Basto [Vasto] complains that his men are not paid, &c.

The bulls imposing two tithes upon the Venetian clergy are ready, and will be sent in a couple of days. It is stated in the preamble that for the peace and welfare of Italy, and in order to counteract the malice of the Lutherans, it has been deemed necessary that the Imperial forces now in Lombardy should be maintained. That until now His Holiness had contributed largely for the general weal and the preservation of peace, but that he was unable to bear the expense any longer, &c. (*Cipher :*) Meanwhile the French, who would like to see the Imperial army fairly out of Italy, are telling the Pope that he is feeding his mortal enemies, and creating fresh difficulties for himself.

That His Holiness has already destined the Parmigiano as quarters for the Spanish infantry under Vasto is a fact of which the Empress must already have been apprized. Fourteen companies out of the 24, and those the most complete, they say, are already on the spot, and the remainder will go thither almost immediately.—Rome, 30th November 1531.

Signed : "Jo. Antº Musectula."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 4.

* Thus written both by Mai and Muxetula; but most probably Chivizzano, a small town in Tuscany, in the province of Lucca.

1531.

4 Dec. **852.** CARDINAL D'OSMA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 858, f. 140.

. . . . . .

P.S.—Yesterday, as I was closing the present despatch, His Holiness sent for me and shewed me a long letter just received from France, and written in French, which, owing to my slight acquaintance with that language, he (the Pope) had the kindness to translate into Latin. The summary of its contents is that the bishop of Bayonne (Jean du Bellay) had just returned from England very much satisfied with the King's behaviour. Nothing could be more evident (that ambassador had stated) than his wish to please and accommodate France in every respect. Matters were in such a state there [in England] that it could well be said that the Most Christian King held his brother of England with a rope round his throat in such a way that he could not, if he wished, disengage himself.* The letter did not declare the cause of such a pressure (*prision*), but His Holiness thinks that it can be no other than the Lady mistress (*manceba*) of the King, of whom he is so passionately fond, that the Pope is afraid he has already married her clandestinely. Such, His Holiness suspects, is the principal cause of that king's present intimacy with France, whose friendship he wants and courts, that he may be supported in his attempts to divorce and marry again.

The letter likewise mentions another piece of news of no less importance, which is that a gentleman squire of the duke of Gueldres (Charles d'Egmont), goes backwards and forwards with messages to the Most Christian King as if his master were discontented with Your Imperial Majesty, and wished to make an alliance with France. Other Princes and nobles in those your German and Flemish estates (the letter says) have taken offence, especially in Brabant,† where Your Majesty's Councillors and high officers are much displeased at the visitation of their respective offices lately commanded by Your Majesty, and executed by foreigners against the use and customs of the land. All are much courted by king Francis, who wishes to attach them to his service.

It is, moreover, added in the said letter that the King is stirring up the Landgrave to arm, and make other preparations for war, which he can easily do under plea of his enmity towards the count of Nassau, and that he may do this more effectually the King promises to help the Landgrave with a sum of money; but it appears that as the latter has no confidence in him he has made it a condition that the king of England, in whom he trusts, will be his guarantee. On the same terms is a negotiation being carried on with the duke of Gueldres, to whom money has been offered by way of

* "Y dize que los negocios del Rey estan ally en tales terminos que se puede desir que el xprianisimo tiene al Rey preso con una soga á la garganta, que no puede ya apartarse de su amistad, y aunque la carta no declara la causa, &c."

† "Y que ansy estan otros en esos vuestros estados en especial Brabança, y los que son ò han sido del Consejo."

1531.

England, whose king is said to have greater facilities for the transmission of the funds to those parts.

The letter further says that it is not the intention of the Most Christian King openly to make war on Your Majesty, but indirectly to give you so much work in hand that from sheer necessity you shall be obliged to alter the purport of the letter sent by Alanson* on the subject of the proposed interview. Your Majesty (adds the letter) would have much difficulty in going from Germany to Italy, because the roads thither will be found impassable, not indeed from mud and water, but from armed men barring the passage, which will oblige you to retrace your steps. Your Majesty, moreover, leaves those estates of Flanders and the Low Countries in the hands of a young woman who, instead of attending to government and to the administration of public affairs, will only think of pleasure and sport.

The above is the substance of the letter which His Holiness read to me. The writer is a person well versed with the ins and outs of the French Court, who addresses one of his own correspondents in Rome and of his own party, and though His Holiness said to me that he did not implicitly believe everything that was said therein, yet he ordered me to write and report home that precautions should be taken, and Your Imperial service more watchfully carried out.

If I am to say the truth, I think that the Pope spoke to me on this occasion as a true father and friend of Your Imperial Majesty, and as one who wishes for your prosperity and success in all worldly affairs. I therefore beg Your Majesty to inform me what is known for certain at Court about the above said intelligence from France, because should any portion or the whole of it be authentic, His Holiness will most likely find the means of bribing the said informer so that he may continue reporting on every event or any new idea at the French Court. Indeed I am told that such is the latter's position there that he can easily procure most valuable information. Were he, however, to know for whom it is destined and who reads his letters all would be lost, but His Holiness will take care that he does not find out.

In the cause of the Most Serene queen of England we have lately frequently debated (*dado y tomado muchas vezes*), in Consistory. Your Majesty will easily believe that I have done my best, and though I am not generally fond of consistories, and am suffering much from rheumatism (*romadizo*), I have nevertheless carefully attended them, that I might speak to the cardinals of our party and watch the debates. But the English ambassadors are so eager, and so

* "Pero por indirectas os dará tanto que hazer que de necessidad mudareys la habla en otra de aquella que le enbiastes con alanson (*sic*) sobre las vistas." Instead of Alanson, as in the text, I should think that Balanson is meant, who was probably the bearer of the Emperor's despatch which seems to have given much offence in answer to Francis' proposal of an interview. Balanson's name was Gerard de Rye.

1531.

cavilling, and know their case to be so far from the paths of justice, that they have forsaken them and resorted to calumny or any possible expedients for delay; thus when they heard that the Rota had secretly resolved to reject their excusator (Karne), and to deny his application, they went up to the Pope to challenge the auditors of that tribunal, and to beg that a public dispute should be held in this matter, offering to bring from beyond Rome competent lawyers to defend their case efficiently. In this way they went about visiting all or most of my colleagues, speaking very loud, blaming the Rota, and uttering all manner of threats. The consequence of which has been that this very day the College of Cardinals has warned them to have their lawyers in readiness after Nativity Day to dispute the case, for after that no more delays will be granted.

My impression is that in this business the wishes and intentions of His Holiness are the same as those of Your Majesty would have been if you yourself were judge in this cause. He feels as much for the Queen and shews as much compassion for her troubles and sufferings, and as much abhorrence of the injuries done to her, as if he were her own father. Yet the affair in itself being so important and grave he prefers to proceed cautiously and step by step until he can effectively bring the King under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction and persuade him to send people to plead for him at this Court. No occasion or opportunity will then be given to him to escape the trial, unless having lost all shame, he should decide that a bishop in his dominions at once determine and sentence the case against the express prohibition of the Holy Apostolic See. The Pope, therefore, has resolutely fixed on this course that all the world may see that he is quite impartial in the affair and if that there has been partiality it has been only in his favour and against the Queen. In this manner, when sentence is given justice will have greater force, and the Christian princes be better inclined to take part with the Queen.

These are the motives, not without sufficient ground, which have induced His Holiness to listen to the calumnious reports of the English ambassadors, but he promised me this very morning that the festivals of the Nativity over, he would shew himself a severe judge, no longer a father (*no padre sino juez severo*), and have the process carried on in the right way without admitting of any more excuses or delays.

Such are His Holiness' present intentions, but I cannot help stating in pursuance of my duty that Miçer Mai, though a worthy man (*puesto que es buen hombre*) is no more fit for this task, as Your Majesty's proctor, than I am to command a galley. Indeed I have reasons to believe that had he not been so negligent we should already be in possession of a sentence by contumacy (*contradittas*), and the principal cause might now be tried. I make bold to say that were I to leave Rome and Miçer Mai to remain our cause would be soon

1531.

dragged on the ground, whereas if Muxetula, the regent, had charge of it, it would be quickly over the house-tops.* This I write under pressure of my conscience, which does not allow me to hide anything from Your Majesty. Let my warnings be kept a close secret, except perhaps from the High Commander (Covos), for they may come too late to do good in an affair of this sort, in which no provision has been made. It is not just that Your Majesty's service should suffer and I myself be blamed for it.—Rome, 4th December, 1531.†

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of a holograph letter from cardinal d'Osma to the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3½.

4 Dec. **853.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 49.

The Imperial letters of the 14th ult° have been duly received, together with the papers relating to the Queen's business, which I immediately forwarded, informing her at the same time of Your Majesty's instructions to me. She has promised to answer either by this present post or by the next.

The Papal Nuncio some days ago went, by the command of His Holiness, to see the King for three different purposes. First of all, to exhort him to contribute towards the repulsion of the Turk, in case it should be considered necessary, and to represent at the same time that His Holiness, notwithstanding his notorious poverty, had offered the king of the Romans 100,000 crs. for six months. Secondly, to request the King to grant some pecuniary aid to the duke of Savoy (Carlo) against the Lutherans of Switzerland, who some time ago threatened to invade his estates. And thirdly, to complain of the sharp and uncourteous terms in which the letter to his excusator at Rome was couched. The Papal Nuncio having spoken on these three points in succession, the King said that as regarded his contribution towards the Turkish war he had already written more than once to the Pope, to state his views (*sa fantasie*) about it. These were in substance that he considered it a mere joke their applying to him for help in an affair of that kind, he being the prince of Europe furthest away from the seat of war, and the least exposed to the dangers and consequences of an invasion. Since those whom the affair concerned most, and so nearly, did not make any provision to avert the danger it was not for him to give the example. Yet if

* "Todavia no dexaré de avisar á vrã mat. como vuestro servidor, que Miçer May (*sic*) puesto que es buen hombre, no vale mas para esta procuracion que yo valgo para governar una galera, y persuadome con razon que sy su negligencia no ovyera sido tan grande, tuvyeramos ya sentencia por contraditas, y estuvieramos agora en el punto principal, y oso desir que si de aquy faltara yo, anduvyera nuestra causa por el suelo, y sy el Regente Muxetula la tuvyera á cargo estuvyera mvy enzima de los tejados."

† "Yo escryvo esto movydo por sola mi conciencia, que la ternia por escrupulosa sino os avisase desto, y suplico á vrã magt. esto nadie lo sepa, sino solo el comendador mayor, porque ya que no aproreche, pues nada se provehe, no es justo que me dañen my servicio."

1531.

he saw that the danger was real and imminent, and that the rest of the Christian princes were ready to fulfil their common duty in that respect, *he would not be the last to contribute to the defence of threatened Christendom.*

With regard to the duke of Savoy (Carlo), the King remarked that the thing mostly concerned his neighbours, not himself. He (the King) had already answered his application in conformity with his brother of France, telling him in plain terms that since he (the Duke) *had received from the Emperor, and kept the county of Asti against the wishes of the French King, he could and ought to defend himself against his other neighbours,* without the assistance of other people.

Touching the third and last point, *which was the letter written to his ambassadors,* the King said that the Pope had given him frequent occasions for complaint; he had, however, no reason to remonstrate against the terms of his missive, for he only said in it what was true, viz., that His Holiness made and unmade constitutions at will. "In proof of which (said the King) whenever I happen to ask for a thing that I consider just and right, the answer is that *law forbids, or that the rules of the Chancery and the style of the Roman court are against it. Whereas if the Emperor asks for anything His Holiness immediately derogates all laws, rules, and styles to please him.*" "Besides which (continued the King) the Pope has greatly wronged me in not allowing this cause to be tried here in England, as reason and all rights, civil or canon, demand."

The King went on reciting some of the arguments which he considered to be in his favour, as well as the opinions of several universities and of doctors innumerable by whose determination (he added) the Pope ought to abide rather than by that of Ancona or any other cardinal of his Council. And upon the Nuncio observing that in order to obtain the revocation of the cause to this country it was indispensable to send sufficient powers to one of his ambassadors to solicit and claim the same in his name, and allege the privileges and excuses for his not appearing at Court, and that otherwise he had no cause of complaint against His Holiness—the King said that he was not the man to play such a game, or join in such a dance as that; the letter he had written to his ambassadors ought to be sufficient for the purpose, and that if His Holiness had only the will, he thought the letter would do no harm to him. He ended by declaring and protesting that he had never said or done anything with an intention to displease or shew contempt for the Pope, who, after all, did not bear him much ill-will. He believed that the dread of Your Majesty's power made him subscribe to things which he would not otherwise have done, and that His Holiness would do much better to disengage himself from such bonds and rejoin his old friends and allies, and not trust too much to his reconciled foes. "I know very well (said the King) that legal proceedings are

1531.

going on at Rome; but I care not, for if sentence be pronounced against me I know what to do." Many other similar things did the King say to the Nuncio all equally incisive or threatening, though it must be said, according to the Nuncio's own report to me, that the whole was without the passion he has displayed at other times.

I have been told that the King and his Council have lately been in great fear of some innovation being made in the Low Countries in matters of foreign trade; and that on this very account it had been proposed to recall the Queen to Court. And although this measure has not taken effect, she has not been sent further away, as she apprehended; on the contrary, the King has given orders for a much larger provision than usual against the forthcoming festivities. Such at least is the information conveyed to me by her physician, and if so, there is room for the conjecture that this improvement in the Queen's treatment responds to some news they have received from across the sea, and therefore that if anything serious is attempted there [in the Low Countries] likely to disturb the peace and the intercourse of trade, all hope of recalling the King to his senses may not be yet entirely lost.

I have not seen the treaty of the year 1506, which is the one on which this king founds his allegation; but it strikes me that if the King in this case, as in others, interpreted its meaning, and the promise not to have Blanche Rose executed which was made at the same time, as not binding for him who made it, one might interpret that treaty of 1506 in the same way.*

Two Germans, one of whom is count d'Aquila Nova from Jullers (Julliers), and the other the chancellor of the duchy of Cleves, who had resided here 12 days have just left, attended only by one servant each, after three or four audiences from the King. I have not yet been able to ascertain what brought them to this country. There is now another, who, according to his description, must be one of those who were with Your Majesty at Barcelona for the purpose of obtaining a revision of the sentence pronounced in favour of Monseigneur de Nassau against the Landgrave. He has gone already four times to Court, and is often visited at his lodgings by a head clerk of the first secretary, orders having been given to his landlord in the King's name to have him well treated. I have had him closely watched by many spies of my own, and principally by the courier who brought him here, as well as by own landlord, but I have hitherto learned nothing about him save that he is a man of letters, and a good Lutheran, and that for a whole month that the courier has been with him he has not heard mass or gone to church once. I have also been told that the letters he brought

* "Je nay point veu le traicte de lan six, quest tout le fondement de ce roy, mais il me semble que comme autres foys il a interprete mal la promission de non faire executer Blanche Rose, que fut faicte en ung mesme temps, nobligeant le promettant, aussi bien pourroit on interpreter le dit traicte."

1531.

for the King had more than five or six seals. I cannot say whether the letter in question is the one which I hear from a good source the King received sometime ago from Philippe Melanton (Melancthon), and his accomplices, wherein they declare that the King cannot by any justifiable reason divorce his Queen, or whether it is one of those letters which the Lutheran princes are said to have written to the King, as I have informed Your Majesty; but I will try my utmost to get at the truth.

Your Majesty cannot fail to have heard through Master Jean de la Saulx (Le Sauch) of the condemnation and execution of the Seigneur Ris (Rice), the brother-in-law of Monsieur de Norfhoc (Norfolk), whose father was governor of Wales, and also his grandfather, one of the men who rendered most service to Henry VII. on his first starting, when he conquered this kingdom of England. The execution took place this morning, and the said Ris (Rice) was beheaded in the same spot where the duke of Boquinguien suffered a similar fate. The cause of his condemnation is, as far as I have been informed, that he would not confess that one of his own servants had solicited him to revenge the wrongs he complained of by entering into a conspiracy and subsequently taking flight to Scotland, where he could easily, owing to his influence over the Welsh, and to the general discontent caused by this divorce, have persuaded the King to make the conquest of this kingdom. And although the said Ris had not accepted the offers made to him, nor entered into the conspiracy, yet, as he would not confess who it was who solicited him, he was condemned to death, notwithstanding the many apologies he made; and there is a rumour about town that had it not been for the Lady (*la Dame*), who hated him because he (Ris) and his wife had spoken disparagingly of her, he would have been pardoned and escaped his miserable fate.—London, 4th December anno 31.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Dec. **854.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,308, ff. 259–61. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 86.

On the 7th inst. the ambassador of this Signory to the Turk arrived, and next day went to the College Hall and communicated all the news he had. It appears that at the time of his leaving Constantinople on the 5th ult° there was a report that the Turk was fitting out a fleet of 200 sail composed of galleys and "palauderias,"* which are vessels fit for the carriage of horses. An agent of the Sophi it was said

* The word is not to be found in Jale's *Glossaire Nautique*, Paris, 1848, 4to, but I presume that it comes from *palude*, a lake or marsh, and means a flat bottomed vessel fit for the carriage of horses, artillery, ammunition, and war stores.

1531.

had arrived at court with a message from his master to the effect that, notwithstanding the last encounters he (the Sophi) was desirous of peace, and would willingly send his ambassadors to treat of it, to which the Sultan (Solyman) had answered that he would be glad to see them at his court. The latter, it was added, had already dismissed the ambassador of the Vayvod (Zapolsky), and sent another to the king of Poland (Sigismond) to treat of the affairs of Hungary.

The above information I obtained from the Doge himself, who told me also that the Turk had felt much the taking and sacking of Modon by the Prior, and had ordered those of the garrison who could be found to be beheaded [for their cowardice]. He was, moreover, preparing another fleet against the Portuguese in India. As to the destination of the first nothing was known for certain. It was said at Constantinople that it would be certainly for Sicily or Puglia, most likely for the former island. I have accordingly written to cardinal Pompeo Colonna, and to the duke of Monte Leone that they may be on the alert.

Having asked the Doge whether in view of these armaments the Signory was also preparing its fleet, as was the case when the Turks invaded Rhodes, he answered that he had not yet made up his mind as to what was to be done. I told him also how strange it was that their letters of the 17th of October should not say a word about the armaments of the Turk. His answer was that the affairs of that Infidel were nowadays treated with the greatest secrecy and that nobody knew anything of his movements.

Besides the two above-mentioned fleets the Turk, it is said, is preparing a most powerful army with which to invade Germany. The patriarch of Aquileia (Marco), brother of cardinal [Marino] Grimani, whom I met yesterday, tells me that at his departure from Constantinople Luigi Gritti assured him that the Turkish fleet was intended for Italy; Abrahim (Ibrahim) Pashá was to command the land forces. He charged him to tell the Pope this, and that if he chose to become mediator between the Turk and the Emperor he (Gritti) would willingly undertake the task in His Holiness' name, but that the thing must be done quickly, for the fleet had orders to sail in March, when it would be too late, &c. The Patriarch will leave for Rome in three or four days and has promised to speak to the Pope. He has already done so to count Guido who has written to Rome. I have also written to Miçer Mai that he may be on his guard and quite prepared should His Holiness mention the subject to him, for, to say the truth, this manner of negotiating, and the fact of the Signory not fitting out their fleet at the very time that they exaggerate greatly the forces of the Turk, makes me suspect that all this is intended for the purpose of obliging Your Majesty to make peace so that he may make war on the Sophi. That is why I do not believe that the latter has sent him am-

1531.

bassadors, nor is it likely that if Luigi Gritti really knew the intentions of the Turk he would have dared to say such things to the Patriarch. At any rate I cannot be persuaded to believe that the Signory had no news of such warlike preparations in October, to say the least it was very strange to tell me that the Turk was not making preparations then.

After my despatch of the 1st, I was told by a person in authority that the ambassador this Signory has at Rome had written to the Council of Ten to say in the Pope's name that if they promised secrecy he would communicate to them an affair of the utmost importance, and that the Council having submitted the Pope's proposition to the deliberation of the Council, they were of opinion that matters being so quiet nowadays and so well settled in Italy, it was not prudent to change their politics; and I am further told by my informer that the Doge remarked that a negotiation of this kind so commenced by the Pope could not but be injurious to Your Majesty and therefore could not be entertained, upon which many of the senators present began to speak disparagingly of His Holiness and much in commendation and praise of Your Majesty. An answer in this sense has been sent to the Pope, who, I am told, has been exceedingly disappointed. I beg and entreat that the most profound secret be kept on this matter, for if it were to be known that an official furnishes me with such information he would be ruined for ever.

The general of the Austin friars has lately come from Milan. He tells me that when he went to take leave of the Papal Nuncio, the bishop of Veroli,* he found him reading some letters he had just received, and that wishing to go away, as he saw him thus engaged, he pressed him hard to stay as he said he had the most wonderful piece of news he (Niño) ever dreamt of. The Bishop finished reading the letters, and then said, "What do you think? The Lutherans propose making a league with His Holiness and the king of France, saying that when that is accomplished they will return to their obedience [to the Church]." The General replied: "How is that? Is that submission and alliance to be made without the will and consent of the Emperor?" The Bishop's answer was: "The Emperor will readily agree to it," then after a pause, observing that the General was surprised and astonished, he added: "All the Lutherans hate the king of the Romans, and are afraid of his power, for they fancy that he will never fulfil what he has promised them." The Bishop did not enter into more particulars; perhaps had the general of the Austin friars shewn less astonishment he might have revealed great secrets, and we might then know what to believe on a subject of such importance. Incredible as it may appear that the Pope is listening to overtures of this kind, it is necessary that the most profound secret be kept about these machinations, for should His Holiness come to know whence I derive my

* Ennio Filonardo, mentioned at p. 312.

1531.

information the general of the Austin friars is sure to be destroyed.

Jacopo Banisiis writes in date of the 3rd inst. that the eight Lutheran cantons of Switzerland had made their peace with the five Catholic ones and returned to the rule of Mother Church. The Catholics had sent away the Italians they had in their pay.*—Venice, 10th December 1531.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

10 Dec. **855.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 116.

I wrote by the last post advising the favourable position in which the English cause now is, and what progress had been made in it after the vacations were over, for the application of the excusator (Karne) was again rejected, and the King's letter to his ambassadors, containing some irreverent and disrespectful expressions, as Your Majesty may judge by the copy I sent at the time, was not considered a sufficient mandate for them to act upon. Since then the Rota has decided by a majority of votes not to admit the excuses made [by Karne] in the kingdom's name, or his assertion that the suit could not be tried here. It was resolved that the excusator's application could not be listened to unless he brought powers from the King himself shewing reasons why he himself should not appear here personally or by proxy. And although this decision of the Rota has not yet been made public, and must first be discussed and approved in a Consistory of Cardinals, there can be no doubt that when it has passed that body, if the excusator does not produce a new mandate, sentence can be obtained by contumacy (*por contradictas*), and this once done it will be my turn to step in and fulfil my professional duties and have the cause so declared and established that all doubts may be removed for the future.—Rome, 10th December 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

10 Dec. **856.** The Same to the Empress.

S. E. L. 854, f. 116.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 91.

His services in the matrimonial cause of the queen of England have been attended with complete success, for it is entirely due to him that the letter of the king of England, containing many irreverent and offensive expressions, has been rejected as not being considered a sufficient mandate for his ambassador to act upon. It is due to him that the majority of the cardinals in Consistory have overruled the objections of the kingdom and people of England, who assert that their

* Those commanded by Stephano d'Isola. See above, pp. 312–3.

1531.

king is not bound to attend in person before the Pope or the Rota in this divorce case. He (Ortiz) persuaded the cardinals not to listen to the person whom the king of England sent here to excuse his absence from Rome, who is never to be heard until he can shew full powers from his master authorising him to act as his proxy in the principal cause. This last decision of the Rota is not yet published, because the Sacred Consistory of Cardinals is to sanction it first; but as soon as the verdict of the Consistory is given the cause will begin, when he (Ortiz) will take care that it is determined in such a manner that no living creature shall ever doubt the validity of the Queen's marriage.—Rome, 10th December 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress, our Lady."

Indorsed: "To Her Majesty from Doctor Ortiz. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

12 Dec. **857.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853. f. 117.
M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 93.

After disputing all this winter whether an excusator who came here on behalf of the English people (*como uno del pueblo*), asking that the matrimonial cause should be referred to England was to be admitted or not, the Rota voted against him and in our favour, and as I was urging for a sentence and for the publication of the votes, the English ambassador's suspicions were aroused and he ascertained what I was about. One of them then took post to England to consult the case with the King, his master. I was led to expect that this might be advantageous for the affair and yet I ceased not to press for the execution of this interlocutory.

Seeing this the English ambassadors then petitioned that the cause should be pleaded in public by our advocates and theirs, and in order to save time I said that I would consent provided no time should be lost, and that the trial should go on all the same. But as the English do not wish the matter to end, but on the contrary are always looking out for new causes of delay, they asked for time to procure lawyers from various towns in and out of Italy, saying that four or six months at least were wanted for that purpose. I so contrived, however, with the Pope and with some of his cardinals that the English desisted from this their second demand and seemed satisfied with the first, namely, that the pleading should be public. So it was determined, the Pope and the cardinals sanctioning the measure in Consistory. Whilst I was trying to hasten this decision His Holiness sent one day for cardinals Monte and Anchona, as well as for me and Muxetula, and we debated the subject in his presence. It was at last decided that to-day, the 12th inst., the disputation should begin at the Rota, and after that continue before the cardinals, and although so much disputing

1531.

and debating could not but cause delay and prejudice to the case, I agreed to it provided there should be only one disputation in Consistory, before the cardinals, and before the auditors of the Rota all assembled. This being obtained I naturally thought that much time had been gained since the disputation itself, the voting and the publication of the sentence, could easily be accomplished before Christmas. But as any conclusion of this affair is decidedly not to the English taste the ambassadors began on the 10th to spread all manner of calumnious reports, saying that they intended to challenge the whole of the Rota, or at least those among its auditors who were vassals of Your Majesty, and they wished that lawyers from Rome and from other places should meet and vote here for the Pope to follow the opinion of the majority. In this manner the Rota they alleged would be without suspicion, and the auditors might debate upon their votes in writing. They asked, moreover, time for the lawyers to come, and insisted upon four or six months being granted for that purpose.

A Consistory was held on the 11th, at which I begged the Pope to repell the calumnious reports of the English ambassadors, and although on that occasion they did nothing but ask for time [to bring lawyers from beyond Rome], the Pope and the two cardinals, Monte and Anchona, sent for me, and I was upwards of one hour disputing (*porfiando*) with them, for although they agreed with me that the demand of the English seemed to them captious and wicked (*calumniosa y mala*), they still wanted me voluntarily to consent to the delay asked. As I persisted in my refusal I conclude that the Pope and the two above-named cardinals again treated the affair in that same Consistory, for it was determined that a delay should be granted until after the Easter holidays, that the lawyers (*letrados*) might study the case. As far as time goes no great mischief can be done, but the manner of granting the delay is decidedly bad, for it is evident that the encouragement afforded to the opposite party will render them more insolent every day, and that they will invent the most strange ways and means of carrying out their end.

Meanwhile His Holiness and his cardinals have heard from my lips all that could be said without positively offending them about the manner in which the affair is being conducted. Your Majesty may believe me when I say that these devils are to a man against us; some take side manifestly, being openly devoted to the French or English faction; others will be easily corrupted, for every day, I hear, the English ambassadors receive bills of exchange for thousands of ducats, which according to common report are exclusively spent in bribery; a few are mistaken fancying that the delay will cure that evil, whereas in my opinion it has gone so far that it is incurable.

However this may be, the Pope and all his cardinals have engaged their most solemn word to me that this is the last delay

1531.

which will be granted. May it be so, though there is no believing in their promises. I will endeavour that the very first day after the Easter festival the disputation take place and the affair be concluded; at any rate no time shall be lost, and perhaps the ambassador who went away may have returned by that time. I believe him to be the cause of all* these doings.—Rome, 12th December 1531.

After the above was written I waited on His Holiness and besought him, since the evil of this last delay was already done, and could not be repaired, to promise me that no further one should be granted. The Pope with the greatest vehemence stood up, lifted his forefinger, and said: "I promise it, and will fulfil my promise," and added that he would forthwith tell the English ambassadors who happened to be waiting for an audience in the next room.† If His Holiness is true to his word Your Majesty may consider the delay as more advantageous than otherwise.

The Pope told me in confidence that he hoped doctor Benet, who had gone to England, would do good offices there, and undeceive the King, his master, as to the state of the affair. "I have (he said) great trust in him." My answer was: "What Your Holiness considers an advantage might after all prove a greater evil, for if Dr. Benet succeed in undeceiving his master as to the real state of opinion here, at Rome, and if he convince himself that a sentence must at last be given against him, then the money he would otherwise have to spend in defending himself he is sure to employ in offending his opponents, especially if he find help in the French, to whom he keeps offering money, as if he wished to escape from and evil, cast it at another man's door, for such in my opinion is the meaning of that lose friendship and the offers of money with which king Henry is at present cajoling his brother of France.‡

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "From Mai, on the English business. Rome, 12th December."

Spanish. Original partly holograph. pp. 6.

12 Dec. **858.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 127.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 96.

. . . . . .

Having the other day asked His Holiness whether he had any news from France he told me that he heard that the

* "Y podrá ser que para entonces sera buelto el embaxador que se fue de aqui, el qual creo que ha dado ocasion á todas estas chanchas (chanzas?)."

† "Y con la mayor vehemencia del mundo salió, y alzo su dedo y dixo que me lo prometia, y que lo compliria, y que lo mismo diria á los embajadores de Inglaterra á la misma hora, por que estaban en la sala esperando audientia."

‡ This last paragraph is holograph.

1531.

French were doing all they could to prevent Your Majesty's return to Germany and Italy, spreading rumours that it is not so easy as Your Majesty thinks, that the duke of Gueldres (Ghelders) is in treaty with king Francis, and that he and another neighbour of his have offered to do the King's pleasure. Similar negotiations are going on in Brabancia (Brabant), and besides the kings of France and England have come to an agreement, by means of Brion, to attempt something against Your Majesty. They propose helping the landgrave [of Hesse], whose quarrel with the count of Nassau is well known, with money, that he may disobey Your Majesty and do what the two kings want in helping the duke of Ghelders' movements. The king of England they say offered a large sum of money to king Francis, provided he should declare war against Your Majesty, and owing to what Brion had told him, was pretty sure that king Francis would not fail him.

The same letter stated that the king of France placed great trust in the count of Geneva, whom he had secretly stirred up against the duke of Savoy, &c.—Rome, 12th December 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Anto Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cese Mti et Cathoce."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

13 Dec. **859.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 853, f. 116.
B. M. *Add* 28,584, f. 98.

After closing all the despatches that go with this present letter, I went to the Pope to complain of what they did yesterday to Don Alonso,* and asking that the guilty parties should be punished. He agreed with me that the act was a most reprehensible one, and that he would order the case to be investigated and the aggressors punished.

Having then told him that I was about to dispatch a courier to the Emperor, and wished to know whether he had any messages (*cipher:*) he answered that he had none, except that the French ambassador had again applied for a cardinal's hat for Tolosa,† and said in the course of conversation that the Emperor's affairs were not quite so smooth and prosperous as people imagined, for that he might be so shut up in Germany that perhaps he would not be able to come to Italy at all, or return to Spain. And upon His Holiness inquiring the reason of that, the French ambassador replied: "Has not Your Holiness received a letter from the Vayvod?" "Yes, I have," said the Pope. "I knew that," replied the ambassador, "similar letters have been formally addressed to all the princes of Christendom, and such a fire will soon be kindled as never before was seen, which most certainly will give Your Holiness infinite trouble." The Pope representing that that was tanta-

* Don Alonso Cuevas, Imperial solicitor and public notary at Rome. See vol. iii., part 1, pp. 1039, 1046, and part 2, p. 991. What the nature of the offence was, for which redress was asked, does not appear.

† Jean d'Orleans, archbishop of Toulouse.

1531.

mount to a breach of the peace and violation of the existing treaties, the Frenchman replied that his king would no doubt keep strictly to the letter of the treaty of Cambray, but that outside of it he might and would do that which was most convenient to him. The Emperor wished to be alone and rule the World, it was for them (the French) to let him know that it would be better for him to behave well towards the King, his master. And on the Pope remarking that certainly he did not understand how the Emperor could do more for the king of France than give him his own sister (Eleanor) in marriage, he (the ambassador) said: "the French expect a good deal more, and as they see that the Emperor cares not for them they will create such troubles that the Emperor will rue it."

All this His Holiness told me confidentially and with the greatest reserve, and upon my observing that I could not imagine what the French trusted in when they thus threatened to create disturbances and throw obstacles in the Emperor's path, he said to me that their trust was in the Vayvod and in the Lutherans, as well as in these last differences which had lately sprung up between the duke of Savoy (Carlo) and his relative the count of Geneva, &c. I asked him then whether he had any suspicion of French intrigues in Italy. He answered that he had none, he knew the Venetians and the duke of Milan to be sincerely attached to Your Majesty, and therefore there was nothing to fear on that side. "Should anything occur (he said) I will let you know immediately, that you may inform the Emperor."—Rome, 12th December 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 3.

15 Dec. **860.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 22.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 148.

Your Majesty sent me the copy of a letter from your ambassador at Rome, Miçer Mai, by which and by what he himself tells me in Your Majesty's name, I can see the continual care that is there being taken of my affairs, as well as your own solicitude in procuring from the Pope as soon as possible redress for this fiery dissension lighted up between the King, my Lord, and me, by the Enemy of Mankind. I am also aware that the said Miçer Mai has often begged and entreated Your Majesty to encourage His Holiness to enforce justice, as his own duty and the quality and importance of the affair require, because the ambassador fancies that the Common Father of the Faithful is as cold and indifferent now as when the suit began. Indeed, I am amazed at His Holiness' behaviour and that, knowing what harm the past delays have caused, the danger in which this kingdom is, and the differences likely to arise between Christian princes, at a time too when conformity of ideas and mutual help are

1531.

so desirable, he can allow a suit so scandalous for the whole of Christendom, and so detrimental to the conscience, honour, and reputation of my Lord to remain so long undecided.

I must say that such conduct on the part of His Holiness pains me to the soul, and that if he do not make up his mind to apply a prompt remedy to this evil (which he can very easily do by putting such an end to this business as is to be expected from a person of his authority and example), if he do not attend to the representations and complaints of this kingdom which has been so many years waiting for his decision, I must perforce declare that he has no charity.

I, therefore, most humbly beg Your Majesty, as one who is in extreme need, for God's sake, and for the love and relationship (*deudo*) existing between us, to be pleased to bestow on me, besides other most signal benefits already granted on former occasions, this one favour of again encouraging and urging His Holiness in every way that may be considered most efficacious, to uphold justice in this my case, removing from his mind all fears and apprehensions which the contrary party may cause or suggest, and assuring him that the issue of this affair cannot fail in the end to establish peace and quietness between him and the King, my Lord. I say the same to Your Highness, knowing, as I do, who is the cause of all this evil, and being convinced that God will never allow the wickedness of my enemies to prevail and impede a work so pious and so necessary to Christendom, for I still hope that the King, my Lord, when free from the bonds in which he has been caught, will readily acknowledge that God has enlightened his mind and restored his reason.

Your Majesty may be certain that no good can come of the cause remaining in its present state, because those who have prevailed upon the King to act as he does goad him with lances like the bull in the arena, sometimes giving him vain hopes, at other times suggesting false arguments and reasons. It is a pity that a person so good and virtuous should be thus deceived and misled every day, and I shall never cease praying God to enlighten his mind, sure as I am that my prayers, so just and pious, shall in the end be heard. —From Mur (More), separated from my husband without having ever offended him—the 15th of December [1531]. Your Majesty's humble aunt.

Signed: "Katherina."

Addressed; "To the most high and most powerful Lord, the Emperor and King, my nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

20 Dec. **861.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 126.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 100.

Your Majesty must be aware that the Turk is threatening to come to Italy with a formidable sea force and to invade the northern part [of Europe] with an equally powerful army.

1531.

Luigi Gritti said as much in Constantinople to the patriarch of Aquileia,* who, on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited that capital, and embarked on the same galley which had taken thither Zeno, the Venetian ambassador. The news is confirmed by Zeno, who writes to the Signory. I have been unable to ascertain whether the Patriarch's information, and that of the ambassador—which the Signory has just communicated to the Pope—proceed from the same source, but I hear that similar news has reached Genoa.

The news in itself is very suspicious and may have been circulated for some special purpose. My reasons for this opinion are: 1st, because the last letters that came from that Venetian ambassador announced that the Grand Turk was entirely engrossed in fitting out in Egypt a powerful fleet against the Portuguese in the Red Sea, which news turned out to be true since it was confirmed by advices which came to Florence from Alessandria and Cairo; 2nd, because it is not likely that the Turk will at once prepare three different expeditions such as this one in Egypt, the one which they say is to come to La Velona, and the land force which is to attack Belgrade.

What the people say about Abrahin Bassá coming down with 40,000 acappos (spahis) and 10,000 janissaries and 300 sail, seems also a hoax, for even supposing that number of sail, 50,000 men could not possibly be crowded on board them, &c. Nor is it easy to believe that at this very moment, when the Turk is represented as having such forces under his command, the last successes of the sophi [of Persia] against him should be confirmed;† and above all (*cipher:*) it is doubtful whether Luigi Gritti is so situated at the court of the Grand Turk, and has such influence over him, as to be able to give advices so important, or that the Venetians should make such a fuss about it, as not only have the Signory written to the Pope, but their ambassador has told cardinal d'Osma and myself and many others in Rome, whereas in former times not only were they chary of communicating information of this sort, but denied it positively.

There are many other reasons to make me suspect that the whole is an invention of the Venetians, or perhaps of the French themselves. Luigi Gritti has a rich archbishopric in Hungary, and as he knows that things in that country do not last long, it might be that he is seriously thinking of coming over and saving the rentals of his see. There are not wanting people who say that Gritti has an eye on the crown of Hungary, and this might be a consideration for the Venetians, who have always dreaded the power of the king of the Romans, and might after all live on much better terms with a neighbour like Luigi Gritti or the Vayvod. I fancy

* At this time Marco Grimani, a Venetian, was patriarch of Aquileia; he was succeeded in 1533 by Marino Grimani, who died in 1546.

† "Que á este mismo tiempo confirma las nuevas del Sophi tan favorables con el Turcho como las blasonan."

1531.

that I have heard, but I cannot say when and where, that in a secret agreement with the Vayvod the Signory had stipulated that in the event of his being left in undisturbed possession of the kingdom of Hungary he (the Vayvod) was to make over to them part of Dalmatia and I know not what other advantages, and it may well be that the journey [to Constantinople] of George Gritti and of Renzo da Ceri's secretary is closely connected with all this, &c.

I have sent an express to cardinal Colonna at Naples requesting him to dispatch a brigantine to Le Velona, where they must know more about the Turk's military preparations; also to persuade the marquis de la Tripalda, who had at all times very good intelligences in Turkey, to cultivate them still further. I have written in the same strain to the viceroy of Sicily, begging him to go to Saragosa (Saracosa) which, owing to certain feuds and differences between the municipal authorities (*regidores*) is just now in a very pitiful state, for although the whole of that city and district belongs to queen Germaine [de Foix] and to the duke Ferdinand [of Calabria], I fancy that they will approve of it for the Emperor's sake.

Venice, they say, will arm 50 galleys; if they could only convince themselves that an attack upon the Turk would be successful they would willingly join in it; at any rate should Christendom be in real danger they will do their duty as Christians.

Ansaldo Grimaldo said yesterday that he wondered much at this last news, for he had letters from his correspondents in Venice, who had heard from Constantinople one month before, and the news was the same as that contained in former despatches, namely, that the Turk was only thinking about Egypt and the fleet, which was being fitted out there against the Portuguese.

In short it would seem that the first thing to be done in this case is to ascertain whether this news of the Turk be true or not, and if it should turn out to be, as there is every probability, *an invention of Luigi Gritti, or of the Venetians and French combined*, it would be advisable for the king of the Romans to negotiate through the king of Poland (Sigismond), or in some other way, either a peace or a prorogation of the truce with the Turk.

After writing the above, I was told that *the French ambassador* took advantage of these Turkish news to ask the Pope for a cardinal's hat *for the archbishop of Toulouse* [Jean d'Orleans], and that he spoke much and uttered many bravadoes on the occasion, and though His Holiness *looks upon him, and not without reason, as a sort of madman*, yet every time he calls at the Palace he is a source of annoyance to him. —Rome, 20th December 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 4.

1531.

20 Dec. **862.** Cardinal Ravenna to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 109.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 105.

The Emperor need not thank him for what he has done in the Scotch business; as long as His Majesty considers his services of any use he (the Cardinal) will be amply repaid by the simple acknowledgment of them. Has again written to the king of Scotland soliciting him to send his ambassadors to the Imperial court.—Rome, 20th December 1531.

Signed: "Be[nedict], card. [of] Ravenna."

Italian. Original.

21 Dec. **863.** Doctor Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 854, f. 115.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 107.

My despatch of the 10th inst. must have informed Your Majesty how the Rota resolved by a majority that the excusator (Karne), who acts in the King's name, should not be heard in court. No sooner was this decision known than the English ambassador left this post haste. It is to be feared that he has gone to England to procure and bring back sufficient mandate from his master for a further delay of the cause. Your Majesty may believe me when I say that the king of England is so convinced of the iniquity and injustice of his plans, that he has hitherto tried, and will try in future to obtain [from the Pope] as many delays as he can. It is a great pity that so much attention should be paid to vain and false honours, and that the honour and glory of God, of his Holy Church, Apostolic See, and true Catholic Faith should be thus postponed to wordly considerations, for in reality what the king of England aims at is nothing but heresy.

After the above resolution by the Rota the English ambassadors applied for a public audience, wherein the points already settled should be disputed and debated. The better to please them, this, their petition, was acceded to, and at a Consistory of Cardinals held on the 11th inst. it was resolved to grant them a further delay of three weeks, until after the Epiphany, when they might re-argue what had already been settled.

The news that has reached this court of the Queen being actually removed from the Royal Palace (*fuera de la Casa Real*), and the King's mistress having taken her place, is most afflicting, and has given me and the rest of the Imperial servants the utmost pain. It is reported that the Lady [Anne] has had a miscarriage.* Wish to God that the Most Serene Queen, and her most illustrious daughter, the Princess, were out of the kingdom, since the King and his paramour have thus lost all shame before God and the people! Should this present suit last long, and not be sentenced soon, it strikes me that the work of the Rev. bishop of Rochester (Fisher) and my own ought to be printed, that all may see

* "Dicese que la dicha manceba ha malparido del Rey."

1531.

clearly how iniquitously the king of England has acted in this affair.—Rome, 21st December 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

22 Dec. **864.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 853, f. 120.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 109.

. . . . . .

Told His Holiness that we, the Imperial ambassadors, were of opinion that he, Your Majesty, and the King, your brother, might and ought to collect at this present juncture as much money as you could. If not wanted for the Turkish war it might be employed on the occurrence of some like emergency.

We also told him that our advice was that some agreement should be entered into *with the Lutherans;* but as Your Majesty has lately instructed me not to speak about this, I have since purposely avoided any conversation on the subject.

Told him also that he ought decidedly *to ask all Christian princes to contribute, and since the principal difficulty lies with the kings of France and England,* that he ought to treat them as they deserve, and as he has a right to do, which is, in case of their refusing, to excommunicate them, and deprive them of their respective kingdoms, for in such a manner were despots treated in old times, and more recently in the case of the king who was of Navarre. Those two kings were to be threatened with that, because the threats taking effect, the execution of the sentence would no longer be necessary. A man of quality, I suggested, ought to be sent to *the king of France,* to represent to him in the mildest possible terms what his real interest is, and that being such a great prince in Christendom His Holiness cannot but have every regard for him and, therefore, warns him beforehand. Such monition, I owned, was due to a king, who professed to be a servant and friend of His Holiness, and yet no consideration ought to be strong enough to spoil the negotiation. This was said in case of the French king attempting some disturbance; the Pope approved of the plan, and promised to send the message, but I doubt much whether he will do it.*—Rome, 22nd December 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

* "Esto deciamos a fin que si el humor se mueve por el Rey de Francia, se derretiese por esta via y el mismo procurasse de remediarlo por no venir al rigor de estos terminos. A Su. Santidad le paresció bien, pero dudo que lo haga."

1531.

21 Dec. **865.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 52.

The Queen, who had been long thinking of writing to Your Majesty, as I did advise by my last—only sent me yesterday the two enclosed letters, one for Your Majesty the other for Rome, urging me at the same time to write in the same strain and implore your favour; and though I consider this step as quite unnecessary and superfluous, knowing well Your Majesty's readiness at all times to labour for the good issue of the Queen's affairs at Rome, yet the Queen herself having intimated to me that any declarations made by Your Majesty at the present conjuncture might inspire courage (*reuellieroit les esperitz*) to those who are in her favour, as I had the honour of pointing out in my last despatch, I may perhaps be excused if I again refer to the subject, and beg Your Majesty to comply with the Queen's prayers and my own suggestions.

The auditor of the Rota, who, as I informed Your Majesty, had been deputed by the Pope to go to Scotland, after a long stay in France arrived in this city three days ago, accompanied by the duke of Albany's secretary, and a Scotch gentleman. The sole object of his mission is, as I am told, the correction (*reformation*) of certain offences committed by clergymen, as well as laymen in that kingdom, against the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See. He has, as he himself asserts, no other charge, and his instructions are not to allude in any manner to this divorce question, unless the King himself should enter upon the subject, though it is generally said here that he has received positive orders in that case not to say anything to the Queen's prejudice.* I will take care to apprize him of the state of affairs in this kingdom, that he may write home and report to the Pope and to his own colleagues at the Rota how matters stand.

It would appear that this king is not very sure of the continuance of the amity between England and Scotland, for after the return from that country of the bishop of Durham and others appointed to settle certain differences, numbers of engineers were sent to repair the castles and fortresses on that frontier, and have new ones constructed.

An English Austin friar, who has lived for a length of time with Luther and others of his sect, has lately arrived in this city. He has come with a safe-conduct, and it is added, at the King's express solicitation (*au tres grand porchas du roy*). He goes about Court dressed as a layman (*en habit de seculier*) in the company most times of another Italian friar of the Order of Saint Francis, one of those who are known to have written in favour of the King.

Yesterday evening, Brian (Sir Francis) and Dr. Fox made their appearance here from France and Dr. Benoit (Benet)

* "Toutesfoys si le dit sieur roy savance luy en parler, yl a este si souffizantemant embouche qu'il ne dira chose preiudiciable a la royne."

1531.

from Rome; the arrival of the latter makes people suspect that the Pope has refused to comply with the King's impertinent demands.

Great pleasure has been felt here at the announcement that the Switzers had made some sort of compromise (*appoincte-ment*) among themselves, and especially that the French king had been the promoter of it, both parties being equally grateful for his inteference. The arrangement made by the king of Denmark has not been so much to the taste of these people.

Jean Jocquin has obtained leave to return to France, and will be succeeded by the Sieur de la Pommeraye. The former, I hear, has been three or four days at Court soliciting permission in his master's name to ship wheat for Bordeaux, also to complain of certain English seamen who had captured two French vessels. With regard to the wheat, he has been told that there was none to be disposed of for the present, but that later in the season they would see what could be done, and attend to his request; and respecting the two French vessels that, since the seizure had been made by fishermen on board an armed craft, the King was not obliged to make restitution, but merely to prevent his people from arming against their neighbours, the French.

The said Jocquin happening some time ago to talk to me about the proposed enterprize against the Turk, said that it was foolish to suppose that his master or this king would ever attend it in person considering the harm their respective kingdoms might suffer through their absence, nor even contribute with money towards the expedition, for both dreaded Your Majesty's aggrandizement. This Jocquin told me openly without reserve or reticence, and as one who was sure of what he said. May God by His infinite grace inspire better sentiments to those princes!—London, 21st December a° 31.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

22 Dec. **866.** The SAME to the GRAND COMMANDER of LEON.

S. E. L. 853, f. 121.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 110.

After writing the enclosed for the Emperor, the patriarch of Aquileia (Marco Grimani) arrived in Rome with the tremendous news that Your Lordship must already have heard. The very day of his arrival he saw the Pope in the evening. Having been asked how it was that the Grand Turk could fit out such a large fleet against Italy when he had not sufficient sailors for the one he destined for the Red Sea, his answer was that the Egyptian fleet would be manned with raw hands (*gente inutil*), whilst that destined for Puglia would have his very best sailors; in which statement there is evident inaccuracy, for we know as a positive fact that it is the Egyptian

1531.

fleet which is best appointed as to provisions and ammunition, and has the best crews.

Being asked how it was that the Grand Turk, knowing the great warlike preparations being made against him, knowing also that the Christian militia was so superior to his that a few men would get the better of hundreds of Turks, dared invade Christendom, the Patriarch answered that according to Luigi Gritti, whom he quoted as his authority on all points connected with that subject, the Grand Turk hoped to bribe some of our own soldiers to desert and join him; besides which he had intelligence and friends here in Italy such as the son of Renzo [da Ceri] and others whom he (Gritti) named.

The Patriarch also said, and the Pope is of the same opinion, that it was a pity that *George Gritti, when arrested, was allowed to go at large,* because since all these doings in Turkey took place *after his arrival* at Constantinople, it is natural to presume that he was the bearer of instructions from France and Italy, the more so that his brother Luigi professes to be a good servant of the French king, and wished to give him (the Patriarch) a casket of pure gold filled with balsam to take to the French ambassador in Venice. The Patriarch further says that he met on the road a Neapolitan gentleman who was going to Turkey with 10 or 12 mounted retainers. He could not say who he was, only that he thinks he is one of the "fuorusciti" banished by that king.

Though all these news do not well cohere, and there is reason to think that they *are propagated on purpose to accredit the Diet about to be celebrated in Hungary, and discredit the Imperial one* [of Ratisbon], I have thought fit to record them here.*—Rome, 22nd December 1531.

23 Dec. **867.** Cardinal d'Osma to secretary Covos.

S. E. L. 854, f. 78.

. . . . . .

Respecting the English business I delivered Your Majesty's message to His Holiness. His answer was that he would do Your Majesty's pleasure and grant no more delays. His Legate at the Imperial court had reported to him the kind words Your Majesty had uttered about him on the occasion, telling him that should sentence be pronounced, as you expected it would be soon, in favour of your aunt, the Queen, you would employ all your forces in the execution of it, not only for her sake, but on account of its being an Apostolic decree, which you were bound to obey and uphold. These words coming from Your Majesty, through his Legate, the Pope said he accepted most thankfully; had the offer proceeded from any other Christian prince but Your Majesty he might still have entertained doubts, but coming from a mouth that never told an untruth he prizes them as words from Heaven. He commanded me to write at once to Your

* The remaining paragraphs are only a duplicate of his letter to the Emperor.

1531.

Majesty, and say that he is quite ready to do justice in the English cause without any fear whatever of the King's refusing him obedience, since he has at his back so powerful a defender to see that the sentence is faithfully executed.

Indorsed: "Copy of a paragraph in a letter of cardinal d'Osma to the High Commander."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 1½.

23 Dec. **868.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 119.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 114.

. . . . . .

I gave His Holiness the letter that came for him, and read to him besides the paragraphs relating to the matrimonial cause which came in mine, complaining as bitterly as I could of his conduct in this affair. He owned that Your Majesty had just reasons for complaint and I also, and promised not to grant any more delays; but Your Majesty must be persuaded that *as long as the World remains in this troubled state these people will be glad of any excuse to prolong the affair. I have a spy* among the English ambassadors and lawyers, and he *brings me from hour to hour intelligence of their doings.* It appears that now they pretend to have lawyers (*letrados*) from these neighbouring universities, and on the excuse of giving them time to arrive ask for a prorogation of the term; but I am on the alert and will parry their blows, incessantly asking the Pope to have justice enforced.

With regard to the cardinal's hat for the lord of Monaco a new petition has been addressed to His Holiness, though without success. The Pope, however, has no objection on the ground of his personal qualifications or morals, and promises not to create any other cardinal before him. In the last Consistory the application made in favour of Mr. de Toulouse was rejected.

I have just learned that four days ago, as the French ambassador was talking to a cardinal on the subject of the divorce case, he said that the King, his master, had particularly instructed him to help the king of England as much as he could, and the English have orders from their king not to move a step in the affair without consulting him first. And the report must be true, for they are often seen together, and very frequently also meet to deliberate on their affairs.—Rome, 23rd December 1531.

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 2½.

23 Dec. **869.** Muxetula to the Same.

S. E. L. 853, f. 136.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 116.

Has no answer to give to the Imperial letters of the 26th ult°, having written on the 13th inst. on most points.

The money from Naples has not yet arrived.

1531.

The Pope consents to part of the Imperial army being quartered on the Roman estates provided the remainder be distributed between Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua.

His Holiness sent yesterday for Miçer Mai and himself, and communicated to us the news he had from Venice respecting the Turk and his armaments.

[Repeats in substance the same arguments, and then continues:]

The Venetians who seemed inclined, as it was but proper that they should, to give permission for His Holiness to appropriate two-tenths of the ecclesiastical dues, begin now to cool down, and say that the Swiss Catholics having made an agreement with the Lutherans, money is no longer wanted. They perceive the Imperial ambassador has been written to.

The above being written, the patriarch of Aquileia arrived and had an audience of His Holiness, who interrogated him closely about the Turk, &c. Being asked how it was that the Infidel, being engaged in war with the Portuguese, could dispose of two more armies, one against Italy and the other against Germany, the Patriarch answered that he did not exactly believe what Luigi Gritti had told him at Constantinople; yet he thought the Sultan would invade Italy by sea and he himself approach Hungary in order to embarrass the Emperor in Germany, and prevent his succouring these parts of Italy.

(*Cipher:*) The Patriarch further told the Pope that George Gritti, he who had lately gone to Constantinople from France, was the principal instigator of the expedition which the Turk meditated, and the acknowledged agent of the king of France.

His brother, Luigi Gritti, had given him a golden vase full of balsam to take to the French ambassador at Venice, saying that king Francis himself had asked for it to relieve a certain rash on his face.

The above is the substance of what the patriarch of Aquileia said to His Holiness. With regard to the English matrimonial case Your Majesty's orders shall be punctually executed. The Pope has granted the English ambassadors the few remaining days of these Christmas holidays to prepare their allegations and state what they have to say. The term will be over after the Epiphany. Though we all tried to prevent this new delay in the proceedings, after so many had been granted with no visible result, yet His Holiness and the cardinals were of opinion at the last Consistory that it was expedient to accede once more to the wishes of the English for fear they should say hereafter that justice had been denied them.—Rome, 23rd December 1531.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæsª et Cath. Mtⁱ."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

1531.

27 Dec. **870.** Bernardus de Llauro Super matrimonio Angliæ et illus validitate inventa veritas.

S. E. Pat. Re. Trat. C. Ing. L. 4, f. 130.

A discourse in favour of the legitimacy of queen Katharine's marriage addressed to the empress Isabella, and signed Bernardus de Llauro, Abbas,* sacrarum literarum debotissimus (*sic*) proimitator et Juris Utriusque doctor indignus.—Rome, xx Octobris, cum additis postea et finitis xxvii Decembris MDXXXI.

30 Dec. **871.** Jo. Ant. Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 14.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 129.

It is absolutely impossible from the resources of Naples to provide the entire pay of the Imperial army.

The patriarch of Aquileia (Grimano) sends news of the great preparations now being made by the Turk. The Pope has invited all the foreign ambassadors in Rome to a most solemn audience, wherein he has fully explained to them the danger threatening Christendom. He has sincerely admonished all Christian princes to follow the example of their predecessors, and join in a crusade against the Infidel, threatening at the same time those princes who should not do their duty, and especially the kings of France and England, with excommunication and the loss of their respective crowns. There was no time (the Pope remarked to the ambassadors) for long deliberations. He himself offered his person and everything he possessed, expecting, as he said, succours in money, if not in men, from those princes who had refused to take part personally in the undertaking, though he did not doubt that the Emperor and his brother the king of the Romans would march at once against the enemy of Christendom.

The Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) answered that the Emperor would certainly do everything in his power to preserve Christendom from danger. The ambassador of the king of the Romans made a similar declaration. The French one uttered some fine sentences, and expressed a hope that his master would not fail in his duty. The English one pronounced some unmeaning words full of malice, and maintained that his master, the king of England, had always been ready to do all he could for the welfare of Christendom, but that it was necessary that all Christian princes should begin first by keeping peace with each other and not looking exclusively to their own personal interest.

The Milanese ambassador dwelt much on the poverty of his master, the Duke, which he said would prevent his making great efforts. The Venetian (Marino Grimano) said nothing

* The same abbot of Llor whose letters to the Emperor may be seen under Nos. 371, 506, 602, 642. His discourse must have been sent to Spain in an unfinished state long before, for in 1530 Mai alludes already to it, besides which the dedicatory letter prefixed bears the date of the 21st of January. See above No. 602.

1531.

at all, having, as he said, received instructions from the Signory not to take part in the deliberations. The dean of the College of Cardinals (Farnese) made a very fine speech, and the ambassadors of the king of the Romans and France quarrelled about precedence.

The Pope has been informed that the king of France is highly satisfied and glad at two things which he has lately achieved. One is the reconciliation he has brought about between the two Swiss parties, and his remaining on good terms of friendship with both. The other is that he has made sure of the king of England, whom he has completely won over to his side. The Pope, on the other hand, thinks he has made a mistake in the manner of conducting the divorce case. He is now very sorry, for in his opinion the mistake may lead to serious inconvenience, and do harm to the general interest of Christendom.—Rome, 30th December 1531.

Signed: "Gio. Ant. Muxetula."

Indorsed: "Answered at Cologne on the 28th January 1532."

Spanish. Abstract for the Emperor's inspection. pp. 8.

30 Dec. **872.** Doctor Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 101.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 123.

By the last post* I informed Your Majesty of the state in which the English business here was. Since then certain news has been received from England stating that the Queen was residing 20 miles away from Court by the command of the King, which proceeding is a manifest sign that he intends disobedience to the Apostolic See, and is consequently aiming at a schism or separation from the Church. This being so outrageous a step requires prompt action, and, in my opinion, His Holiness should at once issue a brief commanding the King, under pain of excommunication, to lead a conjugal life with his Queen, as before, and send away his mistress, who has just had a miscarriage. I myself earnestly begged His Holiness to take this step, and he answered me that my advice seemed good. I also communicated on the subject with the cardinal of Ancona, the best qualified and most learned of all those who compose the Consistory, and he answered me that the more sad and afflicting the news, the quicker and more efficacious should be the remedy which I pointed out. He was entirely of my opinion, and as far as he himself was concerned, should the Pope consult him on the subject would not fail to recommend the measure proposed, though he feared that such a brief would inevitably bring forth disobedience to the Papal See, schism and heresy, after which there would be no other resort left but to apply to arms: a serious impediment to the repulse of the Turk, of which we are all thinking just now.

* See his letter of the 10th, No. 855, p. 325.

1531.

My reply was that God's ministers on earth must not think that they can help Divine Providence by failing in the exercise of their respective duties; they ought to fulfil their charge and do their duty; the rest they must leave in the hands of God for Him to do His pleasure.* I afterwards related the substance of this conversation to the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai), and although I assured him that His Holiness had answered me as above, yet he being more experienced in these political matters than I am, fears that the Pope will not fulfil his promise. He, however, intends to press him, and I must say that if His Holiness refuse I shall be obliged to tell him plainly that he sins greatly against God, whose ire he provokes, because in the present case no plausible excuse can be alleged, no witnesses are wanted; the brief can be issued and sent in virtue of his Papal office and authority; the excuse hitherto alleged that he is not sure of the King having proceeded to such extremities, having heard nothing to that effect from his Nuncio in England, is no longer admissible, the fact being certain, and he himself having confirmed it. Neither is it necessary to have the case consulted in Consistory, for cardinal Ancona, in whose judgment I trust mostly, has told me that the fact is notorious enough, and needs no consultation but a prompt remedy.

All this I intend telling the Pope the first time I call upon him unless he grants my petition and that of Miçer Mai at once.—Rome, 30th December 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, my Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

30 Dec. **873.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. Roma 854, f. 101.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 123.

Reported by the last post on the state of the English matrimonial cause. Since then reliable information has been received here [at Rome] of her Most Serene Highness the queen of England being by the King's express commands removed 20 miles away from London, which proceeding being, as it is, a manifest act of disobedience to the Apostolic See, as well as the commencement of a schism in the Church, and a most outrageous proceeding besides, demands a prompt and hasty remedy. This can be no other than to obtain from His Holiness a brief enjoining the King, under pain of excommunication to live with his legitimate wife as before, and separate from his mistress (*manceba*), who has lately had a miscarriage.†

* "Yo respondi que los ministros de Dios no an de pensar ayudar la divina providencia con falta de sus oficios, sino que deuen hazer lo a que son obligados, y lo demas encomendarlo á nuestro Señor, que él lo proveera de su mano."

† "El qual serie que Su Santidad enbiase un breve en que mandase al Serenissimo Rey so pena de excomunion usar de la Serenissima Reyna como antes, y apartarse de la manceba que dél a malparida (*sic*) y de su coitacion (?) frequente."

1531.

Has solicited such a brief from His Holiness, who approved of it at once, and offered to consult the cardinal of Ancona about the case, he being the most learned and of best repute among the members of the Consistory. The Cardinal owned to him (Ortiz) that the case was grave; he promised, however, to speak to the Pope on the very first opportunity, though he very much feared that the King's disobedience to the Papal injunctions could not fail to provoke in England both schism and heresy. After that (he said) there would remain no other resource but that of arms, which, in his opinion, would be a very serious inconvenience under present circumstances, when all the powers of Christendom were being summoned to resist the Turkish aggression. His (Ortiz's) answer was that God's ministers on earth were not called upon to help Providence out of their own priestly sphere; they were only bound to fulfil their duty and leave the rest to our Lord [Christ], who would no doubt provide the remedy. This last observation and the Pope's answer being communicated by him (Ortiz) to the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai), he at once promised to help as much as he could in the affair, though having greater experience of affairs and knowing better His Holiness' character and disposition, he could not help remarking at the time that he did not think His Holiness would consent to the brief. If he do not he (Ortiz) intends telling the Pope to his very face that he sins greatly against God Almighty and is daily provoking His wrath, because this happens to be a case in which no witnesses are required, and the brief can and must be issued in virtue of Papal authority. The excuse hitherto alleged by the Pope, viz., that he was not sure of the news of the King's behaviour towards his Queen being true, as he has not heard from his Nuncio to that effect, no longer exists, for having been interrogated the other day as to tidings from England, and asked whether he had any, he deliberately answered that he had received letters from his Nuncio stating that the Queen had been sent out of London. Nor is there any further need for him to consult the Consistory about this, since the evil is evident, and the remedy at hand.

Has great confidence that the cardinal [of Ancona] will ultimately persuade the Pope, for the latter never fails to consult him on all grave matters.—Rome, 30th December 1531.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred and Catholic Majesty the Empress."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

30 Dec. **874.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 854, f. 117.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 117.

Duplicate of the preceding, with a few trifling alterations.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty the Empress and Queen."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

1531.

30 Dec. **875.** NEWS from POLAND.

S. E. L. 635, f. 130.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 127.

Señor Lascky (Lasco ?) has a nephew named Lobozky, who has been sent by him to Turkey.*

Lately, on the 22nd inst., the said Lobozki returned from Turkey and from Transylvania from the court of the Janux (?), and stopped two days at Cracovia (Cracow), saying that he was about to join Lasky.

About the same time the landgrave of Hassen (Hesse) and another count had two servants in Cracow, where they stayed for nearly six weeks. The Munckwitz (?) has there with him 12 mounted retainers. Lobozki with the Landgrave's men and the servants of the Mynkuitz (*sic*) went away in haste by way of Pomerania to Lubeck, where they are to meet with sundry captains and princes. There Lobozki is to receive messengers from the Turk and from the Janux.†

It seems strange that the said Laski (*sic*) should be now negotiating peace or truce with king Ferdinand, when his own nephew, who is in his service, is making all manner of alliances and confederacies, and promoting rebellion against the king of the Romans.

For God's sake give no credit to what this Lascky (*sic*) may say should he go there; he is drunk every night, and, therefore, it would be the easiest thing to dispatch him on the road. His servant, Lobozki, has just returned from Turkey and from the dominions of the Janux, and is going to Lubeck and to the landgrave of Hassen (Hesse). He has commissions from the Turk for various princes, which by the way sounds very unlike the peace for which, they say, Lasky is striving.

The Oppel Vicedmis (?) of Transylvania is gone to meet the Janux; his servants are here. Hardly a week passes without the German post bringing letters from various captains and from the landgrave [of Hesse], and on the other side letters are equally frequent from Transylvania and the Janux.

Believe me when I say that they are plotting something, I mean the Janux and other princes.

Should the said Laski achieve nothing this time, and succeed in stopping king Ferdinand's victorious career with mere words and hopes for the future; should he return home without a treaty of peace being fairly concluded, you may be as sure as God is in Heaven that Lasky himself will bring the Turks into Austria, and further on perhaps than they came last time.

Of all that has been said above I have most positive information. Let the King's ministers write to the places he frequents, and my statements will be confirmed. Lobozky, I repeat, can do much harm.

The Vicedom (Witzthum ?), who forged bad coin in Bohemia, and was accordingly condemned by all the [German] Estates arrived here on the 30th of December of last year, and greatly

* "Y es criado del señor Lasky, y ha sido embiado por él en Turckia."
† "Y de alli tiene el dicho Lobozki mensageros del Turco y del Janux (?)"

1531.

complained before the Estates here assembled of king Ferdinand and his doings, saying that all his property and lands has been confiscated against all justice and reason, without allowing his case to be tried by a court of law. It appears to me that king Ferdinand ought to write a letter to this king [of Poland] requesting him not to shelter so notorious a forger (*falsario*) in his kingdom.

The above I write down that His Majesty [the king of Bohemia and Hungary] may take the advice of his Council, and see what is best for him and the rest of Christendom to do under present circumstances. I do not append my signature to this paper because my handwriting is well known in those parts.—30th December 1531.

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

30 Dec. **876.** Miçer Mai to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 853, f. 121.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 131.

Wrote on the 23rd advising about the Turk, reporting news that had come through Venice, and announcing that His Holiness had ordered a congregation of cardinals. This took place on the 28th inst.* Thirteen cardinals only attended; Osma did not because he was unwell at the time. All the foreign ambassadors were present except the Venetian and the Ferrarese. I fancy that the former was not invited out of consideration (*respetos*) for the Turk; the latter owing no doubt to the Pope's claims against the duke (Alfonso d'Este).

The French ambassador was among the rest, but before going thither sent word that he would on no account sit below the ambassador of the king of the Romans, Ferdinand. His master, the Most Christian king of France, (he said) acknowledged no superior in such matters save the Emperor and the king of the Romans, but only when both dignities were united in the same person, not when they were separate and distinct. Hearing this I sent word to the Pope by Muscettola (*sic*) not to allow such an innovation as this to be introduced, as no doubt the whole thing had been planned to bring on a dispute and cause delay. The Frenchman was then sent for, the Pope and the others talked him over, and he consented to sit below Miçer Andrea del Burgo, and even below Muscettola.

Reports the Pope's speech on the occasion, and the answers of the ambassadors, &c.

After all the congregration was held more "pro formâ" than with any hope of success. Your Majesty, therefore, must take your measures as if there were only three [princes] to join in the undertaking, namely, *the Pope, Your Majesty, and the king of the Romans.* The former is *rather weak and vacillating,* so that in reality, and if the affair is more closely looked into, it may be safely asserted that the whole business

* "La quarta fiesta de Navidad."

1531.

rests with Your Majesty and with your brother (Ferdinand). That is why, in my last despatches, I have ventured to put forward the expediency of a peace both *with the Turks and with the Lutherans.*

The French ambassador in conversation with me the other day committed himself by saying that the man who had come from the king of Hungary—for so do they call the vayvod (Sepuseo)*—had told him that Luigi Gritti would join the enterprize of Hungary with a large body of cavalry. The ambassador perceived when it was too late what effect the news had on me; he was ashamed at his indiscretion, and tried to retract.—Rome, 30th December 1531.

Signed: "Mai."

31 Dec. **877.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the SAME.

S. E. L. 22, f. 149.

God knows how much I regret troubling Your Majesty with my frequent importunities in so many different ways, knowing, as I do, the many favours I have received at your hands without any special merits of my own; but when I think of Your Majesty's pious feelings [towards me], and of the need I have of Your Highness' help and assistance (if I am to escape from the many perils by which I am surrounded) I really cannot refrain from being over importunate. It is not only my own dangerous situation, which Your Majesty well knows, but, as I have had frequent occasion to write, that of the whole of Christendom, which encourages me to be so pressing, and to pray and entreat, as if I actually begged for charity, that no time be lost, but every haste made in bringing this business of mine to a close. The causes of this, my most earnest request, Your Majesty will hear in more detail by the letters of your ambassador here resident (Chapuys), to whom I refer, humbly begging Your Majesty to give him credence, and order that the necessary steps be taken in my behalf; now is the time to act, otherwise everything will be lost.—Mur (More), the 31st of December [1531].†

Signed: "Catharina."

Addressed: "To the most high and most powerful Lord the Emperor and King, my nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

[31] Dec. **878.** SIR GREGORY CASALE to PROTHONOTARY CASALE.

S. E. L. 857, f. 56.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 138.

Such sad news about the Turk have just been brought here by Mesire Marino Grimano, the Venetian ambassador, that the Pope and all his court were frightened out of their

* John Zapoli or Zapolski, vayvod of Transylvania, who disputing the crown of Hungary with the archduke Ferdinand, of Bohemia, was some time acknowledged as king of that country by the Pope, as well as by the kings of France and England.

† This letter, the original of which is to be found at Simancas, not in Viena, is wrongly placed among papers of the year of 1530, whereas it evidently belongs to 1531, when Katharine had been sent to More, in Hertfordshire.

1531.

wits. The Pope asked me what would France and England do under the circumstances, and my answer was, as on a former occasion, in consonance with my general instructions and my own judgment.

The Pope then observed: "Why should France complain? if the King has paid the ransom [of her children],* he ought not to let himself be caught." Answered that not even the Emperor should desire to burden the king of France with such a contribution as must materially weaken his kingdom and expose him to ridicule, as he is now doing.† With regard to the king of England, I observed, it was impossible to give him greater offence than the Emperor is now trying to inflict. Should the Emperor or any other prince make war upon him, and try to conquer his kingdom, the enmity would no doubt be great, but not such that the quarrel could not be made up some day, whereas the course the Emperor is taking nowadays of opposing by his authority the king of England's suit for divorcing [his Queen] and thus humiliating the King by wanting the case to be tried and sentenced at a place where the judges are sure to pronounce against him, are so many wounds (*pugnalate*) aimed at his heart.

The King knows full well the injustice done to king John [Zapolsky], his protest, and the offers he himself has made of settling all disputes, and making peace with the Turk. He (Casale) thinks, therefore, that neither France nor England will willingly take part in that undertaking. He, himself, would never have dared speak his mind on such a subject, or insinuate what the intention of both princes may probably be, had he not considered it a duty to the Pope, to himself, and to the whole of Christendom frankly to state his opinion on this matter that His Holiness, who has the remedy in his hands, may at once and without loss of time apply it; otherwise he (the Pope) may be sure that he will not get any assistance from either of those princes.

Yesterday the Pope summoned a congregation of all the cardinals, which all foreign ambassadors were requested to attend. He told them the news brought by Marco Grimano, and since confirmed by Aluise Gritti, of the great warlike preparations made by the Turk; but he also added that the latter had written that should the Christian princes agree between themselves and be of common accord on this occasion the danger of a Turkish invasion might still be averted: and that if the Christian princes granted him their powers he had no doubt he should succeed in obtaining peace on good conditions. This last part of Gritti's assertion Grimano affected to disbelieve.

* "Et a questo proposito dicendomi 'l Papa di che si puo lamentar Francia se ha pagato la taglia no doveva lassarci pigliare."

† "Non doveva anco un Imperadore a un Ré di Francia tirare i testiculi per fargli pagar tanta taglia, et voler che debilitasse il stato suo et altri statii et ogni di fargli una burla come hora fa."

1531.

The Pope then addressed the ambassadors and said that in the present piteous and miserable condition of Italy he had resolved to ask all Christian princes for assistance in money and men, offering if necessary to go in person wherever the Christian princes should wish, either for the purpose of frightening the Infidel or of attending a conference. He would, moreover, do all he could in the Estates of the Church, and most earnestly begged them to write to their respective masters informing them of his views and mode of thinking. The Emperor's ambassador (Mai) answered that his master was ready to obey the Pope's commands. That of his brother (Ferdinand) said the same thing. That of France dealt only in common-places. As to myself I began to treat generally of my master's good-will towards the Pope and the Holy Apostolic See, that I might afterwards better declare all my mind. The matter, I said, seemed to me of such gravity and importance that I could not possibly give a definite answer, but begged with his permission to remind the Pope of what the King, my master, had signified to him (the Pope) on a different occasion, when other matter was under discussion; and although this threatened invasion of the Turk might seem to have no reference whatever to the said question, yet I could not help alluding to past events. Upon which I failed not to remind the Pope of all that had been done since we went to Bologna, both there and after our return from that city, and that His Majesty the king of France, on being told of the Pope's suggestions, had answered that the Pope and the rest asked for these provisions only by outward shew, but that in truth they asked for the contrary.* His Majesty thought that this was the time for the adoption of such salutary measures. Let, therefore, the Pope admonish all Christian princes to be in good friendship and amity with each other, so that all may help in so mighty an undertaking as the repulse of the Turk, and should there be again other measures required to raise the spirit of the Christian princes, and make them work in the common cause, let the Pope promote such with all his might. Such measures I needed not (I said) point out to him, they were the restoration of king John, &c. When it was seen in what direction and for what purpose the said measures were taken, I (Casale) had no doubt that the King, my master, would place his treasures and realm as well as his own life at stake for the defence of Christendom.

Neither the Pope nor his cardinals replied to this speech of mine, and it was resolved that the ambassadors should write to their respective sovereigns, whilst His Holiness and the cardinals should try to raise funds.

* "Ma si bien io ricordava a S. ta S quello che 'l Re non haveva significato per li altre occorrencie se gli era significate per queste cose Turchesche. Et quì io narrai tutto quello si era fatto nanzi adussiano (andassiano?) a Bologna, in Bologna, et poi tornassimo da Bologna, et che a questo S. Mta ne respondera che S. Sta et gli altri con le parole solamente domandano si facimo delle provisioni ma ch' in l' effetti si doman tutte 'l contrario."

1531.

I hear from Jacopo Salviati that he has a letter from Pimpinello advising that he had seen the ambassador of king John [of Hungary]. The Turk had sent a considerable force to the frontier of Hungary, so that it may be feared that the King may become his tributary. Luigi Gritti had arrived at Buda with a large quantity of provisions, but since then advices have been received, dated the 5th and 28th ult°, by way of Florence, confirming the former statement of the immense preparations made by the Turk.—Rome, no date.*

Indorsed: "Capitulo de carta del cavallero Casala en Roma al protonotario *Casal, embaxador de Inglaterra en Venecia.*"

Italian. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

— **879.** The Emperor's Debt to the Count Palatine.

S. E. L. 365, f. 142.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 166.

	Flors.
13,750 florins as equivalent to 10,000 ducats which Your Majesty ordered treasurer Vargas to pay over to him, and he never received - -	13,750
27,750 florins remainder of the 40,000 which Your Majesty gave him as indemnity for the office of viceroy of Naples once promised to him. Don Ramon de Cardona having paid him 10,000 on account, 30,000 are still owing to him -	27,750
50,000 florins as arrears of his pension of 5,000 florins every year, in the enjoyment of which he has been 12 years, though he has only been paid two, so that 10 are still owing - - - -	50,000
Making a total sum of - -	90,000
He confesses having received—	
1st. 10,000 florins, Spanish money, in bills of exchange on the Fuggers, making 9,375 gold florins.	
2nd. From His Highness the king of Hungary, on account of Your Majesty's debt to him, 2,000 gold florins, and 8,500 of current coin (*de moneda*) making together - - - - - -	10,468¾
3rd. At Innsbruck by Your Majesty's order 4,000 ducats, making - - - - - - -	5,250
4th. At Augusta (Ausburgh) in September last 2,000, equal to - - - - - - -	2,625
5th. From the Welzers and Fuggers - -	20,000
He has received in all - - -	47,718⅔

So that there remain due to him 42,280⅓.

Spanish. Contemporary copy.† *pp.* 2½.

* No date, placed in Bergenroth's volume, after the 29th December. It is evidently a copy of some intercepted letter from Sir Gregory Casale to his brother Giovanni, the prothonotary.

† No date, but placed among papers of 1531, as a note from one of the clerks in the Archives of Simancas leads me to suppose. In Bergenroth's volume, the 13th of the collection, it may be found after Fonseca's letter, No. 710.

1532.

4 Jan. **880.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 1.

As Dr. Benoit (Benet) was about to start [for France] he sent a message to the Queen begging her pardon for having been working against her. He had been, he said, and was still, compelled to do so; yet no one of her servants bore her more good-will, or wished more for her welfare; none prayed God more earnestly for the preservation of her Royal state, in which (he fully believed) she would most certainly remain notwithstanding all the schemes which the King and his solicitors might institute against her. Dr. Benet further informed her that this was the fit time, if ever, for pressing her business [at Rome], and for requesting Your Majesty to make the most strenuous efforts such as the importance of the case and the pusillanimity and indifference of the Pope required—to have the case sentenced. He further assured her that never at any time had her affairs been in so propitious a state as at present, and again repeated his advice that she and her friends and servants should now act with decision, and not let slip this opportunity.

Accordingly, though the Queen had actually written to Your Majesty the letter which I forwarded four days ago,* yet she ordered me to beg Your Majesty for fresh commendatory epistles to the Pope and to those who have charge of your affairs [at Rome].

On Monday the first of this present month, towards evening, there came here a servant of Dr. Benoit (Benet), who had left Rome on the 17th of December last, bringing news that the Pope had fixed the day after the Epiphany for hearing in Consistory what the advocates of the King and Queen had to say respectively about the interference or non-interference of the King's excusator (Karne) in the affair. The same messenger also related how the Pope had in full Consistory reproached the English ambassadors for the blameable treatment of the Queen by the King, her husband, especially during the last five or six months; which intelligence was by no means agreeable to him, and accordingly on Tuesday last he dispatched Dr. Faulx (Fox) to the Papal Nuncio, to complain of his having no doubt reported to Rome about his treatment of the Queen, which, he maintained, had always been proper and royal, and such as befitted a princess of her rank, having, as he said, provided for her train as amply as ever, without having curtailed in the least her revenue or household. After which the messenger stated in the King's name that it was neither the Pope's nor the Imperialists' province to interfere in such matters. "Even supposing (the messenger said) that she (the Queen) was not—as the Imperialists affirmed and maintained—this king's legitimate wife, nobody could find fault with him or any other husband if he chose to live for a time away from her, owing to many reasons and con

* See above No. 877.

1532.

siderations which need not be disclosed." The Nuncio's answer was, that he had not, that he knew of, written things about the King that he ought not to mention, and that on the day after, which was yesterday, he would see him on business, and answer the charge personally.

This took place, for yesterday the Nuncio called at the Royal Palace, when the King failed not to speak to him on the subject, entering into many particulars as to his own treatment of the Queen, the house that had been destined for her abode, the revenue set apart for her, her household, &c. The Nuncio again denied having written home anything but what was quite notorious. He fully (he said) believed everything the King had said respecting the Queen's treatment, and yet could not help thinking that if he (the King) were to recall her to Court, no harm whatever would be done to his cause, and he might thereby stop the slander of thousands of tongues. Hearing which the King seemed greatly confused for a while, and almost shed tears. Some time after which he went on to say that if he had brought about a separation it was only in consequence of the wrong done to him by this suit (*de l'injure du procés*), and the great arrogance of the Queen, who was continually threatening him with Your Majesty's interference in the affair.

The Nuncio having then inquired, at my request, whether Dr. Benoit (Benet) had or not taken a procuration to Rome, the King answered vaguely that he (the Doctor) had come to England solely on private business of his own (which is a downright falsehood), and that as he (the King) believed it to be agreeable to the Pope he had sent him back with a full and resolute declaration of his will. The King, moreover, complained of the short delays granted to him [at Rome] though he did not fail to excuse the Pope for not doing more in his favour. "I have no doubt (he said) that the Pope truly loves me, but such is his fear of the Emperor that he dares do nothing against his will."

Then upon the Nuncio saying that he had received letters from his friends at Rome stating that the Pope was very much astonished at not having been informed beforehand of the endeavours he (the King) had made and was making at the Court of France to promote war against Your Majesty, the king answered rather in a passion that it was all a falsehood and a lie (*inventions et menteries*), but that though he was not so inclined at present he could not tell how he might feel in future.

The Queen having been forbidden to write letters or send messages to the King, and yet wishing to fulfil her duty towards him in every respect, caused to be presented to him on New Year's Day, by one of the gentlemen of the chamber, a gold cup of great value and singular workmanship,* the

* "Luy fist lautre jour presenter pour son novel (*sic*) an par ung de ceux de sa chambre, une coppe d'ort de grand prix et singulier façon."

1532.

gift being offered in the most humble and appropriate terms for the occasion. The King, however, not only refused to accept the present, but seemed at first very angry with the gentleman who had undertaken to bring it. Yet it appears that two or three hours afterwards the King himself desired to see the cup again, praised much its shape and workmanship, and fearing lest the gentleman of his chamber who had received it from the Queen's messenger should take it back immediately—in which case the Queen might have it presented again before the courtiers (*devant tout le monde*), when he (the King) could not well refuse its acceptance—he ordered the gentleman not to give the cup back until the evening, which was accordingly done, and it was then returned to the Queen. The King, moreover, has sent her no New Year's gift on this occasion, but has, I hear, forbidden the members of his Privy Council, as well as the gentlemen of his chamber, and others to comply with the said custom.

The King used also on New Year's Day to send [presents] to the ladies of the Queen's Household, and to those of the Princess, but this custom, hitherto faithfully observed, has now been discontinued,* and no present has been sent, which is a sign to me that unless some prompt remedy be applied the state of the Queen and of her daughter, the Princess, will become worse and worse every day. The King has not been equally uncourteous towards the Lady from whom he has accepted certain darts, worked in the Biscayan fashion, richly ornamented, and presented her in return rich hangings for one room, and a bed covered with gold and silver cloth, crimson satin, and embroidery richer than all the rest.† The Lady [Anne], moreover, is still lodging where the Queen formerly was, and during the late festivities has been attended by almost the same number of the ladies as the Queen herself had formerly in her suite, as if she were already a Queen.

After the manner in which the auditor of the Rota,‡ who came here as Papal Nuncio on his way to Scotland, has been treated he has at last been allowed to proceed to that kingdom, with permission to exercise whenever he should happen to pass through certain Papal faculties, such as dispensations and others with which the Pope has invested him. I cannot say whether the permission has been granted with a view to persuade the said Auditor and the Papal Nuncio here to report favourably to Rome on his treatment of the Queen, for this morning a courier has been dispatched thither, the same who had lately come from Court, with orders to take charge of the Nuncio's despatches, though they will probably

* "A ete raye ceste annee."

† "De la quelle yl a accepte certains dards (?) faytz a la biscayne richement accoustrez, et pour recompense yl luy a donne une chambre tapissee avec le liet de drap d'or, d'argent et satin cramoisie avec riches broderies de plus hault prix que la reste."

‡ About this Auditor, see above, p. 337.

1532.

assure me that he had no orders to that effect.—London, 4th January 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

10 Jan. **881.** Dr. Garay to the Emperor.

P. Neg. Pap. de Sim. 1,483, No. 20. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 159.

More at leisure, though not quite at ease respecting the Queen's case. I thought that it would not be amiss to refute in my own vernacular tongue the errors and heresies of Martin Luther, for although Your Majesty knows Latin, I imagined the subject might be better treated and understood in Spanish. I did it that Your Majesty might completely refute those German princes, who, ill-advised, have fallen into the great error of Lutheranism. If I have been presumptuous enough to undertake a task of this sort, which should be reserved for people of more learning and abilities than myself, and especially more acquainted with the Spanish language than I am, let it be imputed to my ardent desire of serving Your Majesty. After 22 years spent in this city of Paris, dealing exclusively with foreigners, conversing in Latin or French, no wonder if I can hardly speak much less write in Spanish on such speculative matters as this one of the last Sacrament, on which Aecolampadius, Luther's disciple, is now preaching and interlarding with every sort of blasphemy against our Faith.

Your Imperial Majesty's decree at Augsburg against the Lutherans has been so much approved of here by these Paris theologians that they have decided to have it printed. I have remarked one thing among others in that document, which has given me immense satisfaction, namely, that a General Council is announced as likely to take place soon.

With regard to the queen of England, Your Majesty's ambassador and myself have done all that was in our power. We approve entirely of Your Majesty's determination that no more be said respecting Her Highness' right at this Faculty of Theology. That appertains to Rome, where exclusively of any other town or city the suit is to be tried and sentenced. True, at the very beginning my opinion was that the Pope might well by means of commissaries expressly deputed for that purpose take cognizance of the cause in this city and kingdom, sure as I was that they would have enough work in their hands to inquire into the bare-faced effrontery, bribery, and corruption practised by the English agents, which once proved might be quite sufficient to induce His Holiness to pronounce sentence; but since my advice was not followed, and it is now too late to retrace our steps, we had better leave things as they are for fear they should get worse.

Meanwhile the Imperial ambassador is trying to get back the signatures that were forcibly taken from me, because there are among them some who, though not present at the last

1532.

meeting of the Faculty, are in our favour, and many others who having in the first instance signed a conclusion favourable to the Queen, did after that sign a contrary one. Let also the book where the conclusions (*determinaciones*) of the Faculty are registered be produced, because when the matter comes to be properly investigated it will be found that the Queen has right on her side, and cannot fail to gain her suit. Indeed, had these Parisian doctors, as I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty, discovered that the king [of England] was in the right, they would long ago have given all we ask of them, such is the good-will they bear Your Majesty: but now they know that in doing so they must fall into disrepute, and are condemned to eternal shame. For this reason I was always of opinion that Your Majesty ought to press the Pope to give sentence, as he cannot but do justice to the Queen. I have in my favour a statute of this university—of which I am trying to procure a copy—which prescribes that this Faculty of Theology can nowise debate or decide in cases of importance without a majority of two-thirds of those present. As soon as I get it I will forward it to Your Majesty.—Paris, 10th January 1532.

Signed: "Garay."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

10 Jan. **882.** The MARQUIS DEL GUASTO (VASTO) to the SAME.

S. E. L. No. 1,776. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 161.

Hears through his spies that Andrea Doria by means of the Pope has already entered, or is about to enter into an agreement with France. Wonders why the Imperial ambassadors at Rome have not informed him of it; perhaps they have written to the Emperor, but as to himself (the Marquis) he has had no notice whatever of it. Cannot possibly give the name of his informer because he wants first to find out the truth in another matter of no less importance, to ascertain which he is about to take post to Rome and return immediately here. Will not fail to acquaint His Majesty with the result of his inquiries.

Has heard likewise that the king of France has already appointed colonels and captains for 15,000 men he intends raising in Switzerland, and that they are only waiting for a second order.—Buse, 10th January 1532.

Signed: "El Marqués del Gasto."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and most Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

11 Jan. **883.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 2.

Your Majesty's letter of the 17th December last with its postscript of the 23rd was duly received.

With regard to the mission of Maystre Jehan de la Saulx,

1532.

as I have at present no particular business to treat at Court, without which, as Your Majesty knows, it is not customary here for ambassadors to go to the King, I am unable yet to give particulars, I only know that he (Le Sauch) started off, and must already have arrived at Court. I hear, however, from one of the merchants, for whom the King sent some time ago, in order to advise with him and his colleagues as to the best answer to be given to those of London, that the King, the courtiers, and merchants in general, are very much pre-occupied with the affair, and that the present commercial crisis is entirely attributed by the latter to those parties, who through their negligence and complete disregard for their neighbours and the rest of the World have brought matters to this state. But the said merchant, my informer, was of opinion that the ability and kindness (*bouté et humanité*) of Your Majesty would in the end conquer the said difficulties. I tried likewise to ascertain from the said merchant what measures of retaliation were likely to be taken should Your Majesty alter in any way the present rules for the intercourse of trade, and he told me after long deliberation with his colleagues that should the ports of the Low Countries and Spain be effectually shut against them, they really should not know where to send their goods, and should have no other course left but to throw themselves on Your Majesty's pity.

Respecting the bishop of Rochester (Fisher), I will inform him as soon as possible of the paragraphs in Your Majesty's letter that concern him; this will be done in writing and through a third person, as there is no other means at present of communicating with that prelate, for he has lately sent me word that should we meet anywhere in public I must not appear to know him, or make any attempt whatever to speak. He himself would do the same, and begged to be excused if he took no notice of me until the present storm had blown away. As I have sure means, without the least danger, of maintaining the Bishop in his good intentions, I will omit no trouble to keep him to his purpose, forgetting nothing that may be conducive to the good issue of the affair in hand, or likely to promote in any way the Queen's interests.

The agreement lately made by the Switzers has, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty, been joyfully received here by these people, owing to the French being also very glad of it, and their boasting and bragging that it has been brought about through their interference, and *likewise because this king and his ministers think that, had the present quarrel lasted, it could only have terminated to Your Majesty's profit and advantage.* Indeed, whilst debating this Swiss question with me, La Pommeraye,* the ambassador, did the other day try to persuade me with his meagre arguments that the quarrel of the five cantons could not be supported here more

* Giles de la Pomeraie.

1532.

effectually than that of the other [eight], alleging that the Holy Scriptures do not recommend or allow the punishment and destruction of a whole race for the sake of making them return to their former Faith ;* and, moreover, that the King, his master, had achieved a very meritorious work in Christendom by causing the said Swiss cantons to come to an agreement together. Wishing further to specify the advantages to be derived from the said agreement, La Pommeraye seemed to hint that France was the only really Christian country [in Europe] ; yet he could shew no other reason for his assertion except that the Swiss were people well able to defend France and the French monarchy (so did he call it) against the whole of the Germans, should the latter attempt to stir against his master.†

My answer to this cunning remark and others of the French ambassador was as pertinent as possible, shewing him that fear of Germany or of any other country in the World ought not to deter the king of France from favouring the Catholic party in Switzerland, for if they (the Lutheran cantons) did faithfully observe the treaties concluded with Your Majesty, as I had no doubt they would, there was no necessity for the preservation of the French monarchy (as he chose to call it) of the favour and aid of the said Switzers or of any other nation [in Europe]. This La Pommeraye would not readily grant, and, therefore, after long talking and much humorous repartee on both sides,‡ I said to him smiling : "You may or may not believe my predictions, but I cannot help thinking that in this affair the French will be exactly like those people who withdraw a criminal from the hands of justice ; not only are they the first to repent of what they have done, but in the end they themselves receive injury from the very parties they tried to save from just punishment. It might indeed happen (said I) that the [Lutheran] Switzers fall upon you [the French] in preference to any other nation, for which they lack neither opportunity nor occasion, owing to their close neighbourhood, and especially to the injuries they received at Marignano and other places, which they have not yet forgotten, and also to the money owed to them (principal and interest) from times of old, which is the chief cause of their hostility. If the Lutheran sect continue to spread and increase (*pulluler*), it is to be feared that their false prophets may give them to understand that it is holier and better for them

* "La Pomeraye ma parle bien avant du dit affere des suysses jusques a moy vouloer persuader par ses froydes raysons que la querelle des cinq cantons en ce endroit nestoit plus sustentable que lautre, disant que la Saincte Escripture ne permet que lon puysse enforcer ne chastier tout ung peuple pour le tourner a la foy."

† "Venant a particulariser le dict bien yl vouloit innuyr que seullement France estoit chrestienne, car yl ne sçeust alleguer autre bien sinon qu'ilz estoint gens pour ayder a garder la France et la monarchie de son maystre (ainsy la nommait et baptisoit-yl) mesme contre linvasion de la reste dAllemagne."

‡ "Pour quoy apres plusieurs propoz de gaudisserie qu' eusmes ensemble, luy dis tout en riant," &c.

1532.

to wage war on their neighbours and try to spread their sect than to march against the Turk, and that by dint of such persuasions they may be inclined to act as the lanskenets once did, when they some years ago marched into Lorraine." These arguments of mine caused La Pommeraye to remain some time thoughtful, with his head down, without replying anything, save that in case of attack from the Lutherans they (the French) would be on their guard and defend themselves.

With regard to the German business, about which I wrote to Your Majesty [on the 21st ult°], I have tried as much as I could to get at the truth, but have not yet been able to learn anything certain. True, I was told at the time that those of Cleves spoke of a marriage in contemplation between the princess [Mary] and their young Duke; but believing the report not to stand on sufficient authority, I forbore from mentioning it in my despatch until I should obtain more certain information, as I wrote to Monseigneur de Grandvelle lately. *When the King, who is expected here in a couple of days, shall arrive I have no doubt that one way or other I shall be able to arrive at the truth.*

I fancy that the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardyner) does not find matters in France as well prepared as he imagined, for Dr. Benoit (Benet), who had been ordered to Rome in all haste, is still there, and will not take his departure until the return to France of a courier dispatched by the said Bishop, who arrived here yesterday, accompanied by another one to the French ambassadors. I cannot say for certain whether the French courier comes to offer the King's excuses for not doing what this one asks of him; but I am rather inclined to think that such is the nature of the despatches he has brought for La Pommeraye, and that the French king wishes to justify his answer to the Bishop (Gardyner). Some one tells me that the said La Pommeraye had presented to the King a long instrument, sealed with the arms of France, which they suspect is a new treaty of league and confederacy, for the confirmation of which the Bishop (they say) went to France. However this may be, I do not hesitate to say that I have been hitherto unable to obtain reliable information on this point. Certain it is that the French ambassadors have been twice to see the King during these festivals of the Nativity, but as they have not communicated with the Privy Councillors more frequently or privately than on other occasions, when they had ordinary business to transact, I suspect that the work they now have in hand is neither important nor new.

I have been told that Dr. Benoit (Benet) has been intrusted by the King, his master, in case the Pope should positively refuse to submit the cause to him (*ne veulle soubmettre la cause*) to come back immediately [to England], and challenge His Holiness as a suspicious and hostile judge.* Perhaps these people are now soliciting France to do the same, alleging

* "Et alleguera Sa Sainctete pour suspecte et enemye."

1532.

that when that country declared war against Your Majesty, they (the English) made common cause, and did also challenge Your Majesty to single combat. Such, indeed, is the blindness of these people that any construction one may put on their present conduct appears natural!

I had forgotten to mention, whilst writing about the French ambassadors, that on one of their visits to Court Jean Jocquin went alone, and presented to the King in the name of the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) two hawks.* Also that at this very hour two worthy merchants of this city have called on me to inquire whether it be true according to common report that a warrant has been issued in Holland forbidding the introduction of woollen cloth manufactured in this country,† for they were, they said, mightily afraid of such prohibition. On this account the merchants spoke to me with tears in their eyes, as of a measure most detrimental and ruinous to their interests.

Since the mere announcement of such a prohibition gives these people a head-ache, one may easily conjecture that the merchants and traders of this country will be greatly concerned at it, for they fail not, as I said before, to throw all the blame on the King and the divorce suit, and to say that subjects in this case suffer for the fault of their king. I firmly believe that if the suspicion of such prohibition spread on this side of the Channel, it may be the means of making this king acknowledge his error.‡—London, 11th January anno XXXII.§

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 11th January. Received on the 28th at Cologne, one half hour after noon."

French. Holograph. pp. 3½.

15 Jan. **884.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 857, f. 58.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 183.

As I wrote in my despatch of the 12th ult°, the moment that the Rota decided by a majority of votes not to admit the English excusator Dr. Benet took post and returned home.

* The word used is "sacre" in Spanish and French, "saker" in old English.

† "S'il estoit vray que lon eust prohibe en Holande de forger les draps d'icy que lon disoit, dont ils avoint tres grande craincte. A ceste cause me parloient [ilz] fort pitoyablemant jusques la larme aux yeux comme de la chose plus preiudiciable [a leurs interests] que pourroit advenir. Et puisque le fumiere (sonnerie?) de telles nouvelles leur fayt desirer douloer la teste, lon peust penser si le cas tiroit avant quilz en soient [fort chagrins.]"

‡ "Les dits marchans ont eux mesmes incontinent respecte (rejecté) la culpe de cecy sur le divorce, concluant en effet que les subjects suffroint pour la culpe du Roy; et si ceste suspicion tomboit aux autres de ce couste, je pense que lon donneroit appetit au dit Roy de cognoistre sa culpe et erreur."

§ "A note on the dorso of this despatch states what follows. Instead of a° XXXI. as in the original of Chapuys, anno XXXII. ought to be read. The arrival of Le Sauch in London took place in November 1531, and the Emperor was at Cologne on the 25th of January of the ensuing year, leaving it on the 29th to go to Bonn.

1532

Before his departure, however, he spoke courteously to His Holiness (*cipher:*) and I have since heard that the Pope also spoke kindly to him, promising to wait for the answer, and not to innovate or go on with the cause in the meanwhile.

(*Common writing:*) The English ambassadors in the meantime asked that the cause should be disputed in public. To save time and remove obstacles I consented; after this they applied for a delay that they might bring advocates and lawyers from without Rome. This I opposed as strongly as I could, and in the end, after many conversations and much earnestness (*diligencias*) on both sides, a delay was granted till the day after the Epiphany, the Pope promising at the time, as he has since written to Your Majesty, that on no account would he grant a further one.

As the term approached and my lawyers were ready for the disputation I heard that the English were saying that they had been unable to procure lawyers, and that the fault was mine. I was naturally hurt at this and went to the Pope and explained to him as well as to the cardinals one by one that Your Majesty could not put up with such trickery (*vellaquerias*), and that the wickedness of the English ambassadors exceeded all bounds. All those I spoke to, including the Pope, agreed with me, and yet they dared not declare openly in this cause, saying that reason and justice were certainly on my side, but that I ought not for various considerations to press the English so hard. I have said to His Holiness all I could say without absolutely coming to a rupture with him. I told him that he denied us justice, and threw discredit upon the Queen's case and Your Majesty's authority; and half complaining, half threatening, made him understand that I should be obliged to apply elsewhere for the justice that was denied to me at Rome. He ought to bear in mind that it was justice, independently of consequences, that we were all bound in common to maintain. It was to regulate these that justice had been ordained, and yet His Holiness wanted to make justice subservient to them.* However much I told him on this subject the Pope always owned that I was right, but nevertheless in two consecutive consistories held after the Epiphany, and one more this very morning, each lasting three hours and more, the cardinals have resolved to grant another delay till the end of this month. This, after all, would not be so injurious, were there no more suspensions of the proceedings, as they themselves say and promise; but I really believe (*cipher:*) that as long as the suspicion and dread of the Council last (*common writing:*) whatever our exertions to procure a sentence may be, these people will not do more than they have done hitherto, especially as the English have lately indulged in so many

* "Que era la justitia la que obligaba y no los respetos de inconvenientes, y que la justicia fue hallada por ataiar los inconvenientes, y que Su Santd. queria que los inconvenientes atajassen la justicia."

PUBLIC LIBRARY CENTRAL

1532.

calumnious reports that it is to be supposed that they will always find something to catch hold of.*

Such at least is my way of thinking. It might also be that they (the cardinals) were moved by some other mighty consideration, for after all the matter is undoubtedly an important one; but I cannot in any way account for it because the trial has already lasted long enough, and they must know that considerations of this sort have very small weight with the English, and therefore ought to be put on one side.

Here we see no other way for the conclusion of this affair than to press on, as we have always done, without coming to an open rupture. It is for that that we lose no opportunity of pointing out in the best possible manner the feelings of Your Majesty and how displeased you must be at the delay of the sentence. That conduct I intend to follow until we come to the end, unless Your Majesty orders me [to stop]. This is also the opinion of those here who wish to serve Your Majesty, of all the lawyers employed in this case, as well as of those of the Queen, and of another whom I have lately engaged for her, one of the best at Rome, and so we hope we shall at last come to the end, for they cannot grant further delay without confessing that what they used to call consideration (*respetos*) turns out to be simply injury.

The abbot of Nero,† lately arrived from France, has told His Holiness that he met Dr. Benet in that country, and that there was some hope of his bringing here something that might turn out well. I very much doubt, as I have told His Holiness, of any good coming from that quarter, because letters from England state that king Henry had invited him of France to break entirely with Your Majesty, and that in order to bring about such a rupture he was actually making the most brilliant offers. There is also a report, though I have yet been unable to trace it to an authentic source, that the king of England has already married his lady love secretly, which, in my opinion, could not be done unless he was in perfect understanding with France, and that the two kings were quite sure of each other.

Dr. Ortiz has applied to the Pope for a brief ordering the King, under pain of excommunication, to separate from his mistress, and although I doubt whether they will grant it, having once refused it to us at Bologna, and again here at Rome, yet I will insist until they refuse a third time.—Rome, 15th January 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To his most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher.

* "Mayormente que habiendose descarado (desatado?) los angleses a tan abiertamente malignar, siempre tendran algun asidero."

† Nero is the name of an abbey and sanctuary, otherwise called Montenero, in the territory of Livorno. The abbot was a relative of Andrea Doria, called "Erasmo." See vol. iii. part 2, pp. 765, 767, &c.

1532.

16 Jan. **885.** Dr. ORTIZ's allegation in favour of the marriage.

S. E. L. 858, f. 170. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 163.

Beg. Excusator seu defensor suo propio, necnon excusatorie nomine Serenissimi domini Henrici Angliæ &c., regis.

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 12.

21 Jan. **886.** FRANCISCO DE LOS COVOS to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 796, f. 160 B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 169.

The Emperor is so much engaged at present that he cannot write a private letter to her. He is well and in good spirits, and is in fancy already on his way to Spain.

Rumours are afloat of a new invasion of Christendom by the Turk, but she (the Empress) need not have any fears; nothing serious is to be apprehended.—Curinghen,* 21st January [1532].

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

22 Jan. **887.** DOCTOR ORTIZ to SECRETARY COVOS.

S. E. L. 858, f. 146. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 174.

Yesterday, the 21st, His Holiness told me that he had received letters from his Nuncio in England, informing him that he had, according to orders, remonstrated with the King on his separation from the Queen, and that the King had answered resolutely: "Since they insist upon her being my wife it follows that I am her husband, and the head of the family; she must therefore obey me. I have accordingly sent her word not to strive so diligently as she has done and is still doing, that the case be tried at Rome when I myself demand that it should be tried here. For this reason I have given her the choice of one of four places to retire to." The Nuncio, it appears, answered that the sentence had been delayed for three whole years merely for the sake of the peace and welfare of the Christian community at large, but that His Holiness could not possibly grant any more delays; as judge he was obliged to let the trial take its course, and then pronounce sentence. He, therefore, recommended the King to send his mandate and powers [to Rome] in full assurance that ample justice would be done. The King then interrupted the Nuncio by saying that the Pope was nowise the judge of kings; neither was he a doctor at law, and therefore had no business whatever with the trial and sentence of the divorce case. He (the King) had applied for three judges to be appointed: one on his (the Pope's) side, another on his own, and a third on the side of the Queen, and he could not but wonder that, having so many doctors, so many universities, and withal reason in his favour, His Holiness

* The copy has Curanges, which Bergenroth suggests may be Tournay or Tongres, but there can be no doubt that Corange is the place meant. The Emperor left Brussels on the 17th, and arrived at Corange on the 19th, passing by Louvain and Diest. See Gachard, p. 101.

1532.

should refuse to comply with his just demand.* "The Pope, (replied the Nuncio) is Christ's vicar on earth; to him belongs the judgment of such cases. Though he may be no doctor at law himself, he is surrounded by most learned men, with whose advice and counsel he proceeds in all matters as his predecessors have done. I, therefore, again recommend Your Highness to send your powers to Rome, so as not to have to complain hereafter that you have not been heard in the cause." To which the King answered: "that the auditors of the Rota were all venal and corrupt men, and that they could nowise be his judges; as to powers to be represented at Rome, he (the King) would send none." "If that be the case," retorted the Nuncio, "His Holiness will be obliged to give sentence against Your Highness for not appearing at the trial, or alleging anything in your defence." I care not for such a sentence said the King. "Well then," continued the Nuncio, "His Holiness will proceed at once to excommunication, and other judicial remedies, invoking, if necessary, the assistance of the secular arm;" but far from the King paying attention to these remonstrances and threats he said nothing more, and suddenly left the room.†

All this was related to me by the Pope, who added that the King had requested him to write to Scotland to contradict the rumour very prevalent in that country, that a separation from the Holy Apostolic See was contemplated in England. The Pope, however, had refused to write that letter because, though the measure had not actually taken effect, it was quite evident that it had been attempted. His Holiness further said to me that having sent to request the King to allow certain Scotch gentlemen in England to return to their country, he had flatly refused, saying many disparaging things of the Scotch king, pretending that he knew not how to govern, and had intrusted the administration of affairs to persons of low birth and origin.

There was at this time in England an auditor of the Rota whom His Holiness had sent to Scotland with a mission. It appears that happening one day to speak about the matrimonial cause the King said distinctly to him; "I am now sending certain articles to Rome by my ambassador, Doctor

* "El le respondió que al Papa no le competie ser juez de los reyes, y que pues no era doctor como avia de juzgar esta causa? Que él havia demandado que se pusiese un juez de parte del Papa, y otro de su parte, y otro de parte de la Serenisima Reyna, y que él se espantaba, pues por su parte tenia tantos doctores y universidades, y tantas razones, como en esta causa se hazia dificultad."

† "Y dixome S. S^{t} que [el Rey] le avia embiado á rogar que escriviesse al rei de Escocia sobre lo que se havia dicho que en su reyno se avia atentado separacion de la Sede Apostolica, y que no quiso escrivir diziendo que aunque se havia atentado no avie (*sic*) venido en efecto. Y dixome S. S^{d} que tambien le avia embiado a rogar que ciertos cavalleros de Escocia, que estavan en Inglaterra, que los embiasse á Escocia, y que el [Rey] avia respondido que no quirie, hablando muy contentiblemente (*sic*) del rei de Escocia, y diziendo que regia su reino por personas baxas y plebeyas y que no lo sabia regir, y que lo governaba mal."

1532.

Benito (Benet). Should they be rejected, the Pope is not to wonder at any measures being taken in this country against him."

This Benet, seeing that the majority of the auditors of the Rota had decided that the cause ought to be tried here, and that the King's excuses were nowise to be taken into account (unless he sent a new mandate and full powers), left post haste, promising that he would soon return with everything that was wanted. It is generally believed that if there has been since any delay it was principally from having to wait for the arrival of this ambassador, who from Lyons wrote a letter to His Holiness to say that he was coming shortly with certain proposals which, if accepted, would put an end to all disagreements on this matter; what they were he would not say. The Papal Nuncio in France also wrote to His Holiness that an English bishop of the name of Stephano (Stephen), who had gone from England to France on an embassy, had remarked to him how very fortunate it was that this last delay in the proceedings had been granted, since most likely some good expedient might be found in the meantime to put an end to the trial. Aware of all these facts, I failed not to represent to His Holiness, as I have done on other occasions, that no expedient could be devised for putting an end to the trial save for the King to confess his error at once and return to the true path. Upon which His Holiness said that he perfectly agreed with me, and was determined without further prorogation or delay to issue sentence, even should the kings of England and France separate from the Apostolic See on that account, though, if the Nuncio's statement is to be relied upon, many of the higher nobility in England are already forsaking the King's cause on this ground.

In am very sorry to say that after cardinal Ancona, and even his Holiness, had perused and approved of the minute of this brief about to be dispatched to England, and when the draft was already in the hands of Blosio to have it copied, the latter shewed it to the Imperial ambassador (Mai), who kept it four days to deliberate on its contents, and see whether it would do or not. When he returned it His Holiness heard that the English ambassador was already at Piacenza; he therefore ordered the whole thing to be suspended until it be known what the Englishman's errand is. —Rome, 25th January 1532.

P.S.—May God be praised. I have this moment persuaded His Holiness to send on the brief; it shall be forwarded to the ambassador (Miçer Mai) for him to address it [to Chapuys]. Should it not produce an effect on the King, as I am very much afraid it will not, steps should be taken to obtain at once letters of excommunication.*

* "Gloria sea á Nuestro Señor que como escrivo á Su Mag^{d}, oy convenci á Su S^{t} para que este breve se embie á Su Mag^{t} [el Emperador] y ya le enbia el señor embaxador. V. S^{a} mande[me] hazer saber sino haze fructo, como yo temo que no hará, para que si la causa no se concluye tan presto se enbie el breve de la descomunion."

1532.

Juan Ortiz, his brother, Don Martin de Mendoza, &c.

The enclosed paper in Latin is intended for Mr. de Granville's inspection.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most illustrious the High Commander of Leon, secretary to His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3½.

22 Jan. **888.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 3.

On the 13th inst. the session of Parliament began. It has been principally convoked, as many presume, to discuss the divorce question, and likewise to ask its members for some pecuniary aid from the laity, inasmuch as it was the ecclesiastics who contributed last year. Until now no motion has been made either on that or other topics, and it would appear that they intend temporizing until the arrival of news from France and Rome. The assembly is numerous, being attended by almost all the lords, temporal as well as spiritual. Only the bishop of Durem (Durham),* one of the Queen's good champions has not been called in, nor more has Rochester (Fisher), as I have been informed, though this last has not failed to come, and is actually in town (*cipher:*) intending to tell the King the plain truth about this divorce, and speak without disguise (*rudemant*). No sooner did the King hear of this bishop's arrival than he sent him word that he was very glad at his coming, and had many important things to say to him. The Bishop fearing lest the communication which the King said he had to make should be for the purpose of begging him not to speak on the subject, seized the moment when the King was going to mass (attended by the gentlemen of his Household) to make his reverence and present his respects, thus avoiding, if possible, the said communication. The King received him more graciously, and put on a better mien than ever he had done before, deferring the conversation till after the mass, but the good Bishop, owing to the above fears, prudently retired before mass was over.

(*Cipher:*) I have faithfully transmitted to the said Bishop [of Rochester] Your Majesty's last message; he has begged me not only to thank you most sincerely, but to offer his unconditional services in this affair of the Queen, requesting me at the same time not to write about him, or mention him in my despatches unless it be in cipher. The son† of the Princess' governess, who not choosing to follow the King's opinion on the divorce question, refused some time ago the archbishopric of York, has only just obtained permission to go across the sea to complete his studies. He told the King that if he remained in England he should have to attend Parliament, and that should the divorce question be brought forward and

* Cuthbert Tunstall, formerly bishop of London.

† Reginald Pole.

1532.

discussed he could not do less than speak and vote according to his conscience. (*Common writing :*) The King then gave him the permission he asked for, and promised him the same annual pension of 400 ducats, which he formerly enjoyed, besides the rents of his ecclesiastical benefices, notwithstanding all ordinances are against non-residents receiving the same. This will easily convince Your Majesty of the great desire this king has of removing one way or other all the obstacles he finds in his path.

In consequence of the recent capture of an English ship laden with merchandise by some vessels of the "bande," as they call it, of the king of Danemark (Christian II.), this king last week dispatched in chase of them three large ships well furnished with artillery, and carrying on board about 150 armed men each.

The ambassador appointed to replace the one now residing at Your Majesty's Court, and with whose doings people are here dissatisfied, is about to start in a very few days, I cannot learn what he goes about; but he is one of the doctors who went to Bologna in company with the earl of Wiltshire, on whom and on his daughter he entirely depends. (*Cipher :*) He has written in favour of the divorce, and is one of those who have translated the King's book into English. I apprehend that, if he has the opportunity, he will try at the German universities, through which he may happen to pass, to gain over to his opinion the doctors, Lutherans, as well as Catholics; but if he has no better chance than the King himself had with the Austin friar of the Lutheran sect, who came here at his invitation, and with a safe-conduct from him, as I have informed Your Majesty, he will not be able to do much, for the said friar went back as he came, except that he carried away, as I have been told, the dislike and displeasure of these people.

(*Common writing :*) According to the earl of Wiltshire's own words these people imagine that unless Your Majesty leaves for Germany before the purification of our Lady, you will have to embark at some port of this sea in order to return to Spain, and it would seem as if they did not dislike the idea, and already counted upon such an event.

I hear also from a credible source that the King has decided to create the earl of Wiltshire duke, the better to enrich the family he himself intends marrying into.*

As I had the honour to inform Your Majesty some time ago, this king had requested Jean Jocquin not to return to France until the bishop of Winchester (Stephen Gardyner) should come back from that country. And yet whether it be that Jocquin has received orders from the King, his master, to return immediately, or that these people consider he may

* J'entends de bon lieu que le Roy a deslibere de faire duc le dit comte de Vulchier *pour enrichir* l'alliance."

1532.

give powerful help to the Bishop's negotiation, the fact is that he has now obtained his congé, and went away yesterday. When he came to take leave I interrogated him as to the nature of his mission. His answer was vague and confused. He protested that he knew nothing more about the bishop of Winchester's charge than what De La Pommeraye had told me, as I informed Your Majesty at the time. The latter, who was present at the conference (as he had come in Jockin's company), failed not to confirm the assertions of his colleague, and taking part in the conversation began, among other things that he said, to extol and praise the advantages of a lasting peace and union among Christians, which he confessed Your Majesty had done everything in your power to bring about and preserve. "Nothing would have been so easy (remarked La Pommeraye) as to bring all Christian princes to agree on this point, had not that devil of a Pope (such were his words) been an obstacle, by trying to embroil and sow dissension throughout Christendom." And this was said by the ambassador so markedly, and with such assurance, that it is to be conjectured that both kings are now about framing some new intrigue to Your Majesty's detriment, the secret object and aim of which I am at present unable to discover.—London, 22nd January, in the year [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

24 Jan. **889.** J. Ant. Muxetula to the Same.

S. E. L. 859, f. 54.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 170.

All these days we have been working that the matrimonial cause of England should come on, but His Holiness and the Consistory have granted a delay till the end of this month for the advocates of the opposite party to dispute and plead whatever they have to say; after that time, on the 1st of February next, sentence will be pronounced without hearing them again. Many protests have been entered on our part respecting this new delay, but after all the term is about to expire, and His Holiness has expressly promised us not to grant a fresh one.

I hear that Doctor Benet, the ambassador who went once to England, and who the Pope thought might soon return with some fruit of his journey (all these delays having been granted merely on that consideration), is already on his road, and is expected here before the end of this month, for he has written from Lyons saying that he is coming. Whether he brings or not a commission from his master for the principal cause is more than he (Muxetula) can say; but His Holiness thinks that he brings anything but a good resolution.* He

* "Pero Su Sd. tiene suspecho que no trah[er] a dilation mas que cosa buena, y con esto dize que tanto mas piensa no admecterlas (admitirla) mas, pues las que a dado lo a echo a buen fin," &c.

1532.

adds that whatever proposals that ambassador may bring will be rejected. The delays which he (the Pope) has hitherto granted have been given for a good purpose, not to afford the King a pretext for insisting upon the cause being revoked from Rome and sent somewhere else. But as in all these delays granted with a view to bring the King to reason, greater injury has been done to the Queen than might have been anticipated, His Holiness protests that he is determined, unless Dr. Benet brings full powers, to shut his eyes, and think no more about dealing with the King by fair means, since those hitherto employed have been unavailing. He has also fully promised to issue the brief commanding the King to separate immediately from that diabolical woman, and to lead a matrimonial life with his legitimate wife, the Queen.* I will never cease importuning him on this score until he has actually fulfilled his promise.—Rome, 24th January 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

24 Jan. **890.** Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Empress.

S. E. L. 859, f. 54.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 170.

All these last days we have been hard at work. At last His Holiness and the Consistory of Cardinals have granted what remains of this month for the lawyers of the opposite party to dispute and make such allegations as they please, on the 1st of February they will be sent away, and no more heard. The English have of course protested, saying that the term is too short, and that they cannot possibly prepare their allegations, but their protest has been disregarded, and in a very few days we shall be at the end of the month. Dr Benet is coming and writes from Lyons, &c.—Rome, 24th January 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

25 Jan. **891.** The Emperor to Dr. Ortiz.

S. E. L., 1,559, f. 9.
B.M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 190.

Thanks him for his letter of the 30th of December last. Is much satisfied with his valuable services in the Queen's matrimonial cause. As, however, the ambassador (Mai) is the person who has to decide how and by what means the interests of the Queen can best be safeguarded, he (Ortiz) must not act in the matter without consulting first the said ambassador, otherwise he might commit great error.—Cologne, 25th January 1532.

Indorsed: "Minute of letter from the Emperor to Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of secretary Idiaquez.

* "Hame tambyen prometido despachar el breve sobre le separation de la platica tan publica de aquella diabolica muger, y continuation del estado matrimonial 'pendente lite' con la serenissima señora Reyna, su legitima muger."

1532.

25 Jan. **892.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 857, f. 58.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 184*b*.

After my despatch of the 15th inst. I called one day on His Holiness quite determined to tell him my mind and also what I thought of this last delay granted to the English. Had the night before sent him a message through Sanga, the secretary, to that effect, but notwithstanding that I called on the Pope myself, and repeated the same and perhaps stronger arguments than I had used the other day. He interrupted me, owned that I was perfectly right, and that the delay had been granted for the greater confusion of the English. Everyone at Rome, he said, was persuaded that the King would be condemned, and by the 1st of February the report (*relacion*) would be ready. My answer was that he had made me many a time the very same promise; I had written home accordingly, and yet the promise had not been fulfilled Nobody not in Rome could possibly believe that it was the fault of His Holiness or of his cardinals, and therefore all thought that it was mine. Upon which His Holiness most deliberately said: "I have never promised that to you, however, I do promise now most solemnly, and upon my faith that after this delay I myself will be your advocate and proctor (*advogado y procurador*)." Hearing this I threw myself at His Holiness' feet, and the more to bind him closely said I would report his words to Your Majesty.

Dr. Benet has dispatched a courier from Paris, he himself being unable to ride so fast, to say that he is coming and brings a resolution on the whole divorce case. I do not believe it, because these Englishmen here have been complaining of the delay being so short, and of the injury done to them and to their king in not granting them sufficient time for their lawyers to come. Now they insist again on the same point, and I fancy that they will ultimately send for some of them, not, indeed, because of their considering them necessary to establish their right, but that they may allege, when condemned, that they had in their favour a great many lawyers. Meanwhile, I myself am informing the cardinals; Your Majesty's and the Queen's lawyers are doing the same.

As I informed Your Majesty in one of my last despatches these people have refused to give me the brief with censures which I applied for, but have promised that the Papal Nuncio will present this one, such as it is, to the King, and if it produce no effect then they will give me another one with censures. Should they grant it I will forward it to Your Majesty to be remitted to the Papal Nuncio in England, who, being a vassal of Your Imperial Majesty, cannot fail to do his duty in this respect.

It appears that the auditor of the Rota, who is going as Papal Nuncio to Scotland, passing through England the other day met with a very bad reception from the King, who told him that he could not think how he and his colleagues of the Rota dared mix themselves up with the affairs of kings; and

1532.

upon the Auditor, who is a good scholar and lawyer, and a wise man besides, answering that this was no new thing, that the pre-eminence of the Apostolic See and of the Vicar of God on earth was indisputable, and that he for his part was surprised that His Majesty (*sic*) could maintain such doctrines, king Henry replied that nothing would ever induce him to submit to be judged by the Pope.

As Ortiz was speaking the other day to the Pope about this brief he told him: "The kings of France and England are so closely united that I can see very well that if I lose one both of them will be lost to me; that, however, will be no reason for my failing to do justice."

The auditor of the Apostolic Chamber (Ghinucci) does not choose to leave his post at Malta, and as the Consistory never makes an appointment without the office being actually vacated we are at a standstill. The Pope has spoken to him twice, but he refuses no doubt in order to sell this further favour to his friends, the English.—Rome, 25th January 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

25 Jan. **893.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 144.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 177.

My last despatch must have informed Your Majesty how according to authentic reports the queen of England had been by the King's command sent 20 miles away from Court, which proceeding is a manifest commencement of disobedience to the Apostolic See, and demands prompt and radical remedy for fear it should lead to a schism. This remedy in my opinion can be no other than for the Pope to issue a brief commanding the king of England under pain of excommunication to separate from his mistress, and live with his Queen. I entreated His Holiness to have such a brief made out, and he said that he approved of the proposal. I also consulted Ancona, who has more authority and learning than any other cardinal in Consistory, and not only was he of my opinion, but promised to speak to the Pope about it, though he very much feared, as he told me afterwards, that the measure would provoke disobedience and heresy in England, and if so that it might be necessary to appeal to arms, which in the present state of Christendom, threatened as it is by the Turk, ought to be avoided.

I called a second time upon His Holiness and reminded him of his promise made during the vacations, that should the king of England persevere in his ill-treatment of the Queen he would not hesitate to issue the brief. I had (I said) written to Your Majesty in this strain, and therefore asked whether he was ready to fulfil his promise. His answer was that he would with great pleasure. He then asked me whether I had brought the minute of the brief with me. I said that I had not, but would bring it next day. I called upon Miçer

1532.

Mai and related my conversation with His Holiness. Miçer Mai was surprised but said that he would see His Holiness about it; he had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to him on the subject, but if I would do him the pleasure of accompanying him he would certainly remind him of his promise. After all Miçer Mai went to the Pope without me. He told me that the Pope had certainly held a similar language to him, but he himself was by no means satisfied, and believed nothing would come of it. Though he (Mai) was almost sure that the brief would not be sent, yet he engaged me to write a minute; it would at any rate be, as he said, a meritorious work in the eyes of God. His Holiness having recommended to me the greatest secrecy, I proceeded at once, though uninitiated in such matters, to draw up the enclosed minute, and on the day of the Epiphany called on cardinal Ancona and shewed it him that he might correct any errors of style, &c. I fancy that the Cardinal, out of politeness, praised my composition, for he said that he found the writing excellent and grave as befitted a document proceeding from His Holiness. The only fault he found was that the part relating to the excommunication was not couched in proper Roman style, but the Pope's secretary (Sanga) would see to that, &c., promising that should he be entrusted with it he would take care that the brief was signed and sent.

On the same day I called on His Holiness and shewed him the minute. After reading it attentively he said to me: "I approve of it, but there are certain harsh words in it that ought to be softened." As since the death of Sancti Quatuor the office of auditor of the Apostolic Chamber is held by the bitterest enemy we have in this cause; as His Holiness, moreover, had from the beginning recommended the greatest secrecy, I said to him that the minute had already been in the hands of cardinal Ancona, and therefore that the charge of looking over and correcting it should be entirely entrusted to him. He promised to do so, and that no one but the said cardinal, and his own secretary should see it. I then again begged His Holiness to tell me whether I could announce to Your Majesty that the brief would be issued. He answered that I might. Two days after I returned to him to inquire what more had been done; he answered that the minute was still in the hands of the ecclesiastic to whom the task of correcting it and putting it in order had been entrusted. Went thence to the ambassador; related to him what had happened; he still thinks that the brief will not be issued. My duty, however, is to believe the contrary since the Prince of the Church and Vicar of Christ on Earth has given me his word that it will, and told me what I have above related.

The circumstance of this present courier not having left on the usual day of the month is the cause of my being able to relate what happened. The Pope's secretary reformed the minute in this manner. The King was to incur pain of ex-

1532.

communication if 15 days after the brief's being affixed at the usual places, in Bruges and Hutreque (Utrecht), he does not separate from his mistress, Anne, and again lead a conjugal life with his Queen. This I shewed to two of the Queen's advocates, Juan Luis and Dr. Anguiano, Your Majesty's proctor. Once seen and approved by them, I myself took it to cardinal Ancona's, who being previously instructed by me, approved its context, adding only a few words he considered necessary. Then the Secretary (Sanga) went to His Holiness, who, without my being able to assign a reason for it, began to say, "I am very much surprised that cardinal Ancona could give his approbation to such a minute as this. Here is a brief actually declaring the king of England to be excommunicated if within the term of 15 days he does not do this and do that, and yet no previous notice of such excommunication has been given him. Let a brief be made out admonishing him in the most earnest terms to do as he is enjoined, and threatening him, if he does not obey, with ecclesiastic censures, &c." The brief has actually been made out, and is to be forwarded to the Papal Nuncio in England, that he himself may present it to the King, and talk to him on the subject. Should he not obey the Papal injunctions, as it is his duty to do, then in that case a second brief excommunicating him shall be prepared.

Since then I have spoken twice to His Holiness on this subject, and represented that he is in duty bound to fulfil his promises. His answer has been that he intends writing soon to Your Majesty, and giving complete assurance of his determination on that point, and, moreover, he has now sent by way of his Legate at Your Majesty's court a transcript of the admonitory brief now sent to the king of England.

Should not the King after the receipt of this first brief alter his course, as I am very much afraid he will not, then Your Majesty must let me know that I may inform the Pope thereof, and apply for the letters of excommunication. And though His Holiness is actually obliged to punish with ecclesiastical censures and other judicial penalties the enormous crime the King has committed by thus separating himself from his own legitimate wife, so enormous is the sin and so manifest the injustice, that it is doubtful whether Your Majesty also, invested as you are with full Imperial authority, and being God's minister on Earth, is not bound to punish such iniquity.

With regard to the proceedings of the matrimonial cause now carried on in Consistory, I have to say that Monday after the Epiphany being the day fixed for arguing the point whether the trial ought to remain here or be transferred to some other place, the ambassador (Mai) attended the Consistory and announced that the advocates were outside prepared for the debate, and that he begged it might begin at once; other-

1532.

wise he asked for a decree forbidding the English ambassadors to be heard unless they brought a fresh mandate from their king, and that the suit should be resumed at once. After this the English ambassadors entered the Consistory, and said that they had sent for certain lawyers to attend the debate, and that one of them had answered that he could not possibly come owing to Your Majesty having written him a letter begging him not to attend. Another one had excused himself saying that he held ecclesiastical benefices in Your Majesty's dominions, and did not choose to lose them. A third had said that the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) had written to him not to come. In this manner, alleging that their lawyers had been prevented by fear from coming to Rome, the English applied for a new delay which was granted to them in that Consistory, but only till the last day of this present month of January. I have visited all the cardinals one by one, and although I find them very well inclined as far as the principal cause is concerned, yet they say that since a sentence must necessarily be pronounced against the king of England, it is wise to satisfy him on all points for fear he should afterwards complain that such and such legal formalities have been disregarded. And I very much wonder that there are people here bold enough to maintain that Your Majesty has written to a lawyer not to mix himself up with this affair, for what Your Majesty has always asked is that it be legally tried and sentenced, not that lawyers be prevented from looking into it. Would to God the cause were to be pleaded in public, and the proceedings so far advanced that I could take part in the defence, and confound my adversaries; but I daresay they will never run the risk of being defeated.

Two days after this the Pope related to me what had passed between the king of England and his Nuncio, and how His Holiness had said to him that he was at last determined to act briskly in the affair and pronounce sentence, as it is his duty to do, even should the kings of England and France, who seem to make common cause in this affair, refuse obedience to the Apostolic See.

After this came Dr. Benet's letter advising his arrival at Piacenza, and saying that he would shortly be at Rome, upon which the Pope declared that he would delay the expedition of the brief until it was known what proposals the ambassador brought with him. I represented to him that of whatever message Dr. Benet was bearer, yet that the King's continuance in so enormous a sin as practically to divorce his Queen and take another one, ought to be met first with immediate admonition, and then with excommunication. The Pope answered that he was afraid the brief, instead of improving the Queen's case, would be injurious to her. I replied that if the brief were sent straight to Your Majesty you would see when and how it was to be executed. His Holiness approved of this plan, and the brief has accordingly been

1532.

drawn out, and forwarded to Your Majesty's ambassador in England.—Rome, 25th January 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "Rome, 1532. To His Majesty from Dr. Ortiz. 25th January 1532."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 6.

26 Jan. **894.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. No. 1,309, ff. 184–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 187.

(*Cipher:*) Though I wrote at length by yesterday's post I have since heard from His Holiness news of some importance, as for instance that the French have already declared that the marquisate of Saluzzo should be given to the Dauphin, and that the Marquis, who is under arrest owing to some crime or another, is suffering from ill-treatment. To the other Marquis, who has been all his life a partizan of France, they give hopes of restoring him to his estate, but still it is generally believed that the Marquisate will be given, as I say, to the Dauphin. However it may be, this is equivalent to the French placing their foot in Italy.

The letters received by His Holiness further state that the King has had an estimate made of all the money he would have to spend next year, and that he has already remitted to Switzerland 300,000 frs. on account of his old debt, and is besides issuing two months' pay to the men-at-arms, which, they say, is not without a special reason.

The English ambassadors were pressing the King to declare war against Your Majesty, and offered in case of his taking up arms to amend in favour of France certain articles of the treaty of defensive and offensive alliance existing between them.*

The same letters state that the Papal Legate (Salviati?) having told the King in His Holiness' name the news of the Turk, and with what force he was likely soon to invade Germany, the King answered: "For less cause than that the Emperor will be obliged to spend all the money I have paid him for the ransom of my sons," and that he (the King) seemed as if he would take no part whatever in the defence [of Christendom].

It is also stated that Your Majesty has left Brussels to go to the Diet in Germany. When the French ambassador was interrogated by the Pope about this he could not deny the fact, but said that Your Majesty had much troublesome business in hand, and among the rest that of attending a diet which the princes of Germany were about to celebrate without your knowledge. But we are so accustomed to hear this and other bravadoes of the French that no one believes what they say.

* "Y que offrescian en caso que se rompiesse la guerra adovar ciertos capitulos de la guerra (de la aliança?) ques entrellos, y que heran en favor del rey de francia."

1532.

A friar, who calls himself the confessor of king Sepuse, the vayvod [of Transylvania] Johan, has arrived here and had an audience from His Holiness. Having, as I am told, offered to place in his hands the whole of the negotiation now pending for him to decide, the Pope answered that since the affair was now being discussed in Germany there was no necessity to enter into further negotiations at Rome. The Pope now writes to his Nuncio at Your Majesty's court that he may inform you and your brother, the king of the Romans, of these particulars.—Rome, 26th January 1532.

Signed "Jo. Ant. Musectula."

Addressed: "Sacre Cesᵉ et Cathᶜᵉ Mᵗⁱ."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 3.

28 Jan. **895.** The EMPEROR to the CARDINAL of RAVENNA.

S. E. L. 1,559, f. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 189.

Has received his letter of the 20th of last month. Thanks him for his good services, and promises to shew him favour when an opportunity presents itself.

With regard to the Scottish business there is nothing to be said at present. Must wait until an answer from Scotland arrives. Begs him, however, to do all he can to give a favourable turn to the said negotiation.—Cologne, 28th January 1532.

Addressed: "To the cardinal of Ravenna."

Indorsed: "Minute of letter from the Emperor to the cardinal of Ravenna."

Spanish. Original draft in the hand of secretary Idiaquez.

28 Jan. **896.** The EMPEROR to DR. ORTIZ.

S. E. L. 859, f. 9. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 190.

Thanks him for his despatch of the 30th of December last. Is much satisfied with his valuable services in the cause of the queen of England. As, however, the ambassador (Mai) is the person who has to decide in what manner and by what means the Queen's interests are to be safeguarded, he (Ortiz) must not do anything without consulting first with the ambassador.—Cologne, 28th January 1532.

Addressed: "To Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. p. 1.

30 Jan. **897.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch, Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 4.

(*Cipher:*) Since my last of the 11th this king has sent to Italy a doctor called Bonart (Edmund Boner), who at the beginning of this difference was one of the Queen's Councillors, but has since been gained over to the other party, and is now going to the [Italian] universities to have the opinion of

1532.

the canonists at Paris respecting the revocation of the cause to this country confirmed. To avoid the abuses of the first consultation it would be advisable that Your Majesty should inform the Pope of what is coming that he may be duly prepared. I have caused his Nuncio to write, but Your Majesty's warning will be far more efficacious. I suspect that the Doctor, who is first going to Your Majesty as ambassador, will also try to feel the pulse of the universities through which he will have to pass; Your Majesty will be pleased to have him closely watched.

There has been no question yet of bringing the affair of the Queen before Parliament, and yet these people do not lose time, for they are trying to gain in advance as many of the members' votes as they can. I hear from an authentic source that a debate is now going on in Parliament on a Bill for the King to seize all the property of deceased noblemen though they may leave behind sons already of age. I cannot say what the object of such a measure may be, and whether the Bill will pass or not in Parliament; all I can say is that the motion comes from the King himself and from his Government, which seems to be a strange proceeding if they want, as the report goes, to get assistance in money from the people. The better to obtain this grant the King has publicly announced that the Scotch are thinking of declaring war against England, and has accordingly had the fortresses and castles on that frontier carefully inspected. I fancy that this Parliament, which has been elected at the King's bidding, will be ready to vote the said subsidy, and yet the common opinion is that when the Bill comes into execution there will be plenty of quarrelling among the members.

(*Common writing:*) About five days ago I laid a complaint [before the Privy Council] against those masters of the armed vessels, which, as I informed Your Majesty, this king had dispatched in chase of the pirates [in the Channel]; for it appears that instead of chasing the latter they have seized and plundered two Flemish craft. The duke of Norfolk had given me to understand at the outset that the King would have the affair closely looked into, the Flemish property restored, and the aggressors punished for the offence. The Duke, according to promise, explained the case to the King, and when I called for the answer, assured me that justice should be done in that, as well as in other claims of Your Majesty's subjects. He then went on to say that the Turk was making great preparations to invade Naples, Sicily, and Marte (Malta), and that he feared lest the bad understanding between the Christian princes should encourage and help the Infidel in the conquest of those countries. "Had the Emperor chosen (said the Duke), the union and defensive alliance of the princes might already have been accomplished." My answer was that Your Majesty had faithfully done your duty towards God and man by strenuously endea-

1532.

vouring to cement that peace and union between the Christian princes of which he (the Duke) spoke. For the sake of that peace (I added) you had relinquished some of your rights, and forgiven all the injuries received. This answer of mine brought no reply from the Duke, who began to sigh in a most piteous manner, saying: "Things look very bad indeed!" After which, the King having sent for him, he suddenly left the room, and the conference was at an end.

Next day the Duke sent me word by one of the gentlemen of his chamber that news had just come of the descent of the Turk, more horrible by far than those he had communicated to me the day before. Not satisfied with having announced to me what he considered to be a great calamity for Christendom, the Duke repeated the intelligence to two of my people, and leaving the company of the duke of Suffolk and of the French ambassador, who were with him at the time, went straight to my men and shewed them the Papal brief addressed to the King on the subject. (*Cipher:*) I cannot guess what the Duke's motives may have been in so doing, except it be for the sake of annoying me, or because he takes a real pleasure in the said news, perceiving that the burden will fall principally on Your Majesty, whom he would like to see in such straits as to be obliged to put up with the King's folly (*fantaisies*).

I must remark that not until four days ago was the Nuncio here able to present to the King the said Papal brief, and that after an ill-fated audience, for which he was made to wait in his ante-room from 9 to 12 o'clock, the King told him in very bad humour, even before the said Nuncio had had time to explain his business: "I know perfectly well what you come about. I have already sent an answer, and have no more to say on the subject. I much doubt whether the descent of the Turk is as imminent and formidable as the Pope and the Emperor represent, since they whom the affair principally concerns are making no preparations at all." Thus the King spoke, but though the Nuncio earnestly begged him 10 or 12 times over to read the Papal brief, he could scarcely persuade him to do so.* At last the King promised that he would, and that if an answer was required it should be sent direct by the duke of Norfolk. Upon which he began to make his usual complaints of the Pope's behaviour towards him, though they did not last long, for dinner was soon announced (*car la viande estoit desja sur la table*). The Nuncio was left by himself in the room, whilst the French ambassador went in to dine with the King, as he does very often.

Yesterday the Nuncio went to the Duke's for the answer to the Papal brief, but was put off till four or five days after this date, the object being, as far as I can guess, to know what answer the king of France has made to a similar application from the Pope.

* "Le dit Nonce apres avoer prie 10 ou 12 foys le dit Roy vouleoir veoir le dit bref a peyne obtint yl quil voulsist le fere."

1532.

I must not forget to mention that on this and other like occasions, whenever this subject of assistance against the Turk has been discussed, the duke of Norfolk has never failed to beg the Nuncio to write and persuade His Holiness to revoke the matrimonial cause to England, promising that in that case the King and his allies would perform wonders [against the Turk].

As I had been unable to obtain authentic information respecting the German agents about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, I begged the said Nuncio to throw out a hint, whenever he should happen to speak to the Duke, so as to make the conversation turn upon them and upon their business in England. He did so, but the Duke said nothing except that both were here for business of very little importance. Those from Cleves (he said), before coming to England, had applied for a safe-conduct to buy and take away from this country 20 horses, had come quite openly (*descelez*) and without mystery, but had made no use whatever of their safe-conduct. He from the landgrave of Hesse had already left the country and gone over to France. Such was the Duke's answer to the Nuncio's question. I shall, however, do my best to ascertain what the mission of these Germans was, and whether the Duke has told us the whole truth.

(*Common writing:*) For the last two days a Florentine has been here, who is, as I am informed, in the service of the vayvod of Transylvania. He comes straight from France, and has, it appears, met on the road Jean Jocquin, who has recommended him to a friend of his here. I will try to learn who he is, and what he comes for, that I may inform Your Majesty's ministers.

Jocquin received on parting a present of 3,000 ducats from this king, and yet I hear was not satisfied with that, as he wanted the value of certain butts of wine he had once presented to the Cardinal (Wolsey) to be made over to him. —London, 30th January 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

5 Feb. **898.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 5.

Yesterday, after the receipt of letters from the queen [dowager] of Hungary* respecting the conferences about the intercourse of trade, I went accordingly to the King and requested him that instead of Gravellingue (Gravelines), the town designated for that purpose, Dunkerke or Bourbourg should be chosen as places more at hand and more commodious for the assembly; also that he should be pleased to give such instructions and powers to the deputies that they might at once settle all differences without having to refer

* Mary, sister of Charles and widow of Louis, king of Bohemia and Hungary. She succeeded Margaret in the government of Flanders and the Low Countries.

1532.

home. The King received me most graciously, and referred me entirely to his Privy Council, which, he said, would return an answer as soon as possible.

After this, and whilst walking up and down the room (*en promenant*), the King began to tell me the news he had received from Rome respecting the military preparations of the Turk, and his design to invade [Europe], of which sad news, he said, he considered Your Majesty sufficiently aware. He failed not at the same time to exaggerate the danger in which Christendom was, saying to me that the peace and tranquillity of the Christian community solely depended on the terms made with the vayvod [of Transylvania]. Indeed, he had heard from Rome that the Turk was willing to conclude peace, or at least a truce, with Christendom for such a time as might be fixed, provided nothing was demanded from the said Vayvod, whose secretary, now in England, had fully confirmed the news, and made the very same assurances on the part of the Turk. The said Secretary (added the King) had come to France and England for the express purpose of begging the two kings to intercede with Your Majesty and with the king of the Romans, and incline you both to peace and amity with his master. They had accordingly decided to write a pressing letter, such as the importance of the case required, to Your Majesty on the subject. He also told me that instead of his own Secretary, the Vayvod had in the first instance sent them two regular ambassadors properly accredited, but that the king of the Romans had flatly refused them passage through his estates, which, he observed, was a very inconsiderate thing to do, inasmuch as it was entirely in the hands of Your Imperial Majesty and of your brother, the said king of the Romans, either to conciliate such a powerful enemy as the Vayvod, or to irritate and provoke him so as to bring down upon Christendom so terrible a scourge as the Turk. God, he said, might perhaps visit with his anger those princes who were the cause thereof.

My answer was that I was sure Your Majesty, perceiving where the welfare of Christendom lay, would willingly defer to it all private inclination and all personal interests, as you had already done in Italy, with the Venetians and with the duke of Milan (Sforza), whom you had generously pardoned, notwithstanding his former misdeeds, restoring him an estate certainly of much greater revenue than the kingdom of Hungary itself, or perhaps as great as that of any other in Christendom.

(*Cipher:*) The King in reply to my allusions said that the concessions made to the Venetians had been badly employed, for it was they who kept the Turk well informed of the affairs of Europe, and were continually soliciting him to come down. Respecting the duke of Milan, Your Majesty perhaps thought that he could not possibly live long, his health being so bad. This last sentence the King uttered with a com-

1532.

placent smile on his lips, occasionally tapping me on the shoulders with much familiarity. I tried as courteously as I could to convince him of the contrary, saying that I hoped Your Majesty would return such an answer to the letters he (the King) intended writing as to thoroughly persuade him that no prince in the world desired more the welfare of Christendom than yourself, or was better inclined to attend to his wishes and listen to his advice.

After which the King went on to say that his ambassador [at the Imperial court] had written that, according to report, the duke of Wirtemberg had now reconquered the whole of his estate, and that the Lutheran princes of Germany were up in arms, and had held a Diet at Lubeck, or its immediate neighbourhood, at which Diet the ambassadors of the Turk and of the Vayvod had been present. That was the reason, he said, for his thinking that no great advantages could result from the Diet you had summoned for Regensbourg (Ratisbon), even supposing that its members who leaned too much by far on the Pope's side felt disposed to second your views. He also said to me that the discord between the princes of Christendom was the real cause of the Turk's bold attack, and of the evils likely to arise therefrom, as some of those princes through restless ambition and lust of power, others for their own pleasure, wished to conduct the World according to their fancy (*à leur appetit*). To which hints and objurgations, uttered as they were in general terms, I declined to answer, having already done so on previous occasions, and, as I think, fully justified Your Majesty against the King's more direct attacks.

(*Common writing*:) The King also said to me that all his time was now taken up by parliamentary business, to which he was giving the utmost attention, as he was thinking of proposing therein measures likely to ensure the peace and good administration (*police*) of his kingdom. The ordinances lately promulgated by Your Majesty on commercial points were, he had no doubt, wise, *but they led to nothing, for, as he had been informed, they were not observed*; which last sentence the King uttered, as if he were much pleased with his assertion.

(*Cipher*:) The Landgrave's secretary, who, as I informed Your Majesty returned to his master passing through France, has now sent here one of his clerks, who arrived yesterday. Having been informed of this just as I was going to Court, I did not hesitate to ask the King about him. He answered that he had heard of the man's arrival, and been told that he had brought letters for him, but had not seen them yet. I will do my best to learn what this man has come about, and will not fail to apprize Your Majesty.

Six days ago, at the King's supper, the conversation happening to turn on the protracted stay in France of the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), he (the King) shewed great discon-

1532.

tent at king Francis' conduct, and was heard to say that *his brother of France, surrounded as he was by ecclesiastics, as his counsellors, did not willingly listen to plans and means likely to bring* the Pope to their side. Upon which one of the guests got up and said that the chancellor (Duprat ?)* was certainly the worthiest and most honest of the King's ministers (*tres tous*), for he had always upheld this king's quarrels, and maintained that the Pope could not condemn him or be a judge in the divorce case.

I have also heard that the said bishop [of Winchester] has been instructed to negotiate a new treaty of alliance between England and France, in case these people should declare war to the Scots, and that the answer to their overtures has not given satisfaction.

The intelligence conveyed in one of my late despatches concerning the new ambassador appointed to reside at Your Majesty's Court has been confirmed. I hear from a very authentic source that he has charge of consulting all the universities through which he may pass, and that for this reason he is to be the bearer of letters for the chancellor (Duprat) and for the members of the Royal Council of France. It will be necessary, as I said then, and recommend again, to be on the alert. I must add that when I happened to mention the name of his ambassador at your Imperial Court, and inquire into the motives of his recall, the King told me that he had been recalled merely on his wife's application.†—London, 5th February [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph almost entirely in cipher. pp. 5.

14 Feb. **899.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 6.

The duke of Norfolk said to me two days ago that the King, his master, had written to Your Majesty and to the king of the Romans on the Vayvod's business, as well as to the king of Poland and to the Vayvod himself. The letters had first been sent for the inspection of the king of France that he might add or suppress whatever he thought proper, though he (the Duke) believed the subject to have been so well considered and weighed, and the letters themselves so carefully drawn out, that there would be no alterations to make in them. He ended by saying that he was very sorry that I had not seen them before they were sent away, that I might be witness of his master's good and honest zeal in the affair, by which words, I presume, the Duke meant that the said letters contained overtures of peace. I refrained, however, from asking more particulars at the time, first of all because

* Antoine Duprat, bishop of Sens, and cardinal since 1529.

† "Le roy ma colore la revocation de lautre ambassadeur sur la requeste de sa femme."

1532.

I considered the matter to be entirely in Your Majesty's province;* and secondly, because I would not let the opportunity pass of interrogating the Duke about the Landgrave's agent, and the Diet of the Lutherans at Lubeck. His answer was that he knew nothing of this last, nor of the Prince's deliberations. The King, it was true, had received letters from the king of Denmark (Frederic) but they were chiefly letters of favour and commendation in behalf of certain merchants, and contained no allusion to other matters. As to the agent of the Landgrave, he threw out a hint that the German princes of the Lutheran sect complained of the election of the king of the Romans, which (he said) they considered null and void. *The Duke added that the King, his master, had answered their representations by saying that if they wished to commit the settlement of their chief differences, which consist in matters of Faith, to other princes (meaning no doubt the king of France and himself) both would strive to redress the injuries they complained of, and, the Duke added, that the King, his master, had not yet received a reply to his letter.*

I had no time to inquire about the agents of the duke of Cleves, for Mr. de Norfolk was at this point suddenly seized with a headache which compelled him to retire and seek repose in his own private apartments conducted by his servants.†

The return of the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner) is further postponed. I am told that he is to remain at the Court of France until the arrival [here] of the Scottish ambassadors, to treat, as it may be, about peace or a renewal of the truce, which they have not yet been able to accomplish owing to their waiting for a safe-conduct to pass through England, which safe-conduct a Scotch king-at-arms is now applying for.

The King has lately been trying to pass a Bill in Parliament for the third of all feudal property to fall to the crown after the decease of its owner, but has hitherto met with a good deal of opposition, so much so that several members of the said Parliament have made use in public of very strong language indeed against the King, his Privy Council, and Government. Nothing else has been done in the said Parliament except the prohibition of importing new wines (*vins nouveaux*) before Candlemas (*le Chandeleuse*), and this for certain causes and reasons which they allege in favour of the measure, and with which I will not trouble Your Majesty now. They have also tried for some days to prohibit the importation (*deffendre*) of silk cloth, but as some of the members oppose the Bill nothing has been resolved upon yet.

* "De quoy ne vouluz enquerer plus avant, puys que c'etoit matiere addressante a vre majeste."

† "A cause dung mal de teste qui surprint le dit Duc, de sorte que le fallut mesner repouser."

1532.

Respecting the principal point, no public discussion has yet taken place, though the affair is being secretly promoted, as I hear, especially by the duke of Norfolk and the father of the Lady, both of whom are incessantly at work to suborn the archbishop of Canterbury (Warham), whom they now consider as Pope in England. Nevertheless the Archbishop has been so forewarned that they have been unable to move him. Indeed it appears that the above gentlemen and others perceiving that they cannot reduce him by reference to the Church's authority, are now about to follow another track. *To this end, as I am informed, the duke of Norfolk assembled at his house a certain number of influential people, to whom he explained how badly treated this king had been by the Pope, who actually refused to send back the cause, which in conformity with the privileges of this kingdom, ought, as he asserted, to be tried and sentenced in England, exclusively of any other country, even if the said privileges did not exist; the more so that many learned doctors had concluded that all matrimonial causes belonged to temporal, not to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that the King, who is emperor and monarch in his own dominions, was the sole judge in such a matter as this, with which the Pope had nothing to do.* On this account he (the Duke) had sent for them to ask their advice, and inquire whether they felt disposed or not to sacrifice their lives and properties for the preservation of the royal prerogatives. The first to answer was the Sieur d'Arcy,* who said that his property and person were entirely at the King's disposal, but that from what he had read and heard he believed that all matrimonial matters were spiritual, and fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The King and his Council knew very well how to deal with such matters without trying to lay the onus on other people,† and especially on those there present. Which answer was approved by the majority to the Duke's great *disappointment and annoyance.*

The King's Council after long insisting on the prorogation of the conferences (*la diete*) for the settlement of trade matters have at last fixed the 1st of March, and consented that the meeting be at Bourbourg instead of Gravelines; the deputies named are two doctors and one master [merchant] of the staple of Calais.—London, 14th February [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 6th March."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

---

* Sir Thomas, lord Darcy.

† "Le Roy et son conseil sçavoint bien quilz en avoint affere sans vouloer mestre le chat entre les jambes dautres, mesmes de çeulx qui la estoint."

1532.

15 Feb. **900.** Cardinal d'Osma to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 25, f. 207. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 199.

Is glad to hear that the Emperor has left Brussels, the more so that the French here have been saying that he could not quit Flanders and the Low Countries under present circumstances. The Pope also seemed glad at the intelligence.

The causes which the Emperor has for returning to Spain are no doubt weighty and just, and the Pope says so, yet business must be attended to and terminated without regard for Castille; if 10 years' absence from that country are required for the settlement of certain affairs, let the Emperor take his time without shewing too much anxiety to return to his Spanish dominions.

In his opinion the Emperor ought to try and win back the Lutherans by fair means, and find out some way of gaining over the duke of Saxony and the Landgrave at any cost, and if that cannot be accomplished, to secure at any rate the services of all German people in general, and allow them to hold their doctrines unmolested on condition that they will not try to spread their errors among Christians. In this manner they will prepare to defend the country against the Turk.

Should the Turk come down upon us both by sea and land the Emperor must on no account leave Germany, but remain in that country so as to hasten to the assistance of Vienna and threatened Christendom. If, on the contrary, the rumours of a Turkish invasion should subside, and there should be some agreement with the Vayvod, or some other cause to render that danger less imminent, then in that case, and there being no immediate hope of the Lutheran affair being settled, His Majesty might leave Germany and come down the Alps into Italy, and after holding an interview with the Pope at Genoa, embark for Spain without visiting Rome and Naples, yet taking the necessary measures for the good administration of that kingdom and appointing a viceroy over it.

The news of the Turkish invasion seems to have come to Venice by letters of December last, and is confirmed by a galleon which left Constantinople on the 9th of February. At Ragusa and Belona military preparations were being made, and yet he (d'Osma) and the Pope himself fancy that the news is greatly exaggerated, and that it is published merely for the sake of the Vayvod, and to give him more importance. France and Venice secretly help on this to diminish, if possible, the strength and power of Your Majesty and of the king of the Romans. But let Your Majesty and your brother prepare your forces by sea and land, and let the coasts of Naples and Sicily be put in a state of defence, without paying any heed to what the Venetians may say. On these last no reliance can be placed; no help is to be expected from them. Should the Turkish fleet really sail next March, as is reported, the Emperor and the Pope might hold an interview together and prepare for the common defence.

1532.

The king of France's answer to the Pope when he asked his help to defend Christendom from the Turkish invasion, was that he himself was prepared to come down to Italy at the head of 50,000 foot and 3,000 lances. The Pope wished to know from him (Loaysa) what he should answer to the above proposition. Told him that he ought to return thanks for the offer, and say that should the Turk land in Rome or in Lombardy (*desembarcar en Roma ó Lombardia*) he would willingly accept his offers, but as he intends landing in Sicily, Puglia, or Ancona, it seemed to him as if it would be more advisable not to spend money in armaments by land, but help with his fleet to the defence of the coasts. The Pope inclined to this opinion for fear the French king should think that we suspect him. He will, no doubt, answer substantially in that sense, the more so that he hears from France that when his application for help arrived the people were mightily glad as that would be an excuse for collecting troops, and besides, because His Holiness told him that when the Turk was in the way any dealings with the king of France ought to be carried on with the utmost prudence.

Is still working though without success to obtain cardinal's hats for Monaco and the archbishop of Toulouse.—Rome, 15th February 1532.

Indorsed: "Relacion de las cartas del cardenal de Osma. 15th February."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 4.

16 Feb. **901.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 143. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 201.

The Emperor's letter of the 28th January has duly come to hand. The Imperial ambassador (Mai) knows very well that my business with the Pope is limited to explaining the manifest justice of this cause, and accusing the king of England of the injuries done to his Queen. He it was who suggested on the 25th of January the sending of a brief, &c.

To-morrow the disputation which the contrary party has been so long demanding as to whether the English excusator (Karne) is to be admitted or not will commence, as the Imperial ambassador has no doubt already advised.—Rome, 16th February 1532.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty from Dr. Hortiz (*sic*) xvi. January."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

16 Feb. **902.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 143. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 201.

The Emperor's letter of the 28th ult° has duly come to hand. Is very thankful for the acknowledgment of his services. The Imperial ambassador (Mai) knows full well what exertions he (Ortiz) has hitherto made to prove the Queen's manifest right, and the grave injury she is sustaining through

1532.

so many delays. He (Ortiz) was the one who on the 25th ult° prevailed upon His Holiness to issue a brief recommending the king of England to separate from Lady Anne (*esta Ana*), with whom he is now living, until definitive sentence be pronounced in the divorce case. A copy of the brief Miçer Mai has already forwarded to the Emperor, that it may, if required, be sent to the Papal Nuncio in England, for him to put it into the King's own hands. Should the King not comply with the Pope's injunctions he (Ortiz) wishes to know whether it will be His Majesty's pleasure that he should apply to His Holiness for a brief of excommunication. Waits for instructions on this particular.

To-morrow the debates are to begin on the question whether the excusator who came last on behalf of the King is to be admitted or not. That is the point which at the request of the English ambassadors is now to be discussed; they have long importuned the Pope about it, and the debate begins to-morrow. The Emperor is no doubt aware that this very thing was attempted last year, that the Consistory and the majority of the Rota voted against it, and yet that owing to the insistance of the ambassadors, and to the Pope's weakness, the point is again to be discussed.—Rome, 16th February 1532.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Indorsed: "Rome, 1532. To His Majesty. From Dr. Hortiz (*sic*) XVI. January (*sic*, read February) 1532."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

20 Feb. **903.** Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L 859, ff. 57–9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 191.

Received by Sancho Bravo, gentleman of the Imperial Household, the letters dated 30th December and 6th January. Has conferred with the marquis del Vasto and with His Holiness respecting the army's quarters. Should the men be paid regularly the Pope would have no objection to 10 companies (*banderas*) of Spanish infantry being quartered in the Parmigiano and Piacentino. Believes that the order will be given in a day or two, but on no account should the payment of the soldiers be delayed, for should the money come too late there is no knowing what the men, accustomed as they are to the license of other times, will not do. Will take care that the Pope's monthly contribution be ready, but most stringent orders should likewise be sent to Naples for the viceroy Prospero (Colonna), and the Imperial treasurers to get the money ready.

Ansaldo Grimaldi's contract, &c.

(*Cipher:*) His Holiness much regrets the refusal of the Venetians to contribute towards the defence of Italy threatened, as it is, by the Turk, or allow a tithe to be collected for that purpose; and certainly this must be said of

1532.

them that they have hitherto shewn very little regard either to the Pope, or to the Emperor. The refusal of the tithe, especially, is most aggravating under present circumstances, for if the 100,000 crs. promised to the king of the Romans are to be paid the Pope will be much embarrased, for he has nothing else to fall back upon. These Venetians, in short, are men without faith or law, except when they find their profit and advantage. It is desirable that the Emperor should know how to make use of them, and on the other hand it is very hard that they will never do anything save utter fine words. May God be pleased that should the king of France undertake Italy they (the Venetians) should feel disposed to act from the beginning, and not wait to see how matters end, and then according to events take one side or the other, for such is their habit, and thus will they act now. They did the same at Milan when the admiral of France came down; until they saw the French retreating they never shewed themselves, though urgently requested to do so. They evidently wish for the Imperial army to quit Italy, and the kingdom of Hungary to remain quietly in the hands of the Vayvod, that the king of the Romans may be less powerful than he is. They would like, above all things, to see the Emperor in trouble that they, who consider themselves immortal, may prosper and fish successfully in troubled waters.

Cardinal d'Osma.—The Swiss.—Genoa and Andrea Doria.

(*Cipher:*) The king of France is endeavouring, as they say, to enlist 10,000 Switzers, but hitherto no agreement has been made. The Pope has promised to keep his eye on them, as well as on the movements of the kings of France and England, and to let us know their plans. From the ambassador of the former he hears that the Lutherans of Germany propose holding a diet at Ulm, which, say the letters, may possibly prevent the Emperor holding his at Ratisbonne.

Dr. Benet has returned from England, but apparently with no actual mandate save the same dilatory expedients that have hitherto been put into practice. Has spoken warmly to the Pope on the subject, and he has fully promised not to tolerate the King's conduct any longer. On the other hand, the French ambassador has this very morning, as he hears, called upon the Pope and presented letters from his master, begging him not to reject the excusator's application, as otherwise the English are sure to refuse obedience to His Holiness and the Roman Church. Told the Pope to despise such bravadoes and pronounce sentence, which he has promised to do.—Rome, 9th February 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

26 Feb. **904.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL D'OSMA, his confessor.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 91.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 205.

Turks.—French intrigues to alienate the Pope from him.

As the Pope knows what is going on in the divorce case of the queen of England he can no longer have any doubt that

1532.

it is high time to pronounce judgment according to law. He (Loaysa) is to do all he can to persuade His Holiness to do what is wanted. The ambassador (Mai) is fully instructed to help him in this charge.

Quarters of the Italian army.

Augsburg, 26th February 1532.

Addressed: "To the cardinal of Osma. From Ausburg, 26th February 1532."

Spanish. Original minute in the hand of secretary Idiaquez. pp. 3.

26 Feb. **905.** Rodrigo Niño to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 1,309, ff. 261–2. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 203.

(*Cipher:*) After his despatch of the 24th inst. he (Niño) heard in the most secret manner that this Signory are in receipt of letters from England and Germany, assuring them that a league is about to be made between the kings of France, England, and Poland, the duke of Sassa (Saxony) the landgrave [of Hesse] and the lord of Russia, of which league the duke of Bretanberg (Wurtemberg) is to be general-in-chief, for the purpose of attacking the validity of the election of the king of the Romans, maintaining that it was not canonically made because there is, as they say, a constitution of the Empire confirmed by a Papal bull expressly forbidding three emperors of the same family to be elected. It would appear that to this end the king of France had remitted 50,000 crs. [to Germany], and the king of England 30,000.

Has also learned that this Signory has had letters from their own ambassador with the Turk, in date of the 9th and 15th ult° stating that the Grand Turk was daily expecting at his court ambassadors from the duke of Sassa (Saxony), and landgrave of Hesse; and as, if this intelligence be true, it is possible that the masters of those ambassadors might also have been requested to join the said league, begs His Majesty to send him instructions respecting the manner of treating with these people, though he has no doubt they will not stir against Your Majesty.

About Rincon's mission to the Vayvod and to the duke of Sassa (Saxony) he has no more news than what I sent some time ago; but it is most likely that if the mission has really taken place, it has been for the purpose of entering into some negotiations of this sort, for it is very remarkable that it should have taken place especially after the said duke of Sassa had sent an embassy to the king of France.

(*Common writing:*) Every day preparations are being made here to fit out a fleet of vessels against the maritime powers of the Turk. The last advices from Constantinople are that their fleet will go straight to Malta, and thence to Sicily, where they will try to enter some port.—Venice, 26th February 1532.

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original mostly in cipher.

1532.

28 Feb. **906.** KING HENRY to the POPE.

S. E. L. 857, f. 7. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 209.

Beatissime pater, &c. Graviter admodum molesteque accepimus, nec minus quam pro rei indignitate par est dolemus, quod subditus istic noster, doctor Carne, adversariorum quorumdam artibus et pertinatia, nimis improba quidem illa, a legitimo excusatoris munere impediatur. Est certe illud longe preter expectationem a mente in istam sedem nostram et tamen utcumque tolerabile foret, si nos dumtaxat, nostramque injuriam hoc malum recideret. Ceterum cum hac ratione jura omnia cum divina tum humana violentur, naturalis autem equitatis et justitiæ ratio pervertatur, et pietatis denique effectus, quam subditus Principi debet, frustretur, vestræ prudentiæ ac solicitudinis pastoralis esse arbitramur, qua re sedulo ut plus apud tribunal istud vestrum justitia, equitas et naturalis quædam pietas quam fraudes et aliorum potentia valeant. Non hic libet commemorare, ut quotidie ad aures S[anctitatis] V[estræ] acclamatur, quam justis fundamentis dicti subditi nostri petitiones nitantur, et de voluntate nostra approbante ea quæ excusatoris nomine ab eo gesta sunt satis jam pridem per literas nostras, quas ad eum dedimus, eidem de S[anctitate] V[estra] constare nequaquam dubitamus; et tamen prohibere subditum nostrum quominus erga nos principem suum id offitii prestet, et beneficii quod subditus in principem naturali quodam jure collocare tenetur, et quod publici interest ut ab omnibus erga ceteros prestetur, illud vero sinon est contumelia et non tolleranda injuria V. Serenitas etiam atque etiam viderit nos interim quod unum possumus, quodque antea sepissime fecimus, rogamus S[anctitatem] V[estram] quam possumus vehementissime, pariter et reverendissimos dominos cardinales in Consistorio existentes ut non amplius deferant dictum subditum nostrum pro legitimo excusatore admittere, et causam nostram benigno et paterno quodam favore prosequi, quo nomine gratiam apud Deum optimum maximum justitiæ assertorem et vindicem, simul et apud mortales omnes laudem et gloriam S[anctitatis] V[estræ] magnam aut dubio promerebitur, quæ felicissime ac diutissime valeat. Ex Regia nostra Londini, die XXVIII. Februarii MDXXXI.

D. S. V. Devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ Rex, fidei defensor ac Dominus Hiberniæ, Henricus.

Indorsed: "Epistola Regis Angliæ nuperrime oblata S. D. N. sacro Domino nostro."

Latin. Contemporary copy.

28 Feb. **907.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 9.

Since my last despatch this king has had a motion made in Parliament to reduce the annats paid to the Pope on vacant benefices, which he says he wants for himself as sovereign of all the Clergy in his kingdom. He likewise proposes that

1532.

the right of nomination, which undoubtedly belongs to the Apostolic See, should be suppressed, but the English prelates will not consent to this. He has, moreover, intimated to the Papal Nuncio that it is not himself who brings forward these measures, but the commoners who hate the Pope most wonderfully, and that if His Holiness choose to do something for him he (the King) will be extremely thankful, and do wonders in opposing the Turk; otherwise he will do nothing to help him.

Having lately called on the duke of Norfolk respecting the business of the deputies, who took their departure for Flanders the day before yesterday, he shewed me eight or ten plans for the construction of certain castles and fortresses on the frontiers of Scotland, and among others that of a citadel to be raised at Baruike (Berwick) in the form of that of Tournay; the said Duke boasting that within a very short space of time that town would be made one of the strongest in Christendom. I cannot say whether it be really the fear of the Scots which makes these people thus prepare for war, or whether all this military array is only an excuse for asking money from the people, as I have already informed Your Majesty, and that both the King and the Commons understand each other on this point. The Scotch king-at-arms, about whom I wrote in my last despatch, is still here soliciting a safe-conduct for the ambassadors of his nation whom king James wishes to send to France; they are three in number, one bishop and two lords among the principal of that kingdom. *And as I have been told by the landlord, at whose house the said king-at-arms is lodging, the Scotch ambassadors are going to France for the purpose, among others, of negotiating the marriage of their master (king James) to one of the daughters of Francis, a scheme which by no means meets with this king's approbation, and which he would be glad to defeat.*

The Queen yesterday sent me word to say she had heard the King felt sure that the Pope would again prorogue the trial of this divorce case until Your Majesty should return to Spain, and that should such be the case she considered herself as irretrievably lost. She accordingly begged me to entreat Your Majesty to write again to the Pope, with such dignity and affection (*si royalemant et affectueusemant*) that, putting aside all dissimulation and the vacillation for which he is so notorious, he should at once give sentence in this case, for she has suffered already so much that she cannot possibly endure any longer.

Since my last nothing has been done in Parliament.—London, 27th February [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 3.

1532.

28 Feb. **908.** KING HENRY to POPE CLEMENT.

S. E. Roma, L. 857, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 209.

Duplicate, with some slight alterations, of the Latin letter under No. 906.

Latin. Contemporary Copy.

28 Feb. **909.** MIÇER MAI to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 857, f. 198.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 206.

. . . . . .

Besides what relates to the suit I tried to ascertain what the opinion of that Englishman's mind was, for the Pope said to Miçer Andrea del Burgo one day in rather obscure terms (*confusamente*) that it would be well if we could disengage him from France and separate the interests of the two kings.* I spoke to Salviati one day as if it came from him (the Pope) and inquired whether that could be accomplished, as it came very apropos of what we were then discussing. Salviati told me that for the present he saw no way to it, for they were trying whether they could do Your Majesty's wishes by fair means (*a buenas*), that is to say, that the Queen should be the King's wife, and live in good harmony (*en buena gratia*) with him. They were, however, afraid of being deceived and wished to make sure. This Salviati said to me in confidence, charging me to keep the thing secret and not say a word about it to anyone, not to the Pope himself. As far as I can gather from Salviati's conversation I conclude that if they were sure that the French and English were in earnest the Pope would intercede with Your Majesty to let him grant a further delay. However, as this proposal of Salviati did not satisfy me, I waited upon His Holiness, and begged him to declare to me what Dr. Benet's errand was. He told me, after commending the most profound secrecy, that at his departure from Rome the Doctor had stated to him that the cause now being tried was of such nature and quality that he (the Pope) could not help doing justice. Such (said Benet) was his opinion as a doctor at Law, and he could not help regretting that the King, his master, for such a caprice as the love of a woman should create such a disturbance in the World. The Queen (added the Doctor) makes so fitting a wife to him that had he not married her, he ought to marry her now, and bear in mind that should the English succeed, as in times of old, in subduing the French, they might become the arbiters and lords of the World. They (the English) were greatly mistaken, for it was in Your Majesty's power at once to gain the alliance of the French by merely putting on a good face, and contenting them with some trifle, however small. The King (continued the Doctor) ought to recollect the old enmity which formerly existed between his

* "A mas de lo que toca al pleito procuré de saber la mente del Anglés (Benet?), y el Papa dixo confusamente a Miçer Andrea del Burgo un dia que seria bien si se lo *podiessemos dividir de Francia.*"

1532.

kingdom and France, and that if Your Majesty decide to lean towards the French and please them anyhow, they will undoubtedly be the first to take up arms against him. I should not wonder, he added, if the Emperor, goaded by so many dishonourable practices as the English have introduced in these negotiations not only as concerns the Queen, but by soliciting the French to bring in unauthorised changes, should one of these days vent his wrath upon us.

Dr. Benet says that he related the whole conversation to the King word by word, and that the King called the duke of Norfolk, who happened to be in the royal chamber, and said to him: "Do you recollect what I told you once respecting the Emperor? The Pope himself now sends me a message to that effect."

This notwithstanding the negotiation dropped altogether, and there was no more said about it. The King believes he is in the right; he no longer loves the Lady as much as he did. The duke [of Norfolk] and Dr. Stefano (Stephen Gardiner] seem to think that the King ought on this occasion to abandon his pretensions.

I said to the Pope that he ought to command us, the Imperial ambassadors, to press for a sentence, in order that the last-named personages, and others well inclined, might do good office and undeceive the King. I told him that I knew as a fact that the King himself wished secretly for a sentence that might deliver him at once from his toilsome burthen without loss of reputation, for certainly it is a wonder to me how Stephano (Stephen Gardiner), formerly a scandalous and hot-brained fellow (*tan loco y escandaloso*) could ever be converted to the good cause as he now appears to be.

The Pope told me further that when Benet went away he said to him very distinctly: "If you, Master Benet, do not bring back with you a proper mandate and powers to appear for your king at this trial, I shall be obliged to go on with the proceedings and pronounce sentence. I have laden my conscience with so many delays that I cannot possibly longer forbear from doing justice."

Now it appears that on Benet's arrival at Rome for the second time, the Pope perceiving that he had brought nothing with him, told him the above or something quite similar, and that the Doctor replied very confidentially that as soon as Your Majesty had left Italy and returned to Spain the mandate should be sent. The Pope knows this to be a new trick (*tacañeria*) of the English, because they know very well that His Holiness does not wish to drive things to extremity, but wants a settlement that may be good for both parties, and they fancy that they can lose nothing by obtaining a delay. The Pope, however, as he tells me, replied to Dr. Benet that his answer did not satisfy him at all, and besides that he could not attach faith to his words unless he saw it in the King's handwriting. I tried as much as I could to confirm His Holiness

1532.

in his opinion, and besought him to issue orders for a prompt decision in the affair of the excusator, whether the trial is to proceed at Rome or not, because I believed that when the king of England and his Council see that justice is done in the accessories, they will be afraid that the same will be done in the principal, and will desist. I also told His Holiness that this last seemed to me a device of the English to gain time, &c. He ended by promising me most solemnly that justice should be done without further delay. May this last promise be better fulfilled than were those of last year!

Immediately after Benet's arrival he had an audience of the Pope, and then dispatched couriers to England. If there be more between them than what I have just related perhaps we shall hear of it on the return of those messengers. I will try to get at the truth, for I am not at all satisfied with the answer which the King and the Duke are reported to have made to Dr. Benet.

The English ambassadors and the French cannot be at present on good terms with each other (*stan muy divisos*) for Dr. Benet in France first, and afterwards in England, complained that the French had not helped him here at Rome as they had promised to do, and that the king of England had felt it exceedingly, and written to the Most Christian King about it, in consequence of which the latter had sent fresh orders to his ambassadors to press the matter accordingly, though the Pope and the cardinals believe that what they are doing is merely out of compliment and in order to save appearances.—Rome, 28th February 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

28 Feb. **910.** The Council of State to the Emperor.

S. E. L. No. 638, f. 88.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 205.

Approved and let it be done so.

The orders about the money shall be complied with. Çuaçola and he (the writer) are of opinion that the first thing to be done is to procure 50,000 crs. here [at Ratisbon], the rest may be got from Genoa.

An answer has already been sent.

The answer to Andrea Doria will not be ready until to-morrow, as there is much to be done to-day.

Granvelle was much occupied before dinner working as he himself will explain. I myself was drawing minutes of despatches for Rome, also arranging conjointly with that councillor the distribution of grants lately made by Your Majesty. We have told Don Fernando what Your Majesty's inten-

1532.

tions are respecting him. To-morrow we hope the whole of this business will be at an end, but there are two or three things on which we should like to hear Your Majesty's pleasure. The first is the affairs of Monbardon and Chalayn. These two individuals are in possession of two estates in the marquisate of Corato, which had been formerly conferred on Mr. de Baubry (Waury). Peloux came yesterday to us to complain that we were taking away from Monbardon what Your Majesty had given him. We propose that an estate called Joya (*sic*) be given to him instead, for although this last was destined for the princess of Sulmona, we will look out for something in compensation for that princess.

Respecting Chalayn, since the estate is to be allotted to Baubry (Waury), according to Your Majesty's orders, it seems to us that he might have instead 400 ducats pension on Pie de Monte.

Respecting all these individuals (Monbardon, Chalayn, and the rest), let it be done as proposed. Montfort will speak to you in an affair of his, the payment of a debt. Send us report, &c.

As to Pechin Pelu, we cannot but regret that he has not a larger grant of land; but Your Majesty may believe us when we say that there is nothing else to give him. Perhaps he might have as a further grant that of a house in Naples, which Dr. Narciso wanted for the establishment of a college [of Medicine]. It has been valued at 2,500 ducats; but will not sell for half that sum. If Your Majesty approve of the change he may have that in addition to the pension of 1,000 ducats a year, which he already enjoys.

Instead of the 1,000 ducats pension to each of the princes of Salerno and Bisignano, we suggest that 2,000 be granted to each on the "pagamientos fiscales" of their respective estates.

The letters have been signed, and with regard to the Hungarian horse, Don Fernando liked them very much, as he must have told you.

The king of the Romans is now sending one of his servants to Rome with despatches. As the letters to the Pope and to Mr. Mai and the rest will not be ready against the

1532.

departure of the messenger, the enclosed have been prepared for the ambassador, wherein mention is made of the 100,000 ducats [promised by His Holiness], as well as of the Hungarian horse.

It was the right thing for Caracciolo to do. We shall see what is to be done.

Letters have been received from Prothonotary Caracciolo importing that the five Catholic cantons are beginning to stir against the other eight, and that he believes the animosity will go on increasing. On the other hand, the Lutheran preachers say that they count upon the assistance of France to maintain their creed. In consequence of this the Prothonotary wrote that he was hastening the departure of the Verulan (Ennio Filonardo, bishop of Veroli) for Switzerland.

They are signed.

Send letters to sign on the Ureña* business, and refer to what the Empress writes on the subject.

I have read the answer.

This morning I gave the king of the Romans the memorials presented by the Count Palatine that he might confer with him respecting the

and his own (the Palatine's) private business; I cannot yet say what has been done in it.

After that I went to the Legate, at whose house I met the archbishop of Brindisi† (Aleander), and exhibited to both of them the papers about the Council and the answer to the Estates.‡ They have found them correct and much to their satisfaction.

I have likewise explained to them the points on which the Lutherans of Nüremberg insist, and consequently the said Legate and Arch-

* Pedro Giron, third count of Urueña, was married to Doña Mencia de Guzman, his first cousin. He died on the 25th April 1531 (?), and was succeeded by his brother, Don Juan Tellez Giron. See Haro, *Nobiliario*, vol. i, p. 386.

† "Larcevesque brundusin."

‡ "Lescript concernant le Concille veu par Votre Ma^te^ et son conseil en response aux Estaz."

1532.

bishop have come to the conclusion that they ought to be submitted to the deliberation of the Diet (*aux Estats*). Supposing these requests of the people of Nüremberg were not granted, and a peace ultimately concluded without reference to matters of Faith, should there be mention made at the Diet, of the necessity of a General Council in order to arrive at the said peace. Both the Legate and Archbishop said that if consulted they would willingly give their advice thereupon, knowing very well that if the Diet gives its consent it will be with a view to the meeting of the Council.*

I have laid all this before Your Majesty's Council of State, and it has been resolved that the demands of the Lutherans be put down in writing to be presented at the Diet, and its advice asked in conformity with a paper that I intend putting into the hands of the said Legate and Nuncio to-morrow.

The whole of this seems well done, and I approve of it.

It has, moreover, been resolved in Council to prepare instructions for the ambassadors who are to go to Switzerland, most of this morning's sitting having been taken up with discussing the articles of the said instructions.

I have likewise given to the Legate the answer [to his note] with the corrections ordered by Your Majesty, and spoken to him respecting Your Majesty's motives and wishes, he (the Legate) having shewn much satisfaction in consequence.

French.† Original. pp. 3. *The answers on the margin are in the Emperor's hand.*

* "Supposant que ceulx estaz ne les bould [voudraient?] consentir et bon heur que lon face une paix sans parler de la foy, et si lon parle du Concille necessaire pour y parvenir que en leur consultant ilz on diront leur advis bien cognaissant que comme consent la chose tendra a ce but."

† This paper is composed of two different parts, one in Spanish, probably by Covos, at the time Secretary of State to the Emperor, the other in French by Granvelle, where the line of division is, beginning with the words "This morning."

LONDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES CENTRAL

1532.

911. ADVICES from Flanders, Germany, and Italy.

S. E. L. 848, f. 23.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 59.

Letters from Brussels of the 2nd and 3rd of February say that the Emperor was in good health, and waiting for Queen Doña Maria to take charge of the government of the Low Countries. He was to go to Gand (Ghent) for the Diet.

The king of the Romans arrived at Lintz on the 28th of January for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the Turks and Lutherans. The Emperor had listened to what Gambara had to say respecting the Council and the conditions imposed by the Pope, the principal being that the Emperor should be present, and that the meeting should be in Italy and only and exclusively for matters of Faith, that is to say, for the Turk and the Lutherans. The Emperor had consulted his brother thereupon, and an answer was daily expected.

The Pope's familiars (*estos del Papa*) tell me that there is a good chance of the landgrave [of Hesse] being brought back to his allegiance to the Emperor if His Majesty will only pardon him. Also that the Lutherans who had asked for the meeting of a General Council, seeing that there was no sign of it, had commenced to cool down.

From England the news is that the King's fury had somewhat subsided, and that he no longer threatens as before to proceed "de facto." It was generally believed in London that the Parliament that was to meet, as they say, to deliberate on the divorce case would do nothing but vote a supply of money.

Here, at Rome, an excusator has appeared on behalf of the King and Kingdom, saying that the suit was arduous, and that the King was not obliged to appear, nor could he come to Rome without manifest danger to his person and royal estate. This I contradicted, and there was disputation and report to the Rota, and to the cardinals in Consistory one by one, the English doing the same. God permitted that we should gain our point, and the demand of our opponents was rejected; they are not to be admitted in future without proper mandate from their king and powers for the whole cause.

I have been assailed through the Pope and the Most Christian King with a proposal respecting a suspension of all proceedings for two years. I have told them that I will never consent to it, but that I have nevertheless consulted the Emperor, who, I hope, will approve of my resolution.

Mr. de Praët has left again for France.

A courier from that Court bringing news of the 26th, 28th, and 29th of February says that the festivals and rejoicings for the coronation of the Queen were delayed until the 11th inst., that Madame [Leonor] had been unwell, but was now better. A secretary or ambassador of the duke of Ferrara had pressed the King for the arrears of pension due to his son Don Hercole, and for the dower of Madame Renée. So importunate was the Secretary on the subject that the King got

1532.

very angry with him, though they say that at last matters were arranged by means of the Grand Master, &c.

Indorsed: "News from Flanders, Germany, and Italy.*

28 Feb. **912.** Additional Articles.

S. E. L. 857, f. 7. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 210.

Besides the aforesaid petitions, exceptions, and protests, the English excusator states, that it being a notorious fact that the Turk is preparing an army and a fleet to invade Christendom, it is not safe for his master, the King, to go to Rome and appear in judgment.

Also that before the suit now pending between the said king and queen of England there was, and is still, some danger of war between the Emperor on one side and the King and his allies on the other, that being another reason why he should not be summoned to Rome, and if summoned should not appear.

Latin. Contemporary copy. p. 1.

29 Feb. **913.** Cardinal d'Osma to the high commander of Leon.

S. E. L. 25, f. 201–5. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 212.

Wrote by a courier of the Pope who left yesterday, and as he has order to make all possible haste, so as to be in Hungary before the day of St. Gregory, when the Diet is to be held, will not repeat what was said in that despatch.

Nor is there any need to comment on the affairs of Switzerland as the ambassador (Mai) has already written, or will shortly write at full length when their agent at this court has ended his business, and is ready to depart. Has done all he could for the speedy conclusion of the affair that brought him here, and fancies that he will leave in a couple of days. All speed is required, for the Pope told him (Loaysa) the day before yesterday that the French ambassador had complained that he (the Pope) and the Imperialists were contriving to alienate the Switzers from him, which was a direct infringement of the treaty of Cambray. His Holiness answered very properly that neither he nor the Emperor had any such design. It was true that in order that the Catholic cantons might defend themselves more effectually against the Lutherans His Imperial Majesty had shewn a desire of helping them with men and money; so had the Most Christian King done, promising his help, though it was the Emperor alone who had at last sent them a trifling succour. "Between that (said the Pope) and trying to alienate the Switzers from France there was a wide difference."

Such was His Holiness' reply to the French ambassador, and, therefore, his (Loaysa's) opinion is that the utmost speed ought to be used in making some sort of alliance with the five Catholic cantons for the good of the Faith and the preservation of peace in Italy. There is no danger of people arguing that we go against the treaties made with Catholic princes, for

* After Muxetula's despatch of the 20th February, No. 903.

1532.

one of the articles of Cambray stipulates that the king of France shall not interfere in future in the affairs of Italy, and it is for this very purpose, and to ensure peace that an alliance with the five Swiss cantons, who hold to their Faith, is so very desirable.

In the English business he (Loaysa) is doing all he can, and certainly is very sorry at the delays which are every day interposed. If everyone felt as he does, the cause would be in a better state. His Holiness has evidently made a mistake; he fancied that the many delays he has granted would be beneficial; they have on the contrary been most detrimental, instead of curing the King they have aggravated his disease. When he (Loaysa) reflects on the many injuries that are daily inflicted on the Queen of England he cannot help thinking that no reparation to her honour can come from the hands of men, but that God will ultimately take up her defence and have the case determined without secondary considerations of any sort, punishing those who have been the cause of her sufferings. Will nevertheless do his best; the ambassador (Mai) in the meanwile is working, but as his last severe illness has left its traces, as he is indolent by nature, and besides his words are not so wise as they might be, he (Loaysa) fears that his endeavours will not meet with success. The said ambassador (Mai) will no doubt make a good vice-chancellor [in Spain], but here at Rome for the sort of negotiations entrusted to him he is by no means fit.*

The marquis del Gasto [Vasto] has been staying nine days at Rome in consequence of his suffering from sciatica (*mal de ijada*). He lodged at his (Loaysa's) house with 15, and some say as many as 40 retainers, as Fray Vicente informs him. He left yesterday for the Imperial camp with the intention of punishing the many scoundrels, who by their robberies and excesses throw discredit on the Emperor.

A secretary of the vayvod [of Transylvania) has been for some time, and is still staying, at the English embassy. He has had an audience from the Pope, who says that his master wishes to be recognized as king of Hungary, and asks for many more things than was at first expected. As the ambassador (Mai) is likely to write about him, he (Loaysa) will limit himself to observing that if the Vayvod's proposals are honourable they ought to be accepted, since a good peace both with the Vayvod and with the Lutherans is far preferable to war.

Yesterday a Consistory was held by extraordinary, to decide an incident of the matrimonial cause. That the thing may be better understood he (Loaysa) will enter into some details, and take matters from the beginning. A year ago there came here an Englishman, who entitles himself excusator for the King and kingdom, demanding that the cause should not be tried here [at Rome], but be committed to certain judges free

* "Crehedme que para vice-canciller es suficiente, y tiene buenas partes, y para aqui, aunque es muy ancho, queda la vayna harto floxa."

1532.

from suspicion in England or in some town nearer to that country. The excusator's allegation is founded on two principal arguments: firstly, that the case in itself is so grave and important that it cannot rightly be decided or sentenced through a procurator; and secondly, that the King is prevented from coming personally to Rome, not only owing to the danger which his kingdom would run through his absence, but because the road to this city is not free and secure; whence it is that he asks that the process and sentence be revoked to England. This point the excusator of the English wishes for a public disputation, before the College and auditors of the Rota, and they have so far succeeded that yesterday the proctors and advocates of both parties appeared in Consistory ready to dispute the case. There were, however, such altercations that nothing could be done, for the English excusator brought no less than 30 different conclusions to maintain, one each day, and the advocates of the Queen said that they would not accept the debate on so many points, which, after all, were simply so many calumnious propositions for the sole purpose of delaying the sentence. The only question to be debated (said our advocate) was whether the English excusator was to be admitted or rejected. When the Pope heard of this he ordered all [the lawyers] out of the room, and when they were gone deliberated as to the form to be observed in the debate. Much difference of opinion prevailed on this point, until at last it was decided by the majority of those present that only one of the conclusions should be disputed, as all the rest were superfluous. Cardinals Monte and Farnese, who were present, did good service on this occasion; other cardinals (specially those of the French party) were in favour of the excusator's proposition. One of them maintained that the Englishman ought to be heard on all and every one of the conclusions he had brought in print; but he (Loaysa) opposed him so vigorously and with such convincing arguments, expatiating on the many injuries done to so holy a lady as the Queen, and the little consideration shewn to His Imperial Majesty—who asks only for what is just and could not be refused even to an Infidel—that he really believes the majority decided to vote with him in consequence. Among other arguments he (Loaysa) made use of the following one: "Three have been the results of so many delays: 1st, the King is now living publicly in adultery. 2nd, the Queen has been deprived of all her rights by sheer force. 3rd, the King has lost all shame, and disobeys the Holy Apostolic See. The more delays are granted the more bad effects will ensue.

Cardinal Colonna has laid a tax on the wine that these cardinals import for their own use from Naples and Sicily. That is a sort of novelty with which this College will not easily put up. Daily complaints on this head are made to him (Loaysa), as if he could do anything in the matter. Begs

1532.

him to see that the College of Cardinals be attended to in these trifles, since its members are not treated as they ought to be even in other matters of greater importance. Indeed, owing to the Emperor himself appointing to the churches and benefices under his patronage, the Pope has not actually at his disposal one ecclesiastical benefice worth 500 ducats, whereas the king of France distributes well nigh 80,000, or as Tarbes pretends 200,000, among Italians.

Don Francisco Manrique, &c.

Property left in Naples by the bishop of Salamanca deceased. The Pope says that it belongs to him by right, and is very much offended at cardinal Colonna not allowing the Apostolic Chamber (*Camara*) to take possession. Cannot help thinking that His Holiness has reason to complain. He ought at any rate not to get such dry answers as that given to Don Alonso Enriquez, of Seville, and since innumerable petitions are daily addressed to the Pope by us it seems but just that his pleasure should be done in matters to which he has decidedly a right.

El Troyano, and Soria.

Naples.—Wine and provisions for the cardinals. They ought to come free from export duty, as Sancho Bravo assured them in the Emperor's name that they would be. Believes all the fault lies with Geronimo Peregrin, who has contracted for 4,000 butts of wine free of duty, it being publicly asserted that the Cardinal [Colonna] has a share in the profits.

Cardinal of Burgos (Mendoza) and his application for leave of absence. Should he go to Castille a brief ought be obtained from the Pope declaring that nowise is he to take precedence [in Spain] of the other two cardinals created at the same time with him, namely, Seville (Manrique) and Santiago (Tavera).

[P.S.—To the High Commander.] Let the following paragraph be exclusively reserved for Your Lordship's inspection, and, if necessary, for that of the Emperor. The Pope said to me the other day that the ambassador, Miçer Mai, had asked him whether he had said more to me or to anyone else respecting the marriage of his niece (Catherina) with the duke of Milan (Francesco Sforza) than he had to him. His Holiness said: "Why do you ask me that question?" "Because I hear (said Mai) from the Imperial Court that Your Holiness has quite decided that this marriage of Milan shall take place, and if so I cannot understand what Your Holiness said to me at the time." The Pope, as it would appear, was a little embarrassed, and said: "I have not said to anyone more than I have to you; nor do I recollect speaking longer on the subject to a living person than to you." "But, most Holy Father (said Mai), you certainly did not tell me what your wishes were in that respect as clearly and definitely as some other party wrote to the Imperial Court. Those parties, no doubt, added what they thought fit to add, whereas I wrote

1532.

strictly and solely what Your Holiness told me, which was merely giving hopes without coming to a determination."

I must say that the Pope was anything but pleased at this speech of Mai, for when he spoke to me on the subject I could gather that much from his words. I myself was surprised and grieved, because I saw plainly that the ambassador would have liked to know whether I was the person alluded to in his conversation with the Pope as having reported home on the marriage of his niece, and that he would ask me. Were I to answer in the affirmative he (Mai) would try to persuade His Holiness that I had also told him that we might both the better bind him to His Majesty's service. I fancy Mai learned these particulars through the letter which Your Lordship wrote to me, and of which a transcript was enclosed to the ambassador, as his secretary informed me at the time. Having there read the paragraph relating to the marriage of the Pope's niece in more explicit terms than it was confided to him he naturally became envious, and, without heeding the consequences, went to the Pope and cross-questioned him about it.*

With regard to the Vayvod's secretary it is perfectly true that when he came His Holiness made a congregation of 12 of his chief cardinals. The instruction which was there read consisted of three or four points. The first to beg the Pope to settle the question pending between him and the king of the Romans. The second, that peace once made between them two, the Turk would willingly make truce with the whole of Christendom. And the third, that if His Holiness would only send a Nuncio to his court it would be seen that he (the Vayvod) had always been a good Christian [*the remainder of the letter is missing*].

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

3 Mar. **914.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 858, f. 147.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 227.

Wrote by the last post that His Holiness, upon my shewing him the draft of the memorandum of which I sent Your Majesty a copy, gave immediate orders to his secretary (Sanga) to draw out a shorter and more concise minute, which in reality will serve the very same purpose. He was to shew it to cardinal Ancona (Accolti), and if approved bring it back to him. Sanga did as he was bid; he went to the Cardinal, shewed him the minute he had drawn in compliance with the Cardinal's instructions, and brought it back with his approbation. What passed in the meanwhile I cannot say, but when Sanga returned, and His Holiness again examined the draft, he said: "I cannot possibly sign a brief of that sort. It seems to me very preposterous and harsh to excommunicate a king without having first admonished him. Let another brief be made out requesting the king of England to

* "De lo qual tuvo tanta enbidia que no mirando a la utilidad de los negocios se metió en estas parlerias livianas y dañosas."

1532.

treat the queen of England as his true and legitimate wife, and to separate altogether from that Anne, his mistress, until sentence be definitively pronounced, and if he disobey then it will be time for me to fulminate the censures of the Church against him."

A brief so worded and a copy of it were sent to the Emperor for approval, that he may forward it to the Papal Nuncio in England, who will put it into the King's hands. If, however, this should produce no effect another brief shall be applied for excommunicating the King, &c.

The English ambassador who left in November post haste has returned to Rome. I hear he brings nothing substantial from England, but maintains his former opinion, viz.: that the King, his master, is nowise obliged to appear, &c. He has presented certain conclusions to that effect which he offers to dispute, and of which I would willingly have sent a copy, as well as of the brief itself, had not the ambassador (Miçer Mai) told me that this estafette will only take two letters.

The queen of England has written to His Holiness complaining of the delays in prosecuting this cause, and has ordered me besides to join in her just demands, which I have already done, and will do whenever I have an opportunity.—Rome, 3rd March 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

6 Mar. **915.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 11.

The letter which Your Majesty was pleased to write to me on the 27th ult° was duly received, and the Queen delighted to hear of the provision made in order to thwart *Dr. Bonart's foul practices.*

With regard to the *Vayvod's agent* I have heretofore advised Your Majesty of his doings [in England]. He was first introduced here by the king of France, to whom this one had written on the subject, as I had occasion to inform Your Majesty.*

Respecting the threatened invasion of the Turk I have hitherto avoided as much as possible such subjects of conversation, as I had no particular charge or instructions on that score. If I have occasionally alluded to it since, and stated my own private opinion, it is merely for the purpose of answering the frequent interpellations of these people, or justifying Your Majesty's conduct in the affair, knowing, as I do, that this king once, at supper, had positively said, and repeated over and over again, that it would be very wrong and very anti-Catholic on the part of Your Majesty and of the king of the Romans

* No. 898, p. 380. "Son demenner, que sadressa par la court de France, ou ce roy avoit envoye sa depesche."

1532.

merely for cupidity's sake, and lust of the kingdom of Hungary,* to push Christendom to the brink of perdition—as the King himself once told me. I have tried, whenever there was an opportunity, to remove the false and erroneous impressions of this king, and prove to him by your peaceful settlements with the duke of Milan and the Venetians that neither Your Imperial Majesty nor your brother, the king of the Romans, had ever been actuated by motives of cupidity and ambition. And as to my own private conversation with Mons. de la Pomeraye respecting the Swiss, *I should think that the French ambassador can derive no possible advantage from what I said to him, for unless he chooses to disguise the truth he must own that I openly declared to him on four different occasions that in this last Swiss affair I was by no means satisfied, owing to the damage they had lately caused at Geneva, and their endeavouring to infect it with their Lutheran pestilence.*

An attempt is now being made in this Parliament *to abrogate the authority of archbishops over other prelates, and give it to this king as sovereign chief of the English Church. The earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) is the principal advocate of this measure, and has been heard to say before a portion of the assembly that he is ready to maintain at the risk of his life and property that no Pope or prelate can exercise jurisdiction, promulgate laws, or enforce ordinances in this country: at which proposition, bold as it is, we must not be surprised, since both he (the Earl) and his daughter (Anne) are considered to be true apostles of the new sect.*

The duke of Norfolk went four days ago to visit Dover for the purpose of having a harbour made there, and saving the town from the encroachments of the sea. He may possibly also have gone thither with a view to fortify the place, for I am told that he has taken with him a number of engineers, some of those who have lately been inspecting the fortresses and the frontiers of Scotland. *My own idea is that both the works in contemplation at Dover, and the inspection of the fortresses are only excuses to ask a grant of money from Parliament.*† The Duke returned from Dover this morning, accompanied by the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), *who, I hear, has not left matters quite so comfortable at the Court of France* as his master, the King, could have wished, so much so that I am assured that one of the Privy Councillors said the other day: "If the Bishop talks now as he wrote from the French Court, the Queen's business will go on well." The King was only waiting for the arrival of the said Bishop to send to France as ambassador of his own Master Valopt (Sir John Wallop), captain of the castle of Calais; whether to reside at that Court

* "De vouloir pour cupidité et ambicion du royaulme de Hongrie mectre toute la chrestiente en dange[r] de perdicion."

† "Je pense quilz veuillent cumuler loccasion du dit port avec celle des dites fortresses pour pouvoir demander deniers."

1532.

or merely on some extraordinary mission I cannot tell.—London, 6th March [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 3.

7 Mar. **916.** Cardinal Loaysa to the Same.

S. E. L. 25, f. 211.

Your Majesty will forgive me if I write one hundred times the same thing. I have said twice, and I repeat it again, that in that Diet [of Ratisbone] and in the affairs of Germany Your Majesty must not be too much bent on finishing what you have in hand and so being able soon to leave the country, but only on getting through your business most completely, and carrying out the enterprize which you so gloriously undertook. At any rate, if you cannot leave that nation in the grace of God, leave it at least in your own.

These entreaties I make again in this my letter, and will repeat as many times as I write, because such I take to be for your interest and your reputation, which I value more than my own life. Without it I would neither be bishop of Siguença, nor even Pope, and may God confound me if I ever feel in my heart differently from what I write. I will always say: "No Castille, no wife, no children, except after having finished our State affairs."

Here no one thinks or talks except of this dreaded invasion of the Turk.—Rome, 7th March 1532.

Signed: "Fr. G[arcia] Carlis Seguntinus."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

12 Mar. **917.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 48.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 232.

Your Majesty's letter of the 26th February was duly received.

As the ambassador [Mai] cannot fail to have written, our time is taken up with disputing in Consistory certain insolent conclusions of the English ambassadors tending to prove that the excusator of the king of England may be admitted without a special mandate from his master. This is a question which His Holiness and his Consistory had already decided by two decretals, so that the Rota, disregarding entirely the letter which the King sent in lieu of mandate, decided that the trial should be proceeded with at once.

If the brief which His Holiness has now addressed to the King be insufficient to separate him from that Anne, by means of whom the Enemy of Mankind has captivated him, and thus make him return to his lawful wife, as is his duty, I wish to know whether a second brief excommunicating him is not to be asked for from the Pope, &c.

Great diligence has been used in Spain in everything

1532.

relating to this trial, for the most reverend archbishop of Compostella, president of Your Majesty's Royal Council [in Castille], has lately forwarded to us most important papers. Besides the determinations of the Universities, which came some time ago, he has now sent a letter signed by several prelates, as well as the conclusions of the universities of Salamanca, Alcala, and Valladolid, all of which, if any further question arose in the case, would be of great use, as shewing the opinion of the Spanish doctors and canonists.

We have also received the evidence (*probanças*) procured at Valladolid, Toledo, Burgos, Seville, and Malaga, as well as in Madrid and Santiago of Galicia, besides the copies of many deeds and papers relating to the marriage settlements of queen Katharine with prince Arthur, and also with the present King. As the bishop of Mondoñedo* writes, the evidence is so valuable that one of the witnesses, Catalina de Guevara, declares upon oath that the Queen was a maiden when she married the present King.—Rome, 12th March 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

12 Mar. **918.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 68.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 232.

. . . . . .

To remove all pretences for the king of France arming as he is doing, and stirring up some event that may forward his schemes here in Italy, His Holiness has decided to send him a message purporting that since it is rumoured that the Grand Turk is personally coming to invade Germany at the head of a powerful army, and that Your Majesty is equally well prepared to meet him, no more forces are required for the defence of Christendom. As far as Italy is concerned a fleet only is wanted, as the attack cannot be made otherwise than by sea, and therefore he (the Pope) begs him to send his galleys, promising to return them, and if any should be lost to pay the cost. (*Cipher:*) In this manner does His Holiness intend removing all occasion for the French king coming down to Italy with an army under colour of defending it against the Turk.—Rome, 12th March 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesr Cath. Mti."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

* "Y segun escrive el obispo de Mondoñedo viene tan buena la provanza que ay testigo, que es una Catalina de Guevara, que contra la falsedad que se ponia á la Serenissima Reina declara como estava virgen quando se dió al Rey Enrrico octavo, y como se halló presente en ambas bodas, y sacó las sabanas de la cama donde vido lo de que da testimonio; lo qual es tambien para mayor abundancia porque la justicia desta causa siempre está cierta, aunque el matrimonio fuera consumado con Arcturo." The witness mentioned in this passage may have been the mother of the bishop of Guadix, Don Antonio de Guevara, one of Charles' chaplain preachers, who in 1537 became bishop of Mondoñedo. The one alluded to in this passage must have been D. Pedro Pacheco, who in 1545 was created cardinal by Paul III., the successor of Clement.

1532.

14 Mar. **919.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 857, f. 106.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 235.

[Copies word for word his letter to the Emperor, and then adds:]

The ambassador who resides in England for the Emperor (Eustace Chapuys) writes to me that on the 16th of January the king of England assembled his Parliament (*començó á tener Cortes*) for the purpose, as was generally reported, of looking into the divorce case. I have often represented to His Holiness how much he is in duty bound to put an end to this trial by pronouncing sentence, &c.—Rome, 14th March 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the most high the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish.

16 Mar. **920.** Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 859, f. 70.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 239.

. . . . . .

All the cardinals of this congregation without exception have been of opinion that a legate should be sent to France and England to ask the kings of those countries, in His Holiness' name, and in that of the whole Christian Church, to co-operate against the Turk. In order, however, that the said co-operation be not used as an excuse to create disturbances in Italy the former of those kings is to be earnestly requested to lend his fleet for the purpose, and to contribute besides a sum of money to the expenses of the war.

The Pope at first was not in favour of a legate being sent on the plea that whoever was appointed would arrive too late, and that the commission was of such a nature that it could be very easily entrusted to his nuncios in those countries. Other considerations have since moved him; he has now made up his mind to send Salviati. Whether he will persevere in his intention or not is more than I can say. —Rome, 16th March 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Ces^{as} Cath. M^{ti}."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

[? Mar.] **921.** Miçer Mai to Secretary Covos (?).

S. E. L. 857, f. 132.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 245.

Said in my last that after disputing the conclusions of the matrimonial cause of England I was told that the Rota had nothing more to do than sum up and report the proceedings (*refferir el procesado*), though not their own votes nor their resolution in the matter. It is indeed the case that their vote itself is of no importance at all (*no vale nada*), when an affair is brought to Consistory; yet it is a thing that carries great reputation, and very seldom, if ever, has Consistory been

1532.

known to decide against the vote of that tribunal.* That is the reason why the English have tried to take the cause away from us (*sacarnosla*), not only on account of this particular article but of those that may come hereafter, and also as a precedent for the main cause (*y tambien por la causa principal*). For four consecutive years have they tried to get that, and I have stood in their way to prevent it, persuaded as I am that the salvation and success of the whole cause lies in the Rota. Auditors are generally well-trained and honourable lawyers, who pride themselves on being men of high character, and live in that reputation, because they all hope to become cardinals or be promoted to other ecclesiastical dignities. They are men of experience; they know how to draw correct inferences (*indiciar*), they understand the reports that are made, and can point out the doubtful clauses, whereas in the Consistory all this ceases: many of the cardinals are no lawyers at all; others are partial or good for nothing (*vanos*), and some there are who for the sake of the pontificate at which they madly aim seek no other object but that which may be profitable for this end.†

I have done my best with the Pope to persuade him not to allow such a state of things. On two or three occasions I have hinted to him (and I fancy that he has understood me right well), that he himself might die, and that we could not be so sure of the next Pope, and that this might be the cause of the election being made with greater heat and simony. I have repeated to him the very same arguments of late years, and seeing that nothing was brought into Court save the complaints (*querellas*) of the English, told him plainly that I also would bring my own complaint [before the Rota], and that since in proceedings he had hitherto given every facility (*arbitrio*) to the king of England, that in the indictment at least, if he would not give equal facilities to the Queen, he was bound to do justice as he had promised. Upon which Muxetula, the Regent, who was present, suggested certain measures, but I told him I would accept none without an express order from Your Majesty, and that since the English wanted to take the cause out of the Rota I began to suspect that all was not right.

The Pope then ordered cardinals Monte and Anchona to meet and report on the case. I called on them to inform them about it, but with all my efforts I could not persuade them to let the Rota give their opinion on these points, a thing which is quite unprecedented. Muxetula and I, and the two cardinals, then went to the Pope. I told them my mind, and gave such arguments and proofs as I thought were conclusive;

* "Y no sus votos, ni lo que entre ellos havian acordado, que bien que su voto no valga nada, quando la cosa entra en consistorio es de grandissima reputacion, y quasi nunca se vió que el Consistorio [decida] cosa contra lo que havia delliberado la Rota."

† "Y otros que por locura del pontificado no tienen otro obieto sino lo que para ellos piensan que les ha de aprovechar."

1532.

they adduced theirs; the discussion grew warmer, and we were on the point of a serious quarrel (*reñir*). At last Muxetula and I went away, and they (the cardinals) remained with His Holiness.

I know well that this article will be won with the Rota or without it, but I fear for the future, because the English are so full of calumny (*calumniosos*) that every day a new intrigue will be made. Muxetula says: "Let us put up with that; after all the cause is at Rome, and that is a good deal to say;" but I have no patience. I have sent for all the proctors and advocates (*letrados*) of Your Majesty, and also for those of the Queen, that we may study the affair together. To-morrow or after they will report to Mucgetula (*sic*) and to me. I am quite sure that justice is on our side, and yet I have reason to fear that somehow or other it will not prevail, for their wicked intentions and doings are so manifest that I am really alarmed for the future.*

I see that time passes, and that on the 1st of July the holidays begin, yet I consider this article of as much importance as the whole of the cause put together, and prefer risking two months of vacations rather than losing the whole.† After hearing, therefore, what the lawyers have to say I will return to the Pope, and to these cardinals, and see what can be done. Will not consent to what they (the English) claim unless I am positively told to do so, for after all, bad as it is, the delay is better than the dangerous precedents I have alluded to.—Rome.‡

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 5.

20 Mar. **922.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 12.

Since my last, in answer to Your Majesty's letter of the 18th ult°., I have duly received those dated Mayence (Maintz) the 9th inst., the contents of which have been a great source of consolation for the Queen, in view of the great affection you bear her and the care you take of her wretched affairs. She had, indeed, almost lost all hope of the suit terminating favourably, when Your Majesty's letter came to comfort her in the midst of her tribulations and sufferings, since perceiving the continual suspensions and delays obtained by the opposite party, and the calumnies propagated by her enemies—who boldly assert and boast that no sooner will Your Majesty be back in Spain than they will do what they like with the Pope and the rest—she was, as I said before, almost in despair She has accordingly charged me to beg and entreat Your Majesty verily to write to His Holiness that he may accelerate the definitive sentence in her case.

* "Esto va tan descubierto [que] me hazen temer en lo de porvenir."

† "Y quiero quando assi sea aventurar antes dos meses que quedan de vacaciones que no el todo."

‡ The letter has no signature or date. It is probably from Mai and addressed either to Covos or to Idiaquez, most likely to the former.

1532.

As to acquainting Her Majesty, the Queen [dowager] of Hungary, with events in this country, I have not failed to send her advices from time to time, and will continue to do so, in compliance with Your Majesty's commands. I will do the same with regard to Mons. de Libzerke* in all matters relating to Your Majesty's interests.

Lately the King has personally attended three different sessions of Parliament, and played his cards so well (*et a ioue son roule de sorte*) that the article of the annats, about which I wrote to Your Majesty by my despatch [of the 28th ult°.],† has passed, notwithstanding the opposition of all the bishops and of two abbots; almost all the lords (*grans*), who were 30 in number, voted in favour of the article with the single exception of the earl of Arundel, so that the majority was in reality for a Bill calculated to reduce considerably the Pope's annual revenue in this country. I pray to God that this disorderly behaviour may not be the source of worse evils for the Queen's case, which, however, has not yet been brought before Parliament. Nor has any other important measure that I know of been discussed or announced. It will be known on Saturday next what their intention is, for Parliament will then be prorogued until St. George's Day (23rd April). Yesterday the safe-conducts were granted for the Scottish ambassadors now going to France, namely, for a bishop, and one secretary only with their respective suites (the other lords who were to accompany the embassy remaining behind), and to-day (the 20th) the king-at-arms who came for the said safe-conduct will return [to Scotland] accompanied by another one from this king.‡

Two days ago, by the command of the queen of Hungary, I called upon the duke of Norfolk, and spoke to him on behalf of certain merchants of Dunkerke, whose ships had been plundered at sea. The Duke assured me at once that prompt redress would be made, but this cannot be done (as he says) before the recess of Parliament, with which he is so much occupied at present that he cannot possibly attend to any other business. The delay, however, is more annoying to the French ambassador than to us, for besides the uncertainty of the settlement (his hopes not being quite so strong as mine), the sum he has to claim exceeds 10,000 frs., whereas all the losses sustained by Your Majesty's subjects does not amount to 200. But I must observe that scarcely had I explained my business to the Duke than he began to speak about the descent of the Turk, which, he said, was most certain; adding that the king of France had, to his own knowledge, actually made

* Liederkerke? If so, he must be *Jean Hannaert*, Counsellor of State to the Emperor in Flanders, and later, in 1535, ambassador to France.

† See above, No. 907, p. 390.

‡ "A sçavoir pour ung evesque et ung secretaire avec leur train, et non point pour autres seignieurs; et doit partyr au iour dhuy pour son retourd le roy darmes que porsuyt le dit saulfconduyt accompagnie dung autre de ceux de ce roy."

1532.

very considerable offers to co-operate in the resistance to the Infidel on certain conditions to be accepted by Your Majesty. These were that the ransom money paid for his two sons should be returned, or else the kingdom of Naples made over to him. On these terms (the Duke said) the king of France would undertake to defend that country and the rest of Christendom also against the attacks of the Infidel.* My answer was, that on the subject so often discussed of the defensive alliance against the Turk, I had nothing to add to my former statement. As to the terms to which he (the Duke) alluded, I was sure the king of France was too virtuous and too wise a prince to propose such conditions considering the sincere friendship existing between you two. Upon which the Duke observed that he also believed the king of France to be incapable of such an act, and yet he had heard the news from a quarter which, though not sufficiently authentic, was still worthy of credit. He could, however, point out to me other more credible facts, such as the promise made by the Swiss at the King's request of raising 10,000 infantry whenever he should want them for any foreign war; and upon my inquiring where he thought the said Swiss might be wanted, the Duke answered with some hesitation: "Perhaps the King wants them to march against the Turk."

A priest has lately been arrested on the charge of having preached here, at St. Paul's Cathedral, against the divorce. Having been examined by the members of the Privy Council and questioned as to who had persuaded him to take such a course, he answered that truth, the service of God, and the honour of the King, his lord, had been his only motives. In consequence whereof I am told that the King has issued general orders for all the preachers in this country to speak in favour of his case, and that in obedience to such orders one of them, in Campeggio's bishopric,† began actually to preach a sermon in that sense, though with such ill-success that he was hooted and hissed by the audience, and had not the authorities of the place interfered he might have suffered much at the hands of women and other people in the church, which example, I fancy, will deter others from again preaching in favour of the divorce.

A messenger was some days ago dispatched to Rome, who is to be followed by a second this very day. The object, as far as I can learn, is to intimidate His Holiness by means of this Act of Parliament lately passed about the annats, and also to try and corrupt the cardinals and others with money and the promises of ecclesiastical benefices in England.—London, 20th March [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

* "Et en apres me dit que le roy de France avoit fait ung bel offre pour la resistence du dit turc, porveu que lon voulsist accepter les conditions questoint que vostre maieste luy rendist sa rançon, ou luy remist le royaume de Naples, et yl se feroit fort de bien le deffendre."

† That of Salisbury.

1532.

22 Mar. **923.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL D'OSMA.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 93.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 242.

Thanks him for his good advice, &c.

Considers his presence at Rome as of great advantage to him, especially in all that concerns the queen of England and the matrimonial cause. Cannot possibly do without his valuable services just now. The Pope has repeatedly promised not to grant any more delays, but issue final sentence in the divorce case. He (the Cardinal) must press the Pope to fulfil his promises.

Cardinal's hat for Muscetula, &c.—Ratisbon, 22nd March 1532.

Addressed: "To the cardinal of Osma, &c."

Indorsed: "From Ratisbon, 22nd March, conjointly with the letter of the 26th."

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez.

23 Mar. **924.** LOPE HURTADO to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 25, f. 79.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 240.

Is in receipt of her letter of the 11th inst. All diligence is being used in the business of the queen of England. The King has sent to the Court (*las Casas de la relacion del Crimen y cevil*) a lawyer with the report (*informacion*) presented by Don Esteban, and is now sending Francisco de Melo to the university of Lisbon on a similar errand. Imagines that Don Estevan will be soon dispatched and well, because the King is favourably disposed, as are also the lawyers who have the affair in hand.

Respecting Bras Tellez Your Majesty's commands shall be punctually obeyed. The Infante's treasurer has gone to Santarem for the Easter festivals; that is the reason why the 200,000 reaes cannot be cashed until his return.

Visited the King and Queen in the Empress' name. Both arrived here on the 12th. On the 13th the King had a touch of fever and ague: he is now quite well. The other day news came that a large ship from India, that remained behind at Mosambique, and was considered lost had made her appearance in the Islands, at which the King is exceedingly glad as the vessel was the largest and the richest in cargo of all those employed in the trade of that country. Those that are to sail this year are getting ready.

Fray Alonso de Carmona has come here, sent, as they say, by the bishop of Segovia, on behalf of a brother of his, the same who murdered his wife. Whether he has any other business in hand cannot tell for certain; all he can say is that he knows the man of old, and that he is too fond of mixing himself up with affairs that do not concern him, both at Rome and here. When he first came he (Hurtado) had the greatest difficulty in preventing his going to the King to discourse on the peace of Christendom as dogmatically and with as much assurance as if he had been the late cardinal of

1532.

England (Wolsey).* To such friars as this one provincials ought never to give permission to quit their cells or kingdom.

For a long time Don Martin [de Portugal] has been trying to get this king through against the majority of votes in Council, to send him as ambassador to Rome. The King at last has appointed him. He is to cross in two large ships that are now being fitted out at Lisbon, and will depart this month or before the middle of the next.—Setubal, 23rd March 1532.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the Empress."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

[Mar.] **925.** MIÇER MAI to the HIGH COMMANDER OF LEON.

S. E. L. 857, f. 133.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 243.

This [matrimonial] cause of England does not go on at all. After I saw that the debate on the conclusions would last a long time, I myself keeping aloof, as I wrote in my last despatch, the English so far succeeded that they pleaded in only two Consistories. I then petitioned that they should not be allowed to proceed with the disputation, and this was granted. The Pope gave orders to the Commissary of the cause to hold himself in readiness, and although neither I nor the lawyers attended the two last disputes I got some one to put down in writing all that was said on the occasion. It is, however, not worth recording, for the argumentation of the English is nothing but air.

Pressing to-day the informing officer to make his report in Consistory, a new difficulty has arisen, because our opponents say that they do not wish the Rota to report, as they consider it a suspicious tribunal. Finding that some of these most reverend cardinals inclined to this opinion, I lost no time and complained to His Holines and to them, and though in the exasperation of the argument I almost feared to lose my senses, still I persevered, because in reality several inconveniences may arise from such a measure as this. First of all, justice is less secure among the cardinals if they vote by themselves, or after hearing the vote of the Rota; and secondly, whatever is done in the meantime is sure to be done afterwards in the principal cause, and it is neither prudent nor wise that matters of such importance should be put to the vote (*no es bien ponerlas á voces*).

Immediately after the advocation was gained the English demanded that the case should be decided in Consistory without the interference of the Rota. We spoke with the greatest fervour (*pusimos los gritos hasta el cielo*), and we carried our point; the application was refused. I am now trying to obtain a similar refusal, because to have a case

* "No sé si trae otra cosa, que este frayle conozco yo por mas amigo de negocios [de lo] que era menester, de Roma y de aqui quando vino, que no le podia estorvar que hablase en la paz de la christiandad al Rey, como si fuera el cardenal de Inglaterra, muerto."

1532.

judged by Consistory is tantamount to have it decided with partiality. The Pope is the most afflicted (*el mas penado del mundo*) of men just now, for he wishes on the one hand to do justice, and yet on the other does not like to offend his friends, as he calls the kings of France and England. This state of indecision naturally renders the opposite party exceedingly bold, and they invent daily fresh plots (*bellaquerias*). I should prefer not to go on with the cause till I knew His Majesty's wishes,* and should like to see it committed to some worthy individual, a man of conscience in whom we could trust, because from the Consistory without the Rota I expect no good to come, on the contrary, much evil. I know very well that the Consistory is not obliged to follow what the Rota has voted, but I also know that this tribunal is of such authority, and has hitherto been so respected, that very few of the cardinals will dare to dissent from it.

On the other hand, I am very much afraid that the English ambassadors will challenge some of the auditors of the Rota, as suspicious, and that whilst we dispute whether the said auditors are or are not so, some further delay will be caused and time lost, which is what the English are looking for.

Some tell me that the English will ultimately send a mandate to appear, and decline altogether the judgment of the cause here at Rome. If so, the letters which I asked Your Majesty to send me will be of use. I fear they will put in this cause in the holidays, since only two months' time is left for the audiences. I am continually soliciting and warning the Pope about this, but he tells me not to be afraid; still I keep insisting, and will never cease to do so, for I see that somehow or other his promises always fail.

Since matters are so disposed I will omit none of the means and ways conducive to our purpose, and intend besides to press for the conclusion of this case, making use of the evidence and acts lately come from Spain, &c. In this manner the Queen's right shall be clearly demonstrated, and the King's unjust demands equally rejected.

After all, it has been resolved that the commissary make a report of all the incidents of the case, without alluding to the votes in the Rota, and that the auditors are not to be present at the reading of the report. I am not at all satisfied with this resolution, and am trying to have it revoked, that the whole thing may be done as on former occasions, for I consider it detrimental to introduce any change.—Rome, [March] 1532.

Indorsed: "Miçer Mai to the High Commander of Leon on the matrimonial cause."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

* "Yo por mi mas querria [no] passar [adelante] en la causa hasta consultarlo con su Magestad."

1532.

26 Mar. **926.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 13.

Your Majesty's letter of the 29th ult° came to hand yesterday with its proscripts of the 3rd and 6th inst. I shall not fail to act according to the instructions contained in them.

The article about the annats having passed the assembly of prelates and lords of this kingdom, the procurators and deputies of the towns and villages (*communes*) dissented, and offered as much opposition as they could to the measure, though they had almost all been chosen, as I informed Your Majesty in a previous despatch,* at the King's wish. And although they were given to understand that in Spain, as well as in several other countries, the said annats had not been levied by the Pope's collectors, although it was clearly proved to them by the rolls and accounts that for the last 50 years nearly two millions of gold had left this country on account of the said annats;† although they had the King's promise that for a whole year no other attempt should be made against His Holiness' authority, inasmuch as the King himself intended treating with him and coming to an agreement during that period, the Commons, as I said, strongly opposed the Bill. At last the King, perceiving that remonstrances were in vain, thought of a plan, which proved ultimately successful, viz., that those among the members [of Parliament] who wished for the King's welfare and the prosperity of the kingdom, as they call it, should stand on one side of the House, and those who opposed the measure on the other. Several of them for fear of the King's indignation went over to the King's side, and in this manner was a majority obtained, and the Bill passed, though somewhat amended from its original wording, for it says that after the expiration of one year the Pope shall only receive 20 per cent. of the annats he used to take formerly, and that in case of his refusing to consent to the reduction, the two archbishops of this country (Canterbury and York), or in their place two bishops appointed by the King, shall have the power of conferring all ecclesiastical dignities, consecrating, &c.

(*Cipher:*) Though the above transaction and several small details, which I omit for brevity's sake, are perfectly true and patent to everyone, yet the King and his ministers do not perhaps intend to carry things to extremities,‡ though it must be said that they are making great efforts to persuade the people that they are in earnest. To this end the duke of Norfolk, riding past the Nuncio's house yesterday, as he was going to

* That of the 20th, No. 922, p. 410.

† "Et nonobstant quil leur fust donne detendre que en hyspagne et plusieurs autres lieux icelles annates ne se prirent, nonobstant ausy que leur fust remonstre par roullez et comptez que puys cinquante ans les dites annates avoint couste a ce royaume prez de deux milions dor."

‡ "Le roy et les siens nont point de regard de uouloir despenser (?) le cas tout au rebourd."

1532.

a country house of his, alighted from his horse and said to him, that as most likely people would give diverse accounts of what had just been decided about the annats, he had expressly called to inform him of the truth, that he might acquaint His Holiness. And after begging the said Nuncio to listen to what he had to say, and protesting that nothing but the plain truth should issue from his lips, he strove hardly to persuade him that it was not the King but the Commons (*le peuple*) who had of their own accord brought forward the motion about the annats, besides many others against Papal authority, and that the King —who was a good and devout son of His Holiness—had marvellously worked to defend his rights and authority in this country. That with regard to the annats, the King was the sole arbiter between himself and his subjects. It rested entirely with the Pope to preserve all his annats and other prerogatives in this kingdom.

Such was the Duke's statement to the Nuncio, after swearing on his honour that he would say nothing but the plain truth, and begging him to write to Rome! The Nuncio, however, after listening to the Duke's words, could not help remarking on the conduct of the King and of his ministers in this business of the annats, which has been, as I have informed Your Majesty, so different from the Duke's statement, to which most opportune observation the latter knew not how to answer, except by saying that he did not speak of the means employed, but only of the effect produced, and so avoided any further discussion on the subject.*

The French ambassador has also been well primed (*abbreuve*) in the same line, and I suppose has been told to come to me and represent the affair in the very same language that the Duke did to the Nuncio, for at the moment I write he is leaving my room after wasting all his rhetoric on me. I fancy also that he will write to his master much as these people desire. As to the Nuncio, he tells me that he will write to Rome the whole truth, and ask for a prompt remedy [to the impending evil].

According to the Frenchman's statement the mission of the Scottish ambassadors now going to France is to ask for a wife for their master, the King. He thought, however, that they would not be able to obtain the hand of any of the King's daughters, but might get that of Vendosme (Antoine de Bourbon) or Guyse (Claude de Lorraine), or the sister of the prince of Navarre. After this the French ambassador went on to talk about Monsieur de Savoye (Carlo), whom he strongly blamed for having accepted the county of Asta (Asti), which (he said) the King, his master, could not suffer to be in other hands than his own, any more than the duchy

* "Le dit nonce apres auoir ouy les dits propoz luy mis en auant les façons de fere que le roy et les siens auoient tenu au dit affere des annates, questoient bien disformes aux susdits propoz, a quoy ne luy sçeut le dit duc que repondre synon quil ne luy parloit point des moyens tenus ains tant seullement de leffet, et ne voulet (*sic*) entrer plus auant en disputes."

1532.

of Milan, which (he said) was the patrimonial estate of his children. Monsieur de Savoie, he observed, was perhaps the prince who had the least title of any to the said county of Asti, and therefore the King could not bear with patience his retaining possession of it.

This last observation eliciting no answer from me the French ambassador changed the conversation and passed to another topic, &c.—London, 26th March [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed; "From the ambassador in England, 26th March. Received on the 14th of April."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

28 Mar. **927.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL LOAYSA.

S. E. L. 1,558, f. 92.
M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 239.

Has nothing to add concerning his conversation with the Papal Legate.

Thanks him for his advice. Has already acquainted the king of France with the fact that the Turks are advancing, and sent him a special agent to request that should the Pope apply to him for a number of galleys he would lend them to him. Has further asked the King to contribute in money; troops he (the Emperor) does not want. Hears that the Pope intends sending a Legate to France with that object; does not consider it necessary, but if the Pope and his Cardinals wish to send cardinal Salviati to France and England, he (the Emperor) cannot possibly raise an objection. They may send him, but let it be understood that on no account is the Legate to ask those kings for succour in men; they are only wanted to contribute money, not an army or fleet.

Is to thank the Pope in his name for the great affection he professes to bear him.—Ratisbon, 28th March 1532.

Spanish. Original draft in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. English abstract by Bergenroth. pp. 3.

10 April. **928.** RODRIGO NIÑO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,309, ff. 89–90.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 251.

Has spoken to the Doge and Signory about the league which it is desirable they should make with the Pope and Emperor against the Turk, but has found them exceedingly reticent and over scrupulous on the subject. The Venetians, in fact, will not move until they see that the Christians have the best of the contest [against the common enemy].

With regard to the other league, which, it is rumoured, the kings of France and England, the Vayvod, and some Lutheran princes have already made, and about which he (Niño) wrote on the 26th February fresh particulars have been obtained in a most secret and confidential manner. This Signory has advices from a town in Germany, called Lubeck, to the purport that the agents of the two kings, of the Vayvod, of the duke

1532.

of Sassa (Saxony), of the landgrave [of Hesse], and of three or four free towns, and seven or eight more Lutheran princes, met together at that place and discussed various matters, and principally the form of the said league, which it would appear they have since concluded and reduced to special articles as follows. The moment the Turk invades Hungary each of them shall arm and attack the Emperor's dominions, or those of his brother, the king of the Romans. The king of England to marry his daughter [the Princess] to the Vayvod, and the king of France to prepare a fleet in Normandy; indeed it is said that the latter is already arming galleys at Marseilles, and that the duke of Albany is to be the commander-in-chief of all his forces. Though the Signory would not reveal the name of the person from whom this information was obtained, he (Niño) suspects that it comes straight from England, because this Doge told him on Sunday last that letters had been received from their ambassador in London dated the 16th ult°, informing him that on the day before the duke of Suffolk had had very high words with him owing to the Signory not having allowed the Paduan doctors and professors to go to Rome and debate publicly on the divorce case; so that in his (Niño's) opinion there can be no doubt that the advices have come direct from England, besides which his informer told him that a question having arisen in the Senate as to whether they should acquaint him (Niño) with that piece of intelligence some of the Senators, who had merchandize and other goods on board the galleys now in English waters, strongly opposed the measure, saying that should the king of England learn that the news had originated in Venice they [the Venetians] might be the sufferers. Niño's informer further added that for this reason the Doge had refrained from telling him those English news. Believes in fact that the Signory will stand by the treaties, and that nothing will make them swerve from their duty in this respect, for they know very well who the kings of France and England are, and what each of them is aiming at; but at the same time the Pope, on the other hand, ought to be firmer than he is with these Venetians and the rest of the Italian potentates, for otherwise they will not give him a single "quatrino," nor allow him to fill up vacant bishoprics, but on the contrary will usurp the rentals and fees of the Church as unscrupulously as if they were their own patrimonial property.

Wrote on the 28th ult° what news he had of the preparations of the Turk. Has since heard that the Venetian ambassador writes from Constantinople to the Doge that all the Infidel is doing is unquestionably in concert with the kings of France and England. The Turkish fleet, says the letter, will not set sail until a person from the French Court shall come and take command of it. It will not be larger than it is at present, because the French are also arming a number

1532.

of galleys and other vessels which are to join it. It is supposed there [at Constantinople] that when the two fleets have united they will come down upon Genoa. The Turk, moreover, had ordered the captains of his fleet and his privateers not to interfere with or do any harm to English and French ships, nor to those of the Signory.

Having after this asked the Doge what he knew about the contemplated attack of Genoa by the combined Turkish and French fleets he answered me: "Don't believe it; it is doubtful even if their galleys will ever enter the Gulf, for the Turks are not people lightly to risk their vessels in the Mediterranean, neither will they trust the king [of France]." Asked him also whether it was true or not that the Turk had given orders that no harm should be done to the French or English. He said: "So it appears from what our ambassador at Constantinople writes." So that if this last part of the report be true, the Turk's confederates are the Most Christian King [of France], and the Defender of the Faith, Henry, king of England, both actually in league against the Pope, the Emperor, and the king of the Romans!! Hopes that all of them and those who may hereafter join the said league will be punished at the Emperor's hands as they deserve.

Never has the king of France shewn such a desire of becoming lord of Milan as he does now. Rincon's mission to the Vayvod is not without mystery. Has been told that when he came here [to embark] he said to one of his friends [count Guido Rangone] that the king of France had given him various secret commissions, none of which he could reveal, as he had been expressly commanded by the King not to say a word about them either to the Grand Master or to the Admiral of France, both of whom were opposed to his (the King's) warlike plans; by which language he (Rincon) gave it to be understood that king Francis himself intended coming down to Italy or sending an army. On this last point a great debate arose on that occasion, the Count declaring himself in favour of the opinion of the Grand Master and Admiral, and saying how much people would infer from the fact that whilst the Turk was making war upon the Emperor the Most Christian King should invade Italy, especially after the peace signed and sworn [at Cambray]. He (the King) could not do such a thing unless he wished to be worse than the Turk himself. Upon which Rincon replied with still greater protestations and oaths that such was the King's firm resolution, and that matters were now so far advanced and so arranged that victory was indubitable; for that reason he had come to engage his services again. The Count said: "If such be the case, and the king of France, as you say, wants my services, I will do all I can for you, but I can assure you that the Emperor's power is so great that I doubt much whether we shall ever be successful against him."

Though Rincon has announced here that he is going to

1532.

Hungary he (Niño) has been told that the route he takes is by Sebenico and Ragusa, and thence to Constantinople without passing through Hungary. Has been told that a Neapolitan emigrant (*fuoruscito*), Cesaro Cantelmo by name, accompanies him. This last was in France until very lately, when he returned to Naples. Rincon has brought him his nomination of gentleman of the King's chamber, besides a commission to accompany him to Constantinople and return with the answer. Cesaro Cantelmo is a great friend of count Guido, and has promised to touch here [at Venice] on his return from Constantinople, and after a few days' stay return to France post haste. The Count is of opinion that he ought to be arrested on the road thither, and offers to afford the means for such capture, provided a promise be made that no personal violence be done to him (Rincon) except what may be necessary to extort the truth. It is for the Emperor to decide whether his arrest is to take place or not. If so a letter should be addressed to the Count thanking him for his offers of service, &c., and begging him to manage the whole affair, for certainly considering the plots and intrigues which the Most Christian King is daily getting up against us it would seem as if such measures were much wanted.

Rincon has been heard to say here [at Venice] that the king of France is now in Britanny, trying to ascertain how many vessels are on that coast which will bear arming, and that he is actually having a war ship built so large that it will be impossible to navigate it. As, however, the fleet which he thus may fit out in Britanny will scarcely be of any use in Italy, he (Niño) has written to the Empress to try and ascertain [in Spain] the destination of these formidable armaments.

Notwithstanding what the Doge said to him with apparent sincerity about the Turkish armaments, he (Niño) fancies that he knows more about them than he chose to say, because the other day as he (Niño) was coming out of the College Hall he met the son of one of the Venetian ambassadors now with the Turk, who said that the last letters he had had from his father were dated the 10th, and it can hardly be supposed that those which he (the ambassador) wrote to the Council could be of later date. The Doge has positively said that those he received were dated the 6th, and, therefore, there must be some contradiction. However this may be, Your Majesty cannot but have heard from Rome what news the Patriarch's servant brings, for in his (Niño's) opinion the Soffy [of Persia] must be doing something which these people know but dare not publish.

Count Guido has just sent word that Rincon has again visited him, and advised him most strongly not to take part with the Emperor, because the plot (he says) is thickening in such a way that he may soon have occasion to repent his choice, giving that captain to understand that all the World

1532.

will soon be against us, which fact plainly shews what the intentions of the Most Christian King are, &c.

Spanish. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 7.

11 April. **929.** CLEMENT VII. to the SAME.

S. E. L. 858, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 257.

Is glad to see that the Emperor is arming against the Turk by sea and land. Would like to help but his treasury is so exhausted that he does not know how to meet his manifold obligations.

Understands his wishes respecting the creation of cardinals, but as to the hat for the lord of Monaco he cannot see his way to grant it.

In the matrimonial cause of England something, he owns, might perhaps have been gained by proceeding with rigour, and yet as no point of law has been omitted (*non si e mancato in alcun punto di justitia*), and nothing really injurious has yet been attempted in England against the Queen, his firm opinion is that the experiment hitherto tried of not driving the King to extremity, as might have been the case had we refused him that consideration which he expects from us, has not been unavailing. But, as aforesaid, no infraction of justice has been or will be committed on that account.

His wish of holding an interview with His Imperial Majesty is certainly very great, though somewhat tempered by the thought that the Emperor's presence in Germany is now more necessary than ever, and that the welfare of Christendom depends in a great measure upon his stay in that country.—Rome, 11th April 1532.

Italian.

13 April. **930.** The CARDINAL of SIGUENÇA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 259.

. . . . . .

My advice is that Your Majesty make an agreement with the Lutherans on the best possible terms. If you cannot make them good Christians, at any rate let them become good servants and vassals of Your Imperial Majesty, and live on affectionate terms with the king of the Romans, that they may serve and help you both against your enemies. So do not alienate them by any rash measures, for it is enough that good Christians be protected in their Faith and for these latter, if necessary, some valuable privileges might be obtained from the Apostolic See.—Rome, 13th April 1532.

Signed : "Fr. G[arcia] Card^{lis} Seguntinus."

Indorsed : "Abstract of news from Rome about the Lutherans."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

14 April. **931.** QUEEN KATHARINE to DR. ORTIZ at Rome.

S. E. L. 806, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 262.

I have had much pleasure and consolation from your letters since you let me know the good and the bad of what is being done there [at Rome]. I know what pains you take and

1532.

what trouble is given you, as well as the affection and goodwill you profess towards me and my affairs, and the manner in which you daily exhort His Holiness to do plain and speedy justice in this my case, charging his conscience with it, which after all is the best and most expedient course to be followed by him and his successors in St. Peter's Holy chair.* And yet, notwithstanding all that is being done in my behalf, His Holiness' doings are such as you see; so that I can discover no other help but to commend the whole affair to God, and pray him to remedy the many injuries which this kingdom and Christendom at large are likely to receive, since his Vicar on Earth does not choose to do so.

I know not what to say about His Holiness, but certainly when I see him holding this cause in suspense, and Christendom swarming with heretics, it would seem to me as if he wanted their number to increase, and that whilst being, as he is, the supreme head and protector of the Church he yet wishes it to have this tremendous fall. I cannot do more, as I am writing to His Holiness, than again and again bring before him the truth of my cause and represent the harm likely to ensue from his deferring sentence, and urge him to decide it as he may think proper; if that avail not I can but lay my complaint direct before God, since here, in this World, His ministers have neither faith nor charity.†

As to you, Doctor, I beg you to continue as hitherto working in my behalf. I have seen a copy of the brief which His Holiness lately granted; have shewn it to competent and learned persons, and they all tell me that the medicine that is to cure this ulcer ought certainly to be much stronger, and that the only remedy lies in having sentence given at once; all the rest will only cause annoyance, and will be of little or no use at all. May God give you health.—Ampthill ? 14th April [1532].

P.S.—You may shew this letter to His Holiness.

Signed: "Catherina."

Addressed: "To Dr. Ortiz at Rome."

Spanish. Contemporary copy in the Doctor's hand. pp. 2.

16 April. **932.** Cardinal de Siguenza to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 858, f. 84.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 264.

. . . . . .

"The French ambassador is out of his senses," said the Pope to me yesterday, "or else he is a very wicked man, for knowing that I was aware of his having written a despatch to his master he came yesterday and read it to me." The despatch, as it appears, contains two falsehoods: 1st, that the

* "Ques el mejor camino y mas cierto paro las personas que han de residir en esa santa silla."

† "Y procurar que se acabe por las vias que me (le?) parescerá, y quando esto no bastare quexarme a dios pues acá en la tierra no ay en sus ministros fe ni caridad."

1532.

fleet Your Imperial Majesty is fitting out in Genoa is not intended against the Turk but against France, in order to intimidate king Francis and prevent his coming down to Italy. The 2nd, that you and the Pope have lately made a new league. Of this latter falsehood I took no heed, but respecting the former I (Loaysa) should say: Let care be taken that the King do not suspect that we doubt his friendship, &c.

A German arrived some days ago, bringing, as they say, instructions from four Lutheran preachers, who promise to do much for the conversion of Germany, and say that they hope to bring round Luther and the duke of Saxony (George). The man, moreover, asks beforehand for some remuneration for the said four preachers, and His Holiness has answered that if they do what they offer they will be amply rewarded.* The preachers ask for 500 ducats to be divided among themselves, and I have no doubt that, though the Pope does not believe a word of what they say, the money will be paid down, and more favour promised if they should succeed in their attempt.—Rome, 16th April 1532.

Signed: "Fr[ater] G[arcia] Cardinalis Seguntinus."

Addressed: "To the most magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, secretary to His Imperial Majesty and of his Privy Council."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

16 April. **933.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 859, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 261.

. . . . . .

The Pope told me this morning that a German had come to him with powers and instructions from four Lutheran preachers who offered to do wonders for the conversion of Germany, and to convince Luther himself and the duke of Sassa (Saxony). The preachers, as it appears, ask for a reward and 500 ducats to be divided among them at once. Though His Holiness believes nothing of what those people say, yet he will promise them favour in case the plan should succeed, and will besides give them money down.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract.

16 April. **934.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 16.

(*Cipher:*) This king perceiving that his brother of France did not shew the least inclination to take his part in case of a war with the Scotch, has now adopted the expedient of making the said king and his ministers interfere so as to conclude a new treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or at least to have the [old] truce renewed. To this end the French ambassador, at the earnest request and prayer of this king, has written home and dispatched an express

* "Piden que su Beatitud les haga a estos merced. Ha les respondido que hagan ellos y que él les promete de contentarlos largamente."

1532.

to Scotland, having besides spent at Court three whole days for the double purpose of attending exclusively to this Scottish affair, and persuading the king of France, his master, to try every possible means of pushing the divorce suit at Rome, and having it decided according to this king's wishes. This information I obtained from the French ambassador himself, who also told me, without my asking him, that considering the close friendship and alliance which existed between them his master could not do less than take up this king's cause. He said more; he hoped Your Imperial Majesty would not take his interference in bad part, as the affair was one in which you were not personally concerned, and that you ought not after all to take so much trouble for a woman.* "If this king (continued the ambassador) wishes to be married again he should not listen to those who advise him to waste time and money in that pursuit, but marry at once the woman he likes most as king Louis [XII.] did in similar circumstances."†

Against these arguments of the ambassador I strongly remonstrated, saying that it was Your Majesty's duty to see justice done in an affair of this kind, not so much perhaps on account of the Queen, your aunt, as for the sake of this king's own honour and conscience, and to obviate the bad example and scandal given throughout Christendom. The king of France (I said) had hitherto held very different language, and as to king Louis his case was not the same. This remark of mine did not please the ambassador; he remained silent and thoughtful for some time as if he were sorry for what he had said, and then changing the conversation said to me that though the Scottish ambassadors had actually obtained a safe-conduct to go to France, passing through England, he believed they had already crossed over to that country. He further added that he had had letters from the French ambassador residing in Venice stating that an intrigue had been detected there for the Spaniards to watch their opportunity and get possession of that city, at which the Signory was exceedingly hurt and displeased. Which piece of news, as I am told, the Frenchman has divulged with great glee all over this place, imagining perhaps that it might eventually be the cause of alienating the affections of the Venetians. He ended by telling me that lately, as he was sending an express to France with important despatches, the messenger was stopped on the road between this and Dover and the packet taken from him, at which he (the ambassador) had been very angry, and that although he had done his utmost to recover the letters he had not yet succeeded.

* "Et que vostre maieste ne le prendroit en male part veu que ce nestoit chose contre icelle ne que luy touchast beaucop, et que pour une femme vostre maieste nen deuroit [faire] tant destime; et dauantage ma dit, etc."

† In 1499 Louis XII. repudiated his first wife Jeanne de France, daughter of Louis XI., to marry Anne de Bretagne, the widow of Charles VIII.

1532.

(*Common writing*:) Yesterday, after presenting Your Majesty's letter in favour of a poor man from Antwerp (*ung povre homme denvers*) the King deliberately asked me what news were contained in a packet of letters sent by his deputies at the conference "pour l'affaire de la contractation," and which being addressed to me had been forwarded that very morning. My answer was that the packet in question was from Maistre Jehan de la Saulx.* Upon which the King immediately observed that the pretensions of the said La Saulx and the rest of the Imperial deputies were most exorbitant, since they refused taking in payment and compensation for their claims the very substantial offers (such he called them) that had been made by his subjects, and that if through inordinate and selfish motives (*par affection disordonnee*) the Low Countries now disdained the advantages and great profit which commercial intercourse with this country afforded them, and thus gave occasion for his English subjects to follow another course and take their goods elsewhere, they would very soon find that they had sustained irreparable loss when, though they might repent of their error, it would no longer be time to bring matters back to the state they were in before. The King owned that any change in commercial relations might at first affect the interests of his subjects, but that in the end (he was sure) "they would be the winners; besides which (he said) it would be wrong to alter such relations, as no one could say what might happen in consequence, were the treaties of peace and alliance between the two countries to be broken." This last sentence the King uttered half between his teeth, not so clearly as the rest.

My reply in general terms was that Your Imperial Majesty had always done everything in your power to maintain peace, amity, and friendly intercourse between the two countries in this instance as well as in others, as he (the King) had no doubt observed. To which assertion the King made no reply, but went on complaining of the Imperial deputies, who (he said) were proceeding in the matter merely out of selfish regard to their own interests, not out of zeal for justice, and he at last appealed to my judgment saying: "If you have carefully examined the papers you must admit at once the truth of my remark."

Now in consequence of some English merchants residing in Flanders having written to their colleagues in this city that there was a question of imposing certain duties on English goods the ships that were here ready to sail for Bergues† have by the King's orders been stopped for eight or ten days, as it was thought imprudent to let them go under such circumstances. The importunities of the merchants at

* This name is generally written Le Sauch.

† That Chapuys frequently wrote Belgues for *Bergues* has already been shown; he may on this occasion have written *Bergues* for Belges, according to the almost general custom of Spaniards and Italians at this time, who readily changed *l* into *r* and vice versâ. If so, by Belgues, "la Flandre Belgique" is probably meant here.

1532.

last prevailed, and while the affair was being discussed in the Privy Council (*cipher:*) the duke of Norfolk came in and announced to the archbishops sitting therein that the Turk had made most formidable preparations to invade the dominions of Your Majesty and of the king of the Romans, wishing no doubt to imply by that, that you would have shortly your hands full and many other things to think of save molesting your neighbours. And thereupon the Duke recommended the officers in charge of the Customs to look more closely than they had done hitherto into all goods and merchandize entering or leaving this country, and most strictly oblige all those who imported goods from abroad to consign them to a merchant of this place.*

I find also that though the King had some time ago sent the duke of Norfolk and others [of his ministers] to speak to the Papal Nuncio about the annats, he himself has now sent for him to signify and make him write to His Holiness that the Bill reducing the amount of the said annats would in the end prove highly beneficial [to him] provided his (the King's) demands [respecting the divorce] were granted. The Nuncio, however, that he might the better inform His Holiness of the whole affair, asked for a copy of the Bill and ordinances to that effect but it has been refused to him.

(*Common writing:*) Parliament (*les Estatz*) has met again, and to-day the Chancellor, the duke of Norfolk and several other grandees (*grans*) went to the Commons for the purpose, as I am told, of urging the necessity there is at Dover of having a good and safe harbour, also of fortifying the frontiers of Scotland, and preparing in time of peace against any future wars, which, in my opinion, is equivalent to saying that a new tax (*taille*) is about to be imposed on the people. It has not yet been stated in public what amount of money the King requires for this purpose, but it is reported that he is to have one tithe from the clergy and one and a half from all the rest, and it is generally believed that Parliament will grant him anything he wishes for in this way, since the members have been elected at his pleasure (*car les deputez ont este choysiz a sa main*). Some, however, think *that when the tax comes to be levied there will be riots in the country.* No other measure of importance has yet been brought forward.

(*Cipher:*) On Easter Day the Provincial of the Minor Friars preached in their convent at Grynuyche (Greenwich) in the royal presence. They say that the King was much displeased with the sermon owing to the Provincial having alluded, though in general terms, to the fact that the excessive affection of princes and false counsellors often precluded the knowledge of truth. And I hear that the King himself, happening to converse privately with the said friar after the sermon, heard from his lips what was not much to his taste,

* "Et quilz facent obliger plus estroictment ceulx qui appourtent marchandise du dehors de la connectir (*sic*) en aultre du royaulme."

1532.

for the Provincial spoke openly to him about the royal marriage in contemplation, telling him in plain words that if he did not take care he would be in great danger of losing his kingdom, since all his subjects, high and low, were opposed to it. It appears that the King hearing these words from the mouth of the Provincial, and being unable to make him change his opinion on the subject, dissembled at first, and would not shew his temper at the time, but readily granted him afterwards the permission he asked to go to Thoulouse [in France]. No sooner, however, had the Provincial taken his departure than the King, in defiance of the rules of the Order, and the will of the Guardian of the convent at Greenwich, insisted that a chaplain of his household should preach another sermon in his presence at the very same convent. The chaplain began at once to refute the arguments of the Provincial, adding that he wished his opponent were present that he might answer him. Hearing which the Guardian interrupted him, and said that in the absence of his minister he was ready and willing to take his place and respond for him. The King's chaplain then was bold enough to assert at the end of his sermon that all the universities and doctors had declared the divorce to be lawful, which being heard by the said Guardian, he lost all patience, got up and said within the King's hearing that the whole of what the chaplain had said was a fabrication and a lie. So angry was the King at this speech of the Franciscan guardian that he has since caused all the bishops of his kingdom to write a letter to the Provincial (who hearing of the affair returned immediately to Greenwich) commanding him to deprive the Guardian of his office in the Order, and have him punished for the offence. This, however, the Provincial has flatly refused to do, and the King in consequence yesterday ordered them both to prison, where they will remain until through fear or persuasion they are induced to change their opinion. But the King is much mistaken, for as both have assured me many a time they will rather die than own that they are in the wrong. The Provincial, I must observe, had gone on the Continent for the express purpose of having a book printed in favour of the Queen rather than of attending the General Chapter of his Order as he had publicly announced.

(*Common writing:*) Meanwhile the King fancies that he can improve his case by ordering the Clergy throughout the country to preach in favour of his divorce, but I should think that the effect will be quite the reverse, for the people cry out most incredibly at it.

I have already informed Your Majesty that the duke of Norfolk had assured me many a time that in order to remove all suspicion of his aiming at a marriage between his son and the Princess he was designing some suitable alliance for him. He has now accomplished his purpose, and married his son to the daughter of a nobleman of this kingdom; but the Duke must have had very urgent reasons for acting thus,

1532.

since his son will not be in a condition to marry for the next three years, and besides the lady is neither rich nor a very desirable alliance otherwise. *And I have been told that not only has the Lady Anne been the promoter of this marriage, but she has almost compelled the Duke to take that step lest he should aim at the hand of the Princess, and that his credit and favour with the King increasing he may hereafter attempt something against her.*

As the Queen herself writes to Your Majesty about her own private affairs, I will say no more about them, &c.—London, 16th April [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 7.

16 April. **935.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 15.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 260.

The two men who His Holiness expected would go to Germany and convert the Lutherans to the Faith have returned therefrom and said many things to the Pope in the name of Luther and others. They say that if agreeable to His Holiness, Luther and his sectarians will return to the rule of the Church and of the Pope, but that in order to facilitate the conversion it will be necessary to make some shew of honour to the duke of (Sassa) Saxony, who having been accused of being the promoter of that evil naturally wishes to gain both reputation and profit by bringing about this good. Though the Pope believes all these reports to be without foundation, yet he says that should Your Majesty think that by listening to such proposals some good might be done he is ready to give his utmost attention to this business. A copy of the memoranda and instructions presented by these people to His Holiness are here enclosed that His Majesty may decide whether the negotiations are to be continued or not. Begs that the whole thing may remain a profound secret.

The Pope suspects that if the duke of Sassa (Saxony) is really willing to do some good in this affair, he will want it to appear as if it came of his own accord, not by order of Your Majesty, because then the service on his part will be greater. Perhaps, too, he may want it to come by the hands of the king of France, who will much prefer the good deed to come from the Duke's hands rather than from those who look up (*cuelgan*) to Your Majesty. Still thinks that should Luther come over it would be a great boon, for it is well known that Your Majesty was the cause of it.* Repeats these things as they come from the Pope's mouth; on what authority they rest is more than he can say.—Rome, 16th April 1532.

Relac. de Cartas de Roma sobre lo de los Luteranos.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 2.

* "Pues que se sabe bien que lo del luthero se pudiese acabar."

1532.

17 April. **936.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to MASTER ORTIZ.

S. E. L. 806, f. 32.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 266.

Has not heard from him since he received his last, which he answered immediately. What goes by this post in cipher the ambassador (Mai) will decipher and hand over to him. If His Holiness does not make up his mind at once to decide this affair he (Chapuys) can assure him that matters here are getting worse every day, so much so that he seriously apprehends great wrong will soon be done against God, the Holy Apostolic See, and the Emperor, and that the more the sentence tarries the worse will be the evil, and nothing but the most violent measures will put an end to it. Wonders what the Pope is about, knowing, as he must know, that his declaration would at once stop the evil, since being an article of Faith there can be no danger whatever of its being opposed.—London, 17th April 1532.

19 April. **937.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR

S. E. L. 859, f. 81.
B M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 267.

His Holiness has had the confessions made by the Lutherans at Augusta (Augsburg) examined by certain theologians who are here, and they tell him that many of them are Catholic and several others might be so shaped as not to go contrary to the Faith, that is, the Lutherans agreeing to come to terms. His Holiness goes on taking the opinions of grave theologians free from bias, in order to see whether some means cannot be found of settling the religious disputes in Germany. Should such an expedient be found His Holiness will not fail to communicate it to Your Majesty; I even think that by the first post he will write to his Legate about it. My own impression is that if these differences in matters of Faith could be got over, and the more flagrant ones removed, it would be a great boon for Christendom, and greatly lessen Your Majesty's difficulties at the Diet.

Palizoli, who came the other day to speak to His Holiness about the Lutherans, and intimated that the duke of Saxony would perhaps help in their conversion, is a staunch Frenchman and not to be trusted; I have told the Pope so, and he seems of the same opinion; only he says that he wishes to go on with the negotiation and see what will come of it.—Rome, 19th April 1532.

Signed: "Gio. Ant. Muscetula."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

19 April. **938.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 17.
B. M. *Add* 28,584, f. 259 *b.*

Believes, as he has pointed out many a time, that the best thing to do under present circumstances is to enter into an agreement (*concierto*) with the Lutherans. God will excuse the Emperor since he has so many enemies against him.

A German has come to the Pope and spoken to him about

1532.

a plan for converting the Lutherans, promising many things about Luther and the king of Saxony, and that half a dozen of their preachers will come to Rome. He (Mai) advises that they have the best reception possible. The Pope says that he has no objection to spend 400 or 500 crs. among these preachers, and to promise a cardinal's hat the duke [of Saxony] asks for his son. Presuming, however, that this might retard the affairs of the Diet, he (Mai) told His Holiness he thought that it would be better to commit this negotiation to his Legate at the Imperial Court. His Holiness approved the idea; cannot say whether he will carry it out or not.—Rome, 19th April 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

21 April. **939.** Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza], Imperial ambassador in Portugal, to the Empress.

S. E. L. 369, f. 197.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 268.

News from France.

The affair of the queen of England progresses satisfactorily. The opinion of the doctors of Portugal will shortly be delivered into the hands of the King (Joaõ). Don Esteban [Gabriel Merino] is doing all he can to push that affair on, but great care and diligence are required considering the short time that is allowed. He will be a good witness when called upon to give evidence.*

With regard to the Inquisition all goes well.

Navigation to India and in the Red Sea.—King of Fez.—Setubal, 21st April 1532.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To the most high and very mighty lady the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Indorsed: "From Lope Hurtado. Answered."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

23 April. **940.** The Emperor to Mai.

S. E. L. 1,559, ff. 20–1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,583, f. 269.

The Pope may be sure that he (the Emperor) will never forsake him.—Venice.—Enterprize against the Turk.—King of France.—Swiss, &c.

Respecting the divorce case he (Mai) must do his utmost to induce the Pope to pronounce a final sentence. Has sent by the last courier a holograph letter for His Holiness, beseeching him no longer to delay his decision.

King of the Romans, &c., &c.

* Paragraph not finished, and almost blotted out afterwards. *Note by Bergenroth.*

1532.

Has sent orders to Spain to collect as much money as can be obtained, both from lay and ecclesiastical property. It would be well if the Pope would issue orders for a general tax to be levied on all Church property in the Imperial dominions, in the kingdom of Naples as well as in Flanders, the Italian estates not excluded. The dukes of Milan and Mantua ought also to be written to informing them of the danger that is threatening the whole of Christendom, and asked to contribute towards its defence. He, himself, has sent a confidential servant of his household to France, and another to England, informing the kings of those countries of the preparations the Turk is making, and the stout resistance which he himself is determined to offer them. Encloses copies of his instructions to his said envoys to France and England, and begs him to communicate them to the Pope.

The Prince-Electors have much delayed their march, but they are now coming in as speedily as they can.

He is to beg the Pope very urgently to fortify well the coasts of his estates.—Ratisbone, 23rd April 1532.

Signed : "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned : "Covos."

Spanish. Original draft written partly by the Secretary of State, Idiaquez, and the rest by Francisco de Erasso. pp. 8.

29 April. **941.** Doctor Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 858, f. 149.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 271.

By the last post he (Ortiz) sent home a summary of his views in case a second and more stringent brief was wanted from the Pope. Not having received an answer he sends a duplicate of his letter, and waits for orders.

Is delighted with the arrival of the cardinal of Burgos. His presence at Rome cannot fail to be of much use for the expedition of the divorce cause.

The disputations about the conclusions are already finished; it now remains for the Rota to refer to the Consistory, which has not yet been done, as the ambassador cannot fail to inform Your Majesty. Is also afraid that after that the cardinals will ask for special and individual information.—Rome, 29th April 1532.

Signed : "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed : "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 April. **942.** The Same to the Empress.

S. E. L. 858, f. 151.

I wrote by last post recommending that a second brief should be applied for in the matrimonial cause of England, but not knowing whether my letter has been received or not, I now send a duplicate that Your Majesty may be pleased to transmit me your orders.

1532.

Delighted at the arrival [in Rome] of the cardinal bishop of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza); such is his zeal for the Queen's cause and his affection for Your Majesty that his presence in this Court cannot fail of being very useful.

The disputation about the conclusions is already at an end. It remains now for the Rota to refer to the Consistory, which I think has not yet been done, as Your Majesty's ambassador will no doubt write. I am even afraid that the cardinals then will ask to be individually informed of the whole.—Rome, 29th April 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Royal Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

29 April. **943.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 21.

Your Majesty's letters brought by Mons. de Monfalconet* have been duly received. With regard to his charge and instructions, as the Baron himself is now writing to Your Majesty, I need not refer in detail, save to say that no one fitter for the task, or more agreeable to the King and Court could have been chosen, and that no persuasions, remonstrances, or diligence shall be spared to make them come to the point. Nevertheless, it is impossible to say what the issue of his negotiation will be, for all depends upon the king of France and his deliberations.

With regard to the Papal brief addressed to this king, the Queen's advice is that it ought not to be presented just now. The Nuncio, however, assures me that he is quite ready to put it into the hands of the King when required to do so. I omit writing about the Queen's state of health and other particulars, sure as I am that the Baron himself will duly inform Your Majesty thereupon.—London, the 29th of April [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

30 April. **944.** MUXETULA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, f. 18. R. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 276.

. . . . . .

The man whom the patriarch of Aquileia (Grimano) sent to Constantinople under colour of taking the answer to Luigi Gritti, has just returned [to Rome]. He says that the Turk's armament by sea will not be so considerable as was said at first; most of his forces will be directed by land against Hungary. Nor will his army start on the 15th of March, as it was thought, but later, though everything is ready, the

* Monfalcourt says the copy, but I have corrected Monfalconet, which was his true name, as will be shewn hereafter.

1532.

provisions and ammunition in store, &c. The man spoke to Gritti about the truce, and the latter told him that there was no time for negotiating one. Should, however, the Patriarch go or send some one to Buda, whither he himself was going with a firm resolution to come to some peaceable arrangement about Hungary, he had no doubt that some good might be done. Gritti had procured a safe-conduct for the man, copies of which as well as of the letters which Luigi wrote to his brother George, and the answers of this latter, are now sent by His Holiness to his Legate at the Imperial Court.

All agree that this man said to the Pope, and to all those who chose to listen to him, that the Turk had already proclaimed war against the whole of Christendom, excepting the kings of France and England, and the Venetians, and that Gritti asked him point blank: "Has king Francis already attacked Genoa with a body of Switzers?" thus intimating that the latter were entirely at the devotion of France. Gritti, indeed, had assured him that king Francis would soon invade Italy for the purpose of recovering Genoa and Milan.

The above intelligence is confirmed by letters from Venice. It is added that Abrayn Bassá (Ibráhim Pasha) has sent orders to the admiral of the Turkish fleet to do exactly as the agents of the French king tell him. All this and the information received from the Venetian* and others respecting an agreement lately made with the Switzers, to whom that king is to pay his debt, whilst they furnish him in return 10,000 men—for whom a passage through Savoy has been asked—the arrival in France of an agent of the Grand Turk, and last, not least, the strong suspicion almost amounting to certainty that king Francis is in combination with that Infidel, and wishes to create disturbances in Italy—moved him [Muxetula] and the Imperial ambassador (Mai) to call on His Holiness and engage him to send for the French ambassador and communicate to him the last information received from Constantinople, and also what people said about his master. The Pope promised to do so and has since fulfilled his promise. The ambassador excused his master to the best of his ability, but none of the excuses he offered convinced His Holiness or any of us. The Cardinal (Loaysa) thinks that the Imperial ambassador at the Court of France ought to be written to that he may ascertain from the King whether what they say about him and the Switzers be true or not.

In a like manner Rodrigo Niño ought to be informed of the strong suspicion there is of the French trying to disturb Italy, that the Venetians may be on their guard and keep to their engagements as specified in the treaty of Bologna.

They say that the French ambassador, hearing that the Pope was about to send three of his galleys to Genoa, went and told him: "Your Holiness must be aware that the

* Ennio Filonardo. See above, p. . . .

1532.

Emperor is arming at Genoa; my master is also arming, and though both are now at peace with each other something unpleasant might happen if the Papal galleys were in that port mixed with those of the Emperor. I should advise Your Holiness not to send them."

The Pope's informer, who generally sends him news from France, confirms the intelligence of the 10,000 Switzers contracted for by the king of France, and also that great military preparations are being made, which intelligence, coupled with the above, persuades us all here of the King's bad intentions, and of his determination to come to Italy as soon as he is disengaged.—Rome, 30th April 1532.

Indorsed: "Copy of paragraphs from letters of the 12th, 13th, 14th, 16th, 19th, and 30th of April 1532."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 16.

30 April. **945.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 859, f. 18.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 282.

. . . . . .

Although he (Mai) believes that the Pope will not fail them (*que lo del Papa no fallará*), yet he does not feel sufficiently secure to affirm it. Suspects that Muxetula does not do his duty well, and is convinced that unless the Pope knew all our secrets he could not feel so sure, and the Emperor's affairs would go better. All this might after all be only a stratagem (*cautela*) of the Pope, who is as angry as ever with Colonna, or because he does not get what he wants of Gravina, or it may be that he is looking out for pretences for a rupture, or at least for refusing help. He (Mai) feigns to ignore all this, and when he speaks of it with the Pope does it in a befitting manner.*

The Sienese refuse to pay the tithe, &c.

Rodrigo Niño writes that the Turk has presented Luigi Gritti with a large estate [in Hungary?], and is afraid that the Venetians will take advantage of that to claim from the king of the Romans certain territories in dispute besides those they formerly lost in that country. Has attacked His Holiness about the money he promised before Burgo and Muxetula, but to no purpose; his excuse is that he is very poor. After that, on Burgo suggesting that if the Pope was so poor, he might create cardinals, and take money from Ferrara, the latter replied: "That the Pope will never do; so you had better not touch on that point to him."

The French ambassador has made proposals to certain Romans who once served his master, to be ready at a moment's notice. They have all answered that they are at his service, but want to be paid beforehand so as not to be losers.

* The margins of this despatch are filled with long notes in Covos' hand, which I have omitted as not throwing light on the divorce case, or being otherwise connected with English history.

1532.

Juan Anart* writes to say that there is no suspicion or fear of war in those countries [of Flanders], and, on the contrary, much good-will on the part of the inhabitants.

The despatch for the bishop of Veroli is not yet made out. Will not cease to ask for it.

In consequence of the report that Juan Paulo (Giovanipagolo) is enlisting men for the Vayvod, spies have been set on him, and the Pope has promised that if the report turns out true he will have him arrested.

Rodrigo Niño writes that it would be advisable to arrest the servant of Renzo [da Ceri] who is coming from Constantinople, and is to go to France. As neither the duke of Milan nor he of Mantua might like the job the Marquis del Gasto (Vasto) ought to be written to.—Rome, 30th April 1532.

Spanish.

30 April. **946.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 857, f. 136.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 272.

For two reasons should I have been very glad not to be obliged to write this present despatch, the first and principal not to have to reveal a secret which I promised to keep most faithfully, and the second, lest it should be thought that what I am about to relate is said with passion. I, therefore, entreat Your Lordship not to repeat a word of this save to His Majesty, the Emperor, and that if the king of the Romans should hear of it he may not suspect that we know of it except through his own ambassador (Andrea del Burgo).

That good old man Andrea del Burgo and myself have often conversed together and written home about the Pope's coldness and indifference; whenever we happened to mention the fact here they [Muxetula and the others] wanted to knock our eyes out, accusing us of wishing to promote discord and mischief.†

The said Burgo is rather hot-headed, and a few days ago having lost control of his temper, he happened to say to Muxetula that as the Pope had not yet fulfilled his promises to the king of the Romans he could not but assent to my opinion of His Holiness, and that if at this present juncture no justice was done to his master, he would join in the general complaint.‡ Upon which the said Muxetula, after trying to exculpate His Holiness with many words and promises for the future, said to Burgo, that as an Italian and a countryman of his he wished to make a clean breast of it,

* Jean Hannart, viscount of Lombeck.

† "El buen viejo de Andrea del Burgo y yo avemos comunicado hartas vezes y escripto muchas vezes allá, y quando lo comunicabamos aqui nos querian sacar los ojos por ello, en especial el señor Juan Antonio Muxetula, rebolbiendonos por hombres sospechosos eciam (*sic*) con el mismo papa."

‡ "Como este viejo es algo ardiente son tres ó quatro dias que como quien no puede con el cavallo y da á la silla, apretó mucho al Juan Antonio Muxetula diziendole que a mas de lo que el Papa avia prometido [y no complido] al Rey, su amo, que él avia siempre dicho lo mismo que yo, &c."

1532.

provided he promised most solemnly not to reveal or write to anyone whomsoever what he was about to say. If he chose to communicate with his master, the King, he might, but only as if he spoke in general terms and was expressing ideas of his own, not giving any special information, as in that case they might suspect that it came from him. Muxetula then proceeded to say that the Pope and His Majesty had certainly been great friends and very fond of each other at Bologna; and that the Pope had still some affection for His Majesty though not so strong as before, and then he stated the causes which, in his opinion, had contributed to diminish that affection. One of them was that, as Muxetula says, the Emperor promised to decide the Ferrara suit in his favour, or else not to decide it at all, and yet he had given judgment against him, at which he was very much hurt.

The second cause was that the Emperor is evidently trying to settle his own affairs with the Lutherans without telling him a word about it, and he fears that should His Majesty come to an agreement with them beneficial to his interests, he (the Pope) will be left in the lurch. Although I must say (added Muxetula) his fears have been somewhat allayed in virtue of the statements made by Mai, and the letter of the 26th of March.

The third is that cardinal [Pompeo] Colonna is maintained in the vice-royalty of Naples, and with a very high office here at Rome besides. though the Emperor knows him to be his personal enemy.

And the fourth and last, that though he had written to the Emperor in favour and commendation of the duke of Gravina, His Majesty had decided his case against him, and that when ever he happens to ask for a bishopric in Flanders or Spain for one of his own servants, His Majesty invariably refuses to please him, though all the time we the Imperial ambassadors are obtaining from him most extraordinary and alarming concessions (*cosas extraordinarias y terribles*).

His Holiness (continued Muxetula) is daily assailed (*combatido*) by the French, who keep making him offers and representing dangers to him. He, however, remains indifferent and full of good-will and friendship towards the Emperor, although I must confess not such a warm friend as he was at Bologna, owing to the above causes of complaint. For that reason the Emperor and his brother, the king of the Romans, must try to provide for themselves in the present emergency as well as they can, he (the Pope) will not be in fault, and yet he (Muxetula) is not so sure of that owing to the above reasons.

Such were Muxetula's revelations to Miçer Andrea del Burgo, and your Lordship may imagine that when a man speaks in this way of the Pope to the Imperial ambassadors, he himself being one of them, it is not to be expected that he will speak differently to the Pope about His Majesty,

1532.

especially when he is aiming, as everyone knows, at a cardinal's hat.

I am sorry to have to trouble your Lordship with such things, but the truth is that I should consider myself unworthy of this post if I did not from time to time warn the Imperial ministers. Burgo is old, honest, faithful, and prudent; he has no ambition or lust of riches or of any other vanity, and I always found him ready to promote His Majesty's service and willing to co-operate with me. And while treating this point I must say that when count Baldassar Castiglione, the Papal Nuncio, died there was a question of this Muxetula replacing him, and that the archbishop of Capua (Schomberg), as a good servant of the Emperor that he is, told me at the time, that he did not approve of so much confidence as that shewn in this case, and I recollect writing home about it.—Rome, 30th April 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Spanish. Holograph.

— May. **947.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 858, f. 150.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 284.

Has received his letter of the 26th March, wherein he (the Emperor) says that when the answer from England comes to hand, it will be decided whether the second brief is to be applied for or not. Cannot help stating that he (Ortiz) always thought the first brief would be of no use whatever, except as justifying His Holiness' proceedings in the case. Such was his impression then; he told the Pope that if God's commands were disobeyed it could not be expected that his would be taken into account. Is still afraid that when this second brief is made out, the king of England, to judge from his letters, will not heed it any more than he did the first. There is, therefore, no alternative; the brief of excommunication must be applied for. Some will say that if the censures are to produce no effect, and the measure itself is only to be the cause of the Queen's being worse treated than she is at present, it would be much better that the Pope did not fulminate against the King the censures of the Church; but he (Ortiz) maintains that all the same the measure is good because if the brief is asked for in perfect secrecy, and sent to His Imperial Majesty to use it at his own discretion, it stands to reason that if for that cause or any other it should be considered advisable not to make use of the said brief, the king of England could not fail to acknowledge and be grateful for the Emperor's clemency and forbearance. Perhaps, too, when the King sees so much forbearance on the part of His Imperial Majesty he may be moved to repentance. On the other hand, should His Majesty consider it necessary to make use of the brief, bearing, as it does, God's authority when used for a suffi-

1532.

cient cause, God will infallibly send down his terrors (*temor y terror*) upon the earth and with His supreme wisdom hinder further evil.*

When the last brief was sent off, His Holiness, upon the application of the Imperial ambassadors, decided that this second one should be made out secretly and forwarded to the Emperor to use discretionally, but just at the time when it was to be written on vellum and sealed the Enemy of Mankind prevented its completion in a way only known to God. Really believes that at the present moment it will be more difficult to obtain it.

However this may be, it is for the Emperor to decide which is the best and most convenient course to be followed, considering that for such ecclesiastical censures no legal proceedings or fresh suit are required, whether to allow the matter to drop and not apply for the second brief, or else to render all previous action null and void, now that the unwillingness of the Pope to pronounce a definitive sentence in this case has become manifest. Should His Majesty in his wisdom decide that the second brief is required let a letter come for His Holiness asking for it, lest he should say now, as he said on a former occasion, that the Emperor never asked him to proceed with so much rigour against the English king. Had not our sins prevented the meeting of a General Council he (Ortiz) thinks that this cause would never have been delayed as much as it has been. The ambassador (Mai) must have informed the Emperor that on the 22nd of March no less than 12 conclusions—the most closely connected with this affair—were debated at four different sessions, that Juan Luys, one of the Imperial advocates, distinguished himself extremely, and that in the last debate both he (Luys) and the ambassador protested that since what had been argued was sufficient to determine the principal point, and that the contrary party were only seeking excuses to delay the trial, they would not come again, and therefore besought His Holiness to decide at once upon the article just as it had been presented. The English excusator, on the other hand, insisted upon the rest of the conclusions being disputed, pretending that they were as important and pertinent as the others. It has been resolved to make this further concession, and therefore the first Wednedsay after Easter was fixed for the English, but they did not appear.† On the following Wednesday, which was the 10th of April, they went to the Consistory to prosecute their demand, pursuing the same system of procrastination and delay which they have used up to the present time.

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. pp. 3.

* "Y si a Vta. Mt. pareciese usar de esta censura, como esta abtoridad es de Dios, cuando por causa suficiente se usa della Dios enbia temor y terror [sobre la tierra] y con su suprema vabiduria provee como no se siga mas detrimento."

† "Que en lo demas enformen ambas a dos partes."

1532.

2 May. **948.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227. No. 22.

The stay that the baron de Montfalconet has made here is by no means to be imputed to him or to me, since from the very moment of his arrival in this country both he and I took all means in our power for the ready and favourable dispatch of the business he [the Baron] had in hand. Yet such was the importance of the case, and so great were the hopes thrown out by this king that the answer of France would come soon, so frequent and pressing his requests added to the advice of the Queen, that the Baron has unwillingly made a much longer (and to him most annoying) stay than he anticipated, though after all the delay has been unprofitable, as Your Majesty cannot fail to hear from the Baron himself.*

The King has again applied to Parliament for a subsidy in money to fortify the frontiers of Scotland. During the debate two worthy members of that assembly were bold enough to declare openly and in plain terms that there was no need at all of such military preparations as the King purposed to make, for the Scotch would never declare war or invade England without having an ally on the Continent, and that the best fortifications against the enemy consisted in maintaining justice in the kingdom and keeping on friendly terms with Your Imperial Majesty. That not to irritate you, Parliament ought at once to beseech this king to return to his legitimate wife and treat her kindly; otherwise they considered the whole kingdom as completely ruined and lost. It was not to be supposed (they said) that Your Majesty, who was the prince in the World who had the greatest power of inflicting harm on this country, would let the opportunity pass of taking up the defence of the Queen, your aunt. Even if Your Majesty were to relent in your purpose such feuds and intestine dissensions would arise therefrom as to completely destroy and subvert the whole kingdom.†

These sentiments of the two members meeting with the approbation of the whole Parliament with the single exception of two or three present, nothing was then resolved about the said subsidy; but the King, exceedingly displeased at the turn the affair was taking, sent for the majority of the members, and made them a marvellously long speech in justification of his intended divorce, representing to them that this was not a matter for them to consider and discuss, or to be introduced with other Government measures. *This the King said in the most gracious and amiable terms, pro-*

* "Toutes foys limportance du cas, lexpoer que le roy nous donnoit de la brefve responce de france, et ses iustantes requestes, ioint laduys de la royne, ont contraint le dit baron a ceste longue et a luy fascheuse demeure."

† "Et quil falloit croyre que vostre maieste, questoit le prince du monde que plus leur pouvoit nuyre, ne la yroit (lasseroit ?) couler le droit de sa tante, et que quant bien cela cesseroit les parciallites et discordes intestines, questoint apparentes de naystre pour ceste cause, ruyneroint et evertiroint le royaulme."

1532.

mising the members that they should be thoroughly supported against the encroachments of ecclesiastical power, and the rigours of the Inquisition, which, I am told, are greater here than in Spain. True, he did not say all this openly to all those present on the occasion, but still he said enough to make them understand what he meant thereby. To those who have had a hand in the affair the King spoke in very different terms, and in such a manner that, as I hear just now, Parliament has at last voted a subsidy of one tithe and a half on Church property, which after all is not so much as I imagined at first, as it will only amount to 28,000*l.* sterling, one-half payable at the Purification of our Lady next February, and the rest one year after.* Many people, however, think that when the time comes for levying this tax there will be riots. The King has likewise sent to Parliament very lately a Bill empowering him to levy certain duties on legacies, as I have already had occasion to inform Your Majesty, but the majority of the members will not hear of it.

The good Franciscan friars, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty, are still in prison. They have been warned that the King, the better to punish them for their offence, has sent instructions to his ambassador at Rome to obtain a commission addressed to the provincial of the Franciscans (*ceulx de la large manche*) to proceed against them, which would be a very great injury, not only to them but to the whole of their Order. The Queen, therefore, and they themselves have begged me to intercede with Your Majesty that the Imperial ambassador at Rome may be written to on the subject. The Nuncio has already done so at my request.—London, 2nd May [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 2.

8 May. **949.** Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 858, f. 151.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 288.

Having by the last estafettes written to His Majesty and to Your Lordship about the state of the matrimonial cause here, and the Imperial ambassador (Mai) having besides reported, as was his duty, on all and every one of its incidents, I need not trouble Your Lordship any further. I shall only add that His Holiness, when the disputation was at an end, said that in the opinion of the deputies it was not convenient that the Rota should refer its conclusion to Consistory, but only the rights of both parties, and that then only, and separately the individual conclusion of the Rota shall be made known.

I have no more to say but beg Your Lordship to forward

* "Ceulx que ont manie les affaires ont parle plus clerment, tant y a quil leur parla de sorte que a ce que lon me vient de dire les ditz estatz ont accorde une xv^me^, qui nest pas si grande chose que ie pensoye, car elle ne montera que xxviii. m. lb. sterlins."

1532.

to the Imperial ambassador in London (Eustace Chapuys) this letter, for the Queen, who, I hear, is very anxious to receive tidings from Rome. Though consolatory sermons would perhaps be more profitable than long epistles about the Pope's unaccountable indecision and delays in this matter, I have, in pursuance of that ambassador's wishes twice expressed in his letters to me, penned the enclosed, &c.—Rome, 8th May 1532.

Signed : "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon, secretary and councillor of the Emperor, my Lord.

9 May. **950.** MIÇER MAI to the SAME.

S. E L. 857, f. 135. B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 289.

After writing to the Emperor and to Your Lordship, a letter came from Stephano Della Insola for Muxetula and for me, stating that the French were treating with the Switzers. With this intelligence both of us went up to His Holiness, who decided to send thither the bishop of Veroli (*el Verulano*). We have also agreed to press the Venetians to declare themselves in case the French should advance against Genoa, because in reality the time has come for such intervention; this, however, will be done in a manner not to offend their susceptibilities. I will write to Rodrigo Niño, and His Holiness to-morrow will speak to the Venetian ambassador. The idea is that should the Emperor return to Spain by sea they (the Venetians) should give some of their galleys to escort him in case an invasion of the French were to be apprehended. Should Venice refuse to declare itself in favour and for the defence of Genoa, then in that case it must be inferred that their intentions are not good, because wise and prudent as they are, if they do acquiesce in our losing Genoa, they will also do so as regards Milan, which is but an inevitable consequence.*

The Pope has been heard to say that should the French attempt to disturb the peace of Italy it might be better that we should annoy them somewhere else. I made no answer at the time because he uttered that proposition as if he were unconscious of what he was saying; but this Pope is so wise that I compare him to the Bible, where every word has its mystery.† I am, therefore, always commenting upon his words. I recollect having written about this very thing some time ago. Perhaps after all the Pope only wants to revenge himself for some annoyance which the French have caused him, or he may think that if the Most Christian King is allowed

* "Por que siendo cuerdos, como son, en la mismo hora que se aconortaran de Genova se aconortaran de lo de Milan, porque paresce necesaria consequencia."

† "No le he respondido porque, como digo, se lo dexo caher como de descuydo; mas este pontifice es tan cuerdo que yo digo que es como la Biblia en que no hay palabra sin misterio."

1532.

his full bent in this one thing he will give up the others he has in hand.*

I wrote some time ago that the Pope had promised to forward the overtures lately arrived from Germany that they might be discussed between the Emperor and his own Legate there, at the Imperial Court. After that, without my receiving the least notice of it, I heard that His Holiness had resolved to send for the parties themselves, and make them appear before him here at Rome. This naturally roused my suspicions, and I told His Holiness that that was equivalent to calling attention away from that quarter (*á divertir lo de allá*), and that since the negotiation was to be conducted in Germany it was far better to remit it there. He made so warm a defence of his plan that *my suspicions increased, the more so that Muxetula was present, who, to say the least of it, in all our disputes with the Pope always takes side against Burgo and me.* Three were the reasons adduced by the Pope in favour of his proposition. The first, that if he did not invite them, it would be said afterwards that had they come [to Rome] the agreement would have been made. Secondly, that the dealings (*praticas*) with the Lutherans were broken off; and the third, that he (the Pope) does not believe that they want anything from his Legate. I proposed two means, namely, that in passing they should speak with the Legate, and then Your Majesty could judge whether they were in earnest or not, and they might then be allowed to come, or the negotiations be broken off at once. They objected that on such terms they would never come [to Rome].† Neither would they consent to Your Majesty being consulted before their arrival. There are two or three Lutheran preachers who, they say, are ready to come [to Rome], and bring some account about the resolution (*voluntad*) of Luther and the duke of Sassa (Saxony). Neither did this scheme meet with the Pope's approbation, although I proposed that very night to write to Your Majesty and consult about this matter; he said to me that the answer would tarry, and that they could not possibly wait so long. He hoped, he said, in four or six days at the utmost to know for certain what was the state of affairs [in Germany]. *To say the truth, I am aware that anything suits these people short of the Council, which is what they most dread, and is a thing that must necessarily follow any settlement whatever with the Lutherans.* I beg Your Lordship not to consider me too cavilling. I wish I was not, but my duty compels me to be always on the alert.

The news brought by the cardinal of Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoza) are not very important, for they are rather stale,

* "Y ya este año yo scrivi desta materia otra vez, y no seria mucho que con esto toviesse pensamiento de vengarse dellos si tenia algun envio, y de dar masa entre manos al Christianissimo para que teniendo esto en que entender se desocupe de otras cosas."

† "Desian que no lo harian."

1532.

and of those from Corfu, the 17th, we ought to have confirmation by way of Venice, unless the Venetians keep them from us.

The Pope has to-day terrible news of the excesses of our soldiery. We have all promised to write to the Marquis [del Vasto], requesting him to put a stop to them, for it is an intolerable nuisance, and I hear that cardinal Salviati, going into chapel this morning, said to one of his colleagues that for a smaller cause the Pope had made league with the French last time.—Rome, 9th May 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and most magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, first secretary and of the Privy Council of the King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

13th May. **951.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227. No. 23.

Sunday last, the 5th instant, the French ambassador* embarked at Anthonne (Southampton) for Britanny, on the plea, as he says, of visiting the King, his master, who is in the neighbourhood, speaking to him about his own private affairs and conveying the latest news from this country; but in reality the voyage is undertaken, as will be shewn hereafter, at the express desire and sole request of this king. All manner of rumours are consequently afloat about this sudden departure of the ambassador, some pretending that the object is to have the princess [Mary] married, whilst others think that it is for the purpose of fixing the terms and dates of payment of the pensions due to England, or to treat about the threatened Turkish invasion and the means of resistance. In my opinion the principal cause for the ambassador's journey is the Scotch affair; for it happens that no mention whatever was made of it until the messengers sent by the ambassador himself to Scotland returned to London. Indeed, it appears that in consequence of the cold answer received from that quarter, and for fear Mr. de Rosymboz—who as stated in a former despatch has gone to that country—should in the meantime brew (*brasser*) something to their disadvantage, this king and the members of his Privy Council have been since in continual communication with the said ambassador, who, I have no doubt, has been expressly instructed to persuade his master to use all his influence on the Pope that he may yield to the King's wishes, or else threaten him with equally violent measures in France, as have been taken in this kingdom against the annats and other Papal prerogatives. I also believe that the French ambassador has charge of asking what answer is to be given in common to our and the Pope's application for help against the Turk, for notwithstanding the

* Giles de la Pommeraye previously mentioned.

1532.

King's assertion to Mr. de Montfalconet and to me, that he had already sent an express to France to inquire about this, I have ascertained for certain, that the message was never sent. The ambassador's instructions on this point must, however, be rather to prevent any help being given, if we are to judge from the King's disposition, and the frequent declarations made by his ministers, since no later than the day before yesterday, after the Nuncio had gone three times hurriedly to Court without being able to obtain an answer to his application, the duke of Norfolk said to him point blank in the King's name that he was losing his time, and that not a farthing of money should be given or lent by the King for such a purpose unless it were at the intercession of France. He (the King) repented that he had ever given any, especially when the Pope was much in want of it; his money had been at other times so badly employed, he would give no more.

Hearing this the Nuncio after a few words said in justification of His Holiness, complained to the Duke that the King and his Privy Council had actually permitted one of the preachers to say some days ago from the pulpit that the Pope was a heretic. To which the Duke answered that it was no wonder, for the preacher was more of a Lutheran than Martin (Luther) himself, and that had it not been for the earl of Vulchier (Wiltshire) and another personage, whom he could not name (meaning no doubt the Lady Anne herselt), he (the Duke) would have had the said preacher and another doctor his colleague burnt alive; and he ended by begging the Nuncio not to mention such bagatelles (*petites folies*) when he wrote to Rome, as he (the Duke) would in future surely prevent the recurrence of such offences.

On Wednesday last an Italian named Camillo Orsino arrived here, accompanied by two captains, one of whom is a native of Italy, the other of Gheldres. He comes to see this king on behalf of the Italian "fuorusciti" in France.* Immediately upon his arrival he addressed himself to the Duke, who gave him rather a cold reception, and shewed no pleasure at all at his coming. Yet he gave him audience on the same day, and procured him besides one from the King for the next, which happened to be Ascension Day. Camille spoke to the King for a while, and exhibited a number of papers and letters he had with him. He intends, he says, going straight to Hungary or wherever the Turk [Solyman] may be, and states that he is only waiting for the King's answer, which he expects to receive to-day or to-morrow. He has brought from France

* "Mercredy dernier arriua yci de France ung Italien nomme Camille Ursin accompaigne de deux capitaines dont lung est italien et lautre gheldrois. Lequel est venu au roy de la part de la scoquist (?) en France." Camillo Orsino, about whom see vol. iii., part I., pp. 57, 831, really came to London about this time, but who sent him, what was the object of his mission? Perhaps instead of scoquist, *fuoruscit* is to be read, and, if so, he may have come on behalf of his countrymen living in France

1532.

two vessels laden with heavy ordnance, which, in order to avoid detection, he has left at the mouth of this river, and is now treating with a merchant from Dantzig, and with a sailor from the Easterlings—who have just come to apprize me thereof*—to have the said ordnance, and some more which he expects from this king, put on board English ships and sent to Dantzig. I have lost no time in acquainting the queen of Hungary (Mary) with the whole of this transaction, that she may be on her guard, and take such precautionary measures respecting the said Camille and his ordnance as may seem expedient. I expect to hear this very day the route which he and his two companions intend taking, and what answer and assistance he is likely to get from this king, and shall not fail to inform Your Imperial Majesty and the said queen of Hungary of the whole matter, as well as of the French ambassador's visit to France, before the return of whom it will be impossible for me, as far as I can see, to obtain a definite answer to Montfalconet's mission.

A motion has been made in Parliament for all ordinances synodal, as well as others, heretofore enacted by the English clergy to be revoked and annulled, and in future no synods to be held in England without the express permission and authority of the King; a very strange way of proceeding since the Clergy will then be reduced to a lower condition than the shoemakers (*cordouaniers*) who have the power of assembling and framing their own statutes.

The King claims also that neither in cases of heresy nor in any others shall the English prelates be allowed in future to lay their hands on persons of any rank or condition whatever, maintaining that bishops have nothing to do with the bodies of individuals, only with the cure (*medicine*) of their souls. The chancellor (Sir Thomas More) and the bishops oppose the Bill as much as they can, at which the King is exceedingly angry, especially against the said Chancellor and against the bishop of Winchester, though he obstinately keeps to his purpose of carrying out that measure;† may God be pleased to send down such a remedy as the intensity of the evil requires!—London, 13th May [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph entirely written in cipher. Contemporary deciphering. pp. 5.

* "Il a emmene de france deux navieres (*sic*) chargees de grosse artilleries, les quelles pour nen estre decouvert il a laisse a lentree de la riuiere et est apres ung marchant de dansic et ung marinier austerlintz, lesquels viennent de me descouvrir le tout."

† "Le Chancellier et les evesques contrarient ce quils peuvent, dequoy le roy est tres indigne, especiallement contre le dit Chancellier et levesque de Winchester, et se obstine fort le dit roy de faire passer la chose auant."

1532.

22 Mai. **952.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 24.

(*Cipher :*) On Monday the 13th the Papal Nuncio at [my] solicitation went to Court to present the brief brought by Monseigneur de Monfalconet. Having first gone to the Duke's to ask for an audience from the King, he was told that he could not possibly get a hearing as the King would not receive him, and had commissioned him (the Duke) to listen to what he had to say and report accordingly. The Nuncio answered that his instructions were to speak to the King himself, and to no one else; upon which the Duke, suspecting, no doubt, what the Nuncio came about, and that he was probably the bearer of news unpalatable to the whole set (*a toute la compaignie*), drew him into conversation, and touched on various topics so as to learn from him what could be the object of his visit. At last the Duke went in to see the King, and remained with him nearly one hour, at the end of which he came out again and bade the Nuncio enter the royal chamber. After the usual salutations and mutual imparting of news the Nuncio with a courteous and soft preamble began to explain the contents of the Papal brief, which he afterwards placed in the King's hands. Great was the King's trouble and amazement on the receipt of that document, for he at once exclaimed: "I am very much surprised to hear that the Pope still persists in his folly (*fantasie*), and wants me to recall the Queen to my house, for since His Holiness chooses to consider her my legitimate wife it is evident that the right of punishing her for the rudeness with which she has treated, and is daily treating me, belongs exclusively to me, not to His Holiness or to anyone else." The Nuncio explained the Pope's proceedings as grounded on the claims of justice which he could not but uphold, especially in a case which so nearly concerned Your Imperial Majesty as well as your brother, the king of the Romans. To which the King made no other reply save repeating over and over again that he was the sole judge of his wife's behaviour towards him, and the only one who had a right to punish her for all her offences. He made, however, no allusions either to Your Majesty or to your brother in this instance, but said at the end that he would carefully peruse the brief, and have a speedy answer returned. Hitherto the Nuncio has not received any, though it may be that the courier, who left yesterday for Rome was the bearer of it, without the Nuncio himself being acquainted with the fact. I cannot say what the answer will be, but have not the least doubt that far from obeying the Papal injunctions the King will only make his case much worse, for already, since the presentation of the said brief, he has given orders for the Queen to be removed after the present festivals to a house much farther away than the one in which she is now living, where, independently of the worse accommodation, the Queen will be more annoyed than before owing to the place belonging to the bishop of Lincoln (Longlands), the principal promoter

1532.

and agent (*brasseur*) of all these intrigues (*trames*). No wonder then if the King takes no notice at all of the brief, for it is as meagre and insignificant as it could possibly be, even if it had been issued before the suit began;* whereas now, after so much delay and such tedious proceedings, it will be found that His Holiness has issued a most inefficacious document instead of the letters of monition (*reagravatoire*) enjoining the execution once made in Flanders.

On Tuesday Parliament was prorogued till November, and though it is the custom for the King to attend the last sitting in order to take cognizance of what has there been done, confirm or reject Bills, &c., true it is that on this occasion he was not present at the close, owing, as I imagine, to Parliament having made no especial grant except that of the tithe and a half (*la quindecime*) from the laity, as I have already written to Your Majesty; which grant the King has neither accepted nor refused expecting no doubt that the Clergy will of themselves offer a tithe. This, however, has not yet been offered, nor have the Clergy consented to the revocation of their constitutions (*constitutions*), at which the King is, as may be imagined, exceedingly displeased, though determined to get it any how, by persuasion or by force.

In order to verify the reports about the vessels and the ordnance, about which I wrote to Your Imperial Majesty, I have sent people of my own down the river, and also to the adjacent ports; but no information whatever has hitherto been obtained, not even from the Dantzig merchant, nor from the sailor to whom Camillo [Orsino] had communicated the affair.† They, themselves, who were the first to report the affair to me were much surprised at having entirely lost the track, and are now doing their utmost to find out the man, who first put them on the scent, that they may test the veracity of their report. Camillo took leave of the King on Thursday last, and was presented, as Brian Tuck himself tells me, with 200 crs., which he himself gave to the Italian by the King's command. As to his doings in this country, I have hitherto been unable to get reliable information; he has certainly been to Court several times, but I fancy more for the purpose of visiting it, and exhibiting certain fantastic plans and designs of his own respecting fortifications to be erected here and there than for any other purpose. He is now, I hear, on the point of leaving for Dantzig or Hamburgh, only that he finds no Austerlinch (Easterling) willing to take him on board his ship, and he is now thinking of going through France. I have set spies on him that I may learn what

* "Et ne fault estre esbey si le roy ne fait compte du dit bref, car le pape ne le pouvoit donner plus maigre, ores que ce fust auant le commancement du proces."

† "A qui le principal mesme, assauoir Camille Ursin, auoit communiqué laffaire, et qui men firent le rapport se trouuent bien esbays, et sont apres pour chercher le trachemant (?) qui leur pourta la parole afin de justiffier leur rapport." I suspect that *trachemant* thus written is meant for *turjeman* or *truchiman*, a Spanish word of arabic origin meaning "interpreter."

1532.

route he intends taking, and inform the [dowager] queen of Hungary thereof. Camillo, however, has been light-headed enough to speak in public about his plans and intentions, boasting that he purposes revenging himself for the great loss he sustained through the confiscation of his property in Naples by Your Majesty's orders, having spread rumours here, as if he were the Turk's confidential agent, that before next Michaelmas that Infidel would lay siege to Rome, and propagate several other pieces of news equally absurd. He has likewise announced in public that his journey to those distant regions is undertaken at the express desire of the king of France, who had also sent thither a gallant captain, named Nicolas Rusticq, a native of Antwerp, very clever in the art of recruiting soldiers.*

The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, perceiving the bad turn affairs are taking, that there is no chance of improvement, and that if he remains in office he will be obliged to act against his conscience, or incur the King's anger—as he already has done through his refusing to take part against the Clergy—has now resigned and sent in the seals of his office on the plea that his salary is too small, and the work excessive. All here are very sorry at his resignation, and not without cause, for there never was, or will be, a chancellor so honest and so thoroughly accomplished as he is.

Your Majesty's letters of the 28th ult°, expressing a desire for a speedy answer to the mission brought by Monseigneur de Monfalconet, have duly come to hand. The Papal Nuncio has on his own part, and I myself in obedience to Your Imperial commands have, urgently solicited the same; but I fancy, as I have had the honour to inform Your Majesty, that whatever solicitations we may make no definitive answer will be obtained before the return from France of La Pommeraye, and I fear that when it is given it will be both meagre and cold. May God inspire these people with better sentiments than they seem to have at present!—London, 22nd May 15[32].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, the 27th May. Received on the 4th of June."

French. Holograph entirely in cipher. pp. 3.

Mai. **953.** Dr. Escoriaza to the Empress.

S. E. L. 635, f. 65.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 298.

Wrote by last post giving an account of the Emperor's accident on the road, his horse having fallen under him.† He was already well, when, in consequence of his going to church and indulging in field sport his leg became swollen,

* "Il a ouvertement dit quil alloit par ladueu du roy de France, le quel aussi y avoit ces jours envoye par terre ung cappitaine nomme Nicolas Rusticq, natif dAnvers, quest ung habille gallant pour gaingner et practiquer gens."

† "Despues que en el camino el cavallo cayó con su Magestad" are the words of Dr. Escoriaza, his first physician.

1532.

and we were obliged to beg him to keep his room for some days, and reduce his diet. At first we had allowed him to eat chicken, mutton and veal, and drink wine; now we thought it was best to suppress some of these meals. Had we not feared that some other disease might come on, we could easily have given him permission to go out; but recollecting how difficult it is to keep him in doors, we have this time insisted upon his remaining at home perfectly quiet. A sort of eruption has come out on his body in consequence, as I think, of his having refused to be bled when he had his fall, but he will, I hope, be well in a few days.—Ratisbon—Mai 1532.*

Signed: "El Dr. Escoriaza."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

31 May. **954.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 25.

Ever since the arrival of a courier from France I have not ceased to solicit the answer to the despatches brought by Monseigneur de Montfalconet, which the King has at last caused to be prepared and forwarded to his own ambassador at Your Majesty's Court, that he may duly report thereupon.

(*Cipher:*) The King perceiving that the Clergy will never consent to the abolition of their constitutions has lately proposed that they should choose 15 of their class, whilst he himself would depute an equal number of laymen to proceed at once to the correction not only of all episcopal regulations but also of Papal ones.† He has likewise signified to them that he would not in future allow ecclesiastics or any other subjects of his to swear allegiance to the Pope or any other person but himself. Upon which the prelates have answered that if there were any extravagant articles in their constitutions they were quite ready to reform and amend them as reason demanded, without the interference of laymen, who had nothing to do with the matter. With regard to the Oath of Allegiance said they, that was purely a judicial matter, which nowise touched or affected the royal prerogatives, &c. These reasons and many others alleged by the English prelates have not satisfied the King, who obstinately persists in his resolution, since all he is aiming at is to reduce the Pope to his will, and should that expedient fail him, compel the Anglican Church to withdraw all opposition to his marriage. The bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), owing to his opposition to the King's views in that respect, as well as to his having flatly refused to preach in his favour, has been some days

* The letter is now at fol. 298; it was formerly at 225 in Bergenroth's volume. See *Catalogue of Spanish Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii., p. 603. The circumstance of its being undated was probably the cause of its misplacement in the volume, for it was evidently written in May. From the 28th of February to the 8th of September the Emperor was at Ratisbon, where he attended the third Diet. During that time he is said to have severly wounded his foot whilst out hunting. *Itinerary*, p. 498.

† "Et que ceulx la entendissent non seullemant a la correction des constitucions episcopales mais aussi des papales."

1532.

absent from Court; but very lately his presence being required here for the affairs of Rome the King has sent for him, and pressed him to come back notwithstanding that he feigned to be suffering from an attack of gout.* The Bishop has hitherto been suspected of being opposed to the Queen, but nowadays it is confidently believed that he will do very good service in that quarter.

Camillo Orsini being warned that the Imperial ministers in Flanders were keeping an eye on him so as to stop his passage by land as well as sea, and perceiving also from the manner in which the Easterlings have received his offers that he would not for a long while at least be able to procure a vessel to take him and his ordnance to those parts, has now resolved, as he himself says, to take his route through France, for which country he actually departed this morning. I have sent after him one of my spies that he may give us notice, should the Italian suddenly change his mind and attempt returning to Flanders. He has, I am told, done his best to obtain from this king some sort of pension (*traictement*) pointing out what kind of services he might and could perform in time of war, but the King has answered him point blank that he was not just now, nor was he likely to be in future, at war with any nation.

As I am writing another Italian, who accompanied the said Camillo to Grevezende (Gravesend), has brought me intelligence that his principal had gone to the port of Sanduyz (Sandwich), there to look out for vessels sailing to Hamburgh or Dantzig. Whether he succeeds or not in procuring passage for those towns my spy now with him will be able to let me know soon. It appears that the said Camillo had with him a Neapolitan gentleman, who has returned here to London for his own private affairs, as he says. The said Neapolitan pretends that he has now entirely forsaken his chief, but I fancy that he only says that for dissimulation's sake, and has come back to look out for some merchant ship. Whatever more I may learn on this score will be immediately communicated to Your Majesty.

There is nothing else worthy of record except that the King has had the two Franciscans,† of whom I wrote to Your Majesty, taken under escort to certain convents of their community that they may be properly chastized there.—London, the last day of May [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph entirely in cipher. pp. 3.

* "Levesque de Vincestre, tant pour contrarier a ce que dessus, que pour avoir reffuse de prescher en faveur du roy a este quelque iours hors de la court; depuys estant neccesite de despecher pour Rome, il a este besoing que le roy layt requis bien fort pour le fayre revenir, prenant excuse sur la goutte quil faignoit dauoir."

† Instead of *religieux Franciscains* the original reads "les religieux florentins dont ay ci devant escript." See above, p. 441.

1532.

1 June. **955.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 858, f. 152.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 1.

Has written by the last post reporting on the state of the matrimonial cause. The cardinals are at present examining it in detail (*se informan*) in order to pronounce a definitive sentence respecting the last point, viz., whether the English excusator is to be admitted or not without express mandate from the King, his master. May God permit that the trial be proceeded with as it ought to be, for it cannot be denied that somehow or other it goes on very slowly indeed!

The Queen has lately written to His Holiness about her just complaint (*su quexa*), and has also written to him (Ortiz) a letter to the same purpose. The greatest advantage to be derived from this suit is the evidence (*probacion*) of the many heroic virtues with which the Queen is adorned, and the great perfection she has attained by her Christian resignation. Has reason to believe that the contents of the ciphered letters received by the Imperial ambassador [in England] have been duly communicated to Her Imperial Majesty.* If so that will acquaint Her Majesty with the state of the case in England.

Commends to her favour the cause of his brother, Fr. Francisco Ortiz, whose guilt, if any, proceeds from too much zeal and perhaps also some indiscretion. Had he (Ortiz) been allowed to correspond with his brother, he has no doubt that he might have prevailed on him to acknowledge his errors. Though Her Majesty herself and the queen of France (Eleonor) have given the orders for his imprisonment to be alleviated; though he (Ortiz) has frequently written to the cardinal of Santiago de Compostella (Tavera), and to the admiral of Castille (D. Alonso Enriquez) on his behalf, Fr. Francisco has not been permitted to write.—Rome, 1st June 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed; "To the Catholic and Imperial Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

2 June. **956.** The Emperor to Dr. Ortiz.

S. E. L. 636, f. 143.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 3.

We have read your letters and seen the care you take of the queen of England's affairs. We request you to continue your exertions and follow exactly the directions of our ambassador at the Papal Court (Miçer Miguel Mai).

With regard to the brief sent to England our ambassador there (Master Eustace Chapuys) writes that the Queen is of opinion that no use should be made of it for the present; there is therefore no need of your asking [the Pope] for a second brief before the end of the vacations. What is urgent

* "Lo que de Inglaterra por cifras se escribe al embajador yo creo que el lo escrive á Su Mt."

1532.

is to solicit and press the conclusion of the trial, and stop all attempts at delay.—Ratisbon, 2nd June 1532.

Signed : "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned : "Cobos (*sic*) Comendador Mayor."

Addressed "To Dr. Ortiz, our preacher."

Spanish. Original minute in the handwriting of secretary Idiaquez. p. 1.

5 June. **957.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

[K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch, Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 27.

Since my last of the 31st ult° Mons. de Rosymboz has arrived from Scotland. He has been most graciously received by this king and court, but as I am aware that he himself intends writing at full length upon his reception [at Edinburgh], his conversations there with different people, and the information he has been able to gather, I will abstain from any reference to this subject.

(*Cipher :*) The day before yesterday Master Thomas Heliot (Elyot) on his return from Your Majesty's court, where he has been residing as ambassador, came to visit me, and told me a great deal about his conversation with this king, which he said had been greatly to the benefit of Your Majesty, of the Queen, your aunt, and principally of the King, his master, who (he said) knowing about it, still shewed great desire to hear all the particulars of his mission.* But whatever may be Master Heliot's assertions, I have strong doubts of his report having produced as good effect as he says on the King, for whatever remonstrances have been addressed to him by different parties have hitherto been disregarded, and a smile or tear from the Lady has been enough to undo any good that might have been done in that quarter.† The said ambassador (Elyot), as he tells me, has put down in writing the whole of his conversation with this king, and addressed it to Señor Don Fernando de la Peubla (Puebla)‡ according to Your Majesty's wishes in the very cipher which that gentleman gave him for the purpose, and, therefore, I will forbear saying anything more about it.

I am daily expecting to hear what the Italian gentleman whom Camillo Orsino left behind him here, is really about, and likewise the return of the spy I sent after him. As soon as I am in possession of reliable information I will not fail to acquaint Your Majesty, and will also try to pump the ambassador (Elyot) and pay him as much court as possible for

* "Et me fit ung grand discours des propoz quil a tenu au dit seigneur roy, en quoy il auoit fait bon office pour vostre maieste et la royne mais principalement pour son dit maistre quil les sçauoit (qui les avoit deja entendu ?), ou [les] vouloit entendre [de nouveau]."

† "Mais ung ris ou une larme de la dame abolit tout."

‡ "Le dit ambassadeur, a ce quil ma dit, escript tout le dit discours au señor Fernando de la Peubla (*sic*) par les ziffres quil luy laissa commil dit scet (sçait) vostre maieste, que ma garde en faire redicte." The La Puebla mentioned in the above paragraph was no doubt the son of Dr. Rodrigo de la Puebla, once ambassador in England.

1532.

the better success of the Queen's case.—London, 5th June [15]32.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph almost entirely in cipher. pp. 2.

7 June. **958.** Rodrigo Niño to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,309, ff. 92-4. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 5.

The enclosed* despatch, informing the king of the Romans of late events at Clissa, would have been sent by the last post had I not wished to ascertain first what meant this sudden arrival of count Annibale di Novellara, who came the day before yesterday [to Venice], and called immediately on count Guido, and after that went to the College Hall in company with the French ambassador. As he came out of it the Signory sent me one of their secretaries to say that, according to his own statement, the Count had come to Italy on private business only, but that having told the king of France at his departure of his intention to visit this city he had been requested to wait upon the Signory and offer his commendations. The Doge then asked him whether he brought any letters from the King, where he had left him last, and how long it was since he (the Count) had left the Court of France. The Count's answer was that he had brought no letters from the King; he (the Count) had quitted Chatea Brian (Chateaubriand) on the 25th ult°, and left the King and court at that place. Thence the King was to go to a town called Vanes (Vannes), where all foreign ambassadors had been ordered to repair and await him. The Count added that ever since entering Britanny king Francis had made very little stay at any place, owing to his having visited the whole of that Duchy (*estado*), administered justice, and punished many criminals.†

He was having some ships built, and rebuilding another which was so large that it could not be navigated. The King was only accompanied on his tour by his son the dauphin (François), by the grand master of France (Anne de Montmorency), and by the admiral (Philippe Chabot). He was to return soon to Bles (Blois). He (the Count) only intended stopping four or five days in Venice, and after that returning to France as hastily as he had come.

(*Cipher:*) I was further told by the Secretary, whom the Signory sent to me on this occasion, that all the Councillors present at the College Hall when the Count was introduced could not help being astonished at his having come from such a distance merely to see Venice, and that they did not believe his account. Nor more did I, and therefore I set spies on him to watch his movements and ascertain what he was about. There happened to be here (at Venice) at the time a Spanish captain (named Francisco Beltran), who had once been in the

* Not in the packet.

† "Hecho muy grandes justicias en él."

1532.

service of France. I persuaded him to visit the Count at his lodgings, and offer his services in case the King again meditated making war in Italy. The Captain saw the Count, told him that he was out of service, and that he had refused entering that of some Italian lords, because it was publicly said that His Highness the king of France would soon come [to Italy] in person. Since the Count himself was in the service of France he begged him as a friend to tell him whether there was any chance of his soon finding employment in that way. The Count answered that he could not say for certain, but no doubt that a great and bloody war would be very soon stirred up here in Italy, and, therefore, strongly advised him to take no engagement, since the Most Christian King would very soon need his services. The King (he added) had actually departed from Chateaubriand on the 25th of May last, and would have left 20 days sooner had a despatch he was expecting from England, and which he (the Count) received afterwards on his way to Lyons, arrived sooner. He (the Count) had passed through the Imperial camp, spoken with the marquis del Gasto (Vasto), gone thence to Mantua and Ferrara.

Beltran then asked him: "Pray what foundation is there for the rumour so prevalent in this city that the Most Christian King of France, our present master, has made alliance with the Turk? I cannot bring my mind to believe it, as it would be so dishonourable an act, and one so injurious to Christendom, and so decidedly against the Pope and the Emperor, with whom king Francis is now on the best possible terms." "Do not believe that," replied the Count; "besides, what would this Signory of Venice or any other estate in Italy lose by an alliance of this sort? I cannot just now enter into details, but I can assure you that very soon you will see part of the Turkish army here in Italy." "Do you think that the Grand Turk in person will come to Italy?" "No, I believe he will not come beyond Belgrade; but you may be sure that never at any time was the Emperor in greater danger than he is at present, for just at this moment the companies of Lorenço de Cherri (da Ceri) and Francesco Monsirone,* and all the men-at-arms that the King once had here [in Italy], are collecting in the marquisate of Saluzzo, where the greater part of their arrears is to be paid to them. The King could count immediately upon 10,000 Switzers, and had at Marseilles 14 galleys ready to put to sea, besides 15 others that were being built, Renzo da Ceri being there [at that port] for the purpose of embarking.

Upon Beltran observing that it seemed to him as if king Francis had no captain here, in Italy, capable of enlisting a force, however small, and that he wondered how he could have afforded to dismiss count Guido from his service, the Count

* Mongirone? A French captain of this name (Mongeron) is mentioned by Paolo Jovio as having been taken prisoner in 1511.

1532.

said: "Do not be afraid of that; if the King has only the will and the money required—and I can assure you that he has both—plenty of 'condottieri' will offer their services. I myself am now going to Rome, where as many can be found as the King himself may wish for."

As long as the Count remains in this city Francisco Beltran will visit him, and try to ascertain what his plans are. I have also directed the Mantuan ambassador, who is a friend of mine, to offer him apartments in his hotel, for he is not staying, as was thought at first, at the French ambassador's, but at an inn. Until now we have not been able to find out what sort of a despatch it was which the king of France was expecting from England, and which was at last committed to the Count; but if I should hear any more on this subject I shall not fail to apprize Your Imperial Majesty.

(*Common writing:*) My impression is that the business which the Count says he had with the marquis del Gasto (Vasto) must have originated in some difference with Mr. de Labrit* about the price of his ransom. They say that the Count brought a mere letter of introduction from the King to the duke of Mantua (Federico Gonzaga), and that he was with the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) from Monday at the 15 hours until Tuesday morning. (*Cipher:*) What was the subject of such a long conference no one knows, but surely if the Duke is as good a servant of Your Imperial Majesty as he professes to be it is to be presumed that you have already been fully informed of it through him.

(*Common writing:*) A courier from Lyons has arrived who brings notice to these merchants that the King has prorogued the payments at the fair of that city for 15 days, and some add that one of the royal treasurers is expected in that city with 200,000 crs. This news of the prorogation of payments at Lyons has induced merchants here to adopt similar measures. If, however, it should turn out true that the King destines so large a sum for Italy as reported, we are sure to know in time, for most of the bills must necessarily be drawn on bankers of this city. Count Novellara is a young man, 22 or 23 years old. Considering his age and want of experience I should say that the principal business that has brought him here is the one above alluded to between the marquis del Gasto and Mr. de Labrit, and also to engage captains for the King's service, especially count Guido, that is if he should be disengaged and want to serve. If this be not the Count's object the King must have sent him to look after Ryncon (Rincon), who is known to have fallen very ill somewhere, that he may take from him the despatches he has for the Grand Turk and the Vayvod, and carry them himself (*common writing:*) for I cannot persuade myself that a man like the Count could come riding post all the way from

* Henri d'Albret, prisoner at Pavia, and who managed to make his escape a few months after. See vol. iv., part 1, pp. 519, 532, 534, &c.

1532.

France to Venice for the sole purpose of visiting this place, as he has told the Signory. Had he come, as I imagine, to take charge of Rincon's despatches we are sure to know in time. In my opinion this last conjecture is the most plausible, for only the other day the Doge told me that Rincon was detained at Ragusa by illness, and that he had had a relapse and could not move.

All the information which count Novellara gave Captain Beltran agrees with the king of France's plans as revealed by Rincon to count Guido [Rangone] when he was last in Venice. Therefore it is most probable that had not Rincon been taken ill on the road he would have been by this time in Turkey, and that the Most Christian King, in order to get hold of Milan, would not have scrupled in making an alliance with the Infidel, and bringing him over against Christendom! Yet I must say that hitherto no preparations for war have been made in France.

This Signory purposes sending to Hungary a man called Querea,* that he may accompany the Turk and report. I am told that after reaching Andrinopoli the secretary of the Venetian embassy [who was] with the Turk left him and returned to Constantinople, as the Signory has at present no one to represent them in those parts, their ambassador having remained at Constantinople to fill the office of "balio" (bailli).

The galley of the Proveditor General of this Signory is ready, and expected to set sail on Sunday.—Venice, 7th June 1532.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "S. C. C. M^{t}."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

16 June. **959.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,309, ff. 56–8. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 10.

I wrote last on the 11th. After that, on Friday, at the 24 hours, a brig from Ragusa anchored in this port, bringing letters from the representative (*balio*) this Signory has at Constantinople. One hour after the Doge (Andrea Gritti) sent me word that the letters received were dated the 27th of May, and that the substance of them was that the whole of the Turkish fleet had sailed from Constantinople on the 23rd, save four galleys, whose crews were not yet complete. The fleet had not yet passed Gallipoli owing to those four galleys having remained behind; but as soon as they had joined they would together sail for Modon. The whole fleet consisted of 75 sail, exclusive of privateers and others, who were to join them in those seas. Having then asked the Doge whether he knew the destination of so formidable an armament he told me that the Turkish admiral had called upon the Signory's representative at Con-

* Thus written this name does not seem to me to be Venetian unless it be horribly corrupted by Niño.

1532.

stantinople and asked him: "How long will it take me to sail from Modon to the coast of Sicily?" and that the Admiral had answered cautiously: "That depends upon the weather and the wind;" from which he (the Doge) concluded that when all the ships and galleys had joined they would come strait down from Modon to the coast of Sicily.

(*Common writing:*) The Doge also told me that the Turkish Admiral had declared that he had positive orders from his master, the Sultan, not to attack Venetian vessels, and likewise (*cipher:*) to do no injury to the vassals and property of the kings of France and England, so that if the report be true—as I have no doubt it is—here is further proof of what I wrote to Your Majesty days ago, namely, that the threatening storm is only intended to fall upon His Holiness the Pope, and upon Your Majesty, and that if the king of France, as he proposes, sends a fleet for the defence of Italy it will be only for the purpose of joining the Turk and working in company with him.

The Doge also said he had letters of the 30th from a country called Dulcinio, between Slavonia and Albania, stating that a man coming from Sofia (Sophia) had announced the arrival of the Turks in that city; but this news cannot be relied upon, for although it is believed that after passing Filipoli (Philippopoli) the enemy must have made very long marches, yet the distance is too great for him to be already at Sophia, as it is said, with the whole of his force.

I am every day soliciting an answer from this Signory with regard to the proposed league for the protection of Italy. The Doge always answers me that the matter is too important for the Senate to decide without previous mature deliberation. He has, however, promised me that between this and next Wednesday I shall get an answer.

Your Majesty's indisposition is much felt here, especially at this juncture.

(*Cipher:*) Advices have been received here that the duke of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and other princes of the Empire, besides some free towns, intend to refuse their allegiance to the king of the Romans, and that this is done entirely at the instigation of the kings of France and England. If so, it is to be feared that instead of giving help against the Turk the said kings and princes will do all they can to assist and favour the Infidel.

Count Novellara left last Thursday. I am told that before his departure he caused certain friends of France to convey to the Signory a message to this effect: "the French had always been the oldest and best allies of Venice; that was a known fact which required no confirmation. They also knew how many titles the French king had to the possession of Milan. If, therefore, one of these days the King made war for the recovery of what he considered his own, he expected help, or at least neutrality from the Signory. In either case

1532.

the King was willing to give securities. His having made peace at Cambray without including them in it was only that he might exclusively devote himself to the delivery of his sons from captivity. Should they (the Venetians) object to the Duchy forming part of the crown of France, he (the King) would make it over to one of his sons, whom he would send at once to Venice, there to be married to an Italian, so that his grandsons might inherit the estate and be Italian born, as was the case with king Alonso of Aragon, who conquered Naples." All this has been told to me with the greatest possible caution by the general of the Augustines himself, &c.

Happening to meet the Doge the other day I asked him whether he was aware of the ridiculous nonsense which this count of Novellara had spread throughout Venice. He told me: "I am not astonished at anything the Count may have said; we know the nature and condition of the French, and how they lie whenever it suits them. The Signory knows too well what the kings of that country are, and especially king Francis; we shall never forget or forgive the insult he did us at Cambray."

I have been very explicit in my account of this gentleman, because (as I said above) I cannot believe that he came posting all the way from Chateaubriand in 11 days merely to have a look at Venice, as he says.

The enclosed* is from prothonotary Caracciolo with advices from Switzerland. All of it seems to me to be a pure invention of the French, for if the Lutheran Swiss, as it is said, really want his help it is that he may protect them against the Pope.—Venice, 16th June 1532.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "S. C. C. M."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 6.

16 June. **960.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 153.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 17.

Has received the Emperor's letter of the 2nd of June. The day before yesterday, whilst conversing with His Holiness the latter told him (Ortiz) that his Nuncio in England had recently written that he had, by the command of the Queen, presented to the King the monitory brief (*breve exhortatorio*), and that the King had immediately complained to him of the Queen's pertinacity in that business. He knew not (he said) the contents of the brief, nor what the Pope intended to command him by it; he would read it at his leisure and make a reply. This answer of the King His Holiness knows not how to qualify, for to say the truth it is really wonderful how far the Enemy of Mankind has prevailed over this king; not only does he refuse to acknowledge the mortal sin in which he lives,

* Not in the packet.

1532.

but tries to turn good into evil*, upbraiding the Queen for her praiseworthy conduct in this affair, in seeking to uphold the truth and persuade the King to return to the right path, which is the only way of obtaining the salvation of his soul!! Told His Holiness that he was positively bound by the office he holds of vicar and messenger (*pregonero*) of God on earth, to order his Nuncio in England distinctly to tell the King that he is living in mortal sin, and that unless he at once cast away from him that woman, through whose means the Devil has got hold of him, and treat his own legitimate queen with the decorum due to her rank and position he must be damned. All this the Papal Nuncio ought to tell him (the King) in the name of God, and in the name of His Holiness, and if the King should still persist in his obstinancy threaten him with all the censures of the Church.

Told the Pope that the Christian Church was at this time threatened by three great calamities. The first was this very divorce case and its consequences, at which the whole of Christendom was scandalized. The second was the separation of heretics from the Faith, and the consequent schism in the Church; and the third the impending invasion of the Turks. To avert such dire calamities as these His Holiness ought to see that this cause is sentenced at once, and heresy put down so that the whole of the Christian forces may be turned against the Turk; a general jubilee ought to be published throughout Christendom granting indulgence of their sins to all those who should confess and communicate, pray, and do pious works to that end.

This the Pope promised at once, and I hear that to-day, Sunday, the promulgation has been made from the pulpits of all the churches at Rome, and after that the said jubilee will be announced to the rest of the Christian World.

Wrote by the last post respecting the matrimonial cause that after the matter was duly disputed in Consistory by the lawyers on both sides, the cardinals were being instructed on the matter in detail that the Consistory may decide whether the said cause is to be pleaded here at Rome, or elsewhere, to enable the king of England to be present. On this subject our opponents have lately printed and published the allegation of a Bolognese lawyer who came here, and have now printed a book by the same author, wherein all the arguments adduced in favour of the King have been collected. It is evident that all this is done for no other purpose than to cause delay. Though the point in question is not a judicial one, and has nothing to do with his profession as a theologian, he (Ortiz) considers it his duty to importune the Pope and his cardinals should he find them in any way remiss. He will prove to them that the only reason the king of

* "La qual respuesta no la sabe Su St. [calificar?] y en verdad es de espantar que tanto ha prevalecido el enemigo con el Serenissimo rei que no solamente no quiere conocer el grand pecado en que está, sino que lo bueno imputa a mal," &c.

1532.

England has for advoking the cause to his kingdom, is that the case being arduous, and concerning him personally, necessitates his appearance at the trial; he maintains that he is not obliged to send a procurator, and that since by the said causes and others he is prevented from coming to Rome, the cause ought to be advoked either to his own kingdom, or to some other place near it, where he may appear without detriment to his kingdom through his absence. This is the principal reason given by the contrary party, but in his (Ortiz's) opinion it is the chief argument against the King, shewing that this divorce suit ought to be tried here, inasmuch as it is a matter of Faith, they (the English) pretending that this marriage is forbidden by Divine Law, and as our Holy Faith is Catholic and Universal, no one has consequently more right, or is more stringently bound to take cognizance of this cause than His Holiness, the Pope, who is the shepherd of the universal christian flock. Also because papal authority having been brought into question, and a doubt raised as to whether pope Julius had or had not the power of dispensing in that marriage, the right hitherto exercised by the Apostolic See seems to be contested. What the opponents aver is that some of the canons on which the Apostolic See found their right to dispensation are actually erroneous; all this evidently appertains more to the Pope and to the Holy Apostolic See, to whom the cognizance of these things properly belongs than to the king of England, whose concern in the matter is personal to himself. It seems therefore far more natural that the said king come to Rome, or send his procurator, than that the Pope or the Apostolic See, as it were, should go to England. Such was the view the Rota took of the affair, and there can be no doubt that the Consistory will approve it.

Juan Luis [Aragon], the Imperial advocate, has just printed and circulated the learned report (*informacion*) which the ambassador Miçer Mai has forwarded to Court.

Reminds the Emperor of the affairs of Fr. Francisco Ortiz, his brother. Has written to the Empress about them.—Rome, 16th June 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

16 June. **961.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 857, f. 5.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 20.

[Copies textually his letter to the Emperor and then adds:]

With regard to the monitory brief (*breve exhortatorio*) which His Holiness sent the other day to the king of England, exhorting him not to separate from the Queen, his wife, as long as the trial was undecided, a copy of which brief

1532.

I forwarded to Your Highness, I must state that the Emperor wrote to me—as will be seen by the enclosed copy of his letter— that the Queen's opinion was that no use should be made of it for the present. The Imperial ambassador residing in England (Eustace Chapuys) wrote to me in the same sense. Since then it appears from letters of the Papal Nuncio that the Queen has changed her mind and insists upon the brief being presented, and that the Nuncio having in conformity with His Holiness' orders attempted to speak to the King on the subject, the latter had referred him to a gentleman whose name I think he said was Montfort.* The Nuncio, however, not wishing to declare beforehand what sort of communication he had to make, said to the gentleman in question that his business was with the King alone, not with him. The King, therefore, had been obliged to grant him audience upon which the Nuncio began to broach the subject as if he spoke in His Holiness' name. The King's answer was that the Queen was very tenacious (*proterva*) in this her determination. He could not conceive what orders the Pope could give him respecting the matrimonial cause, for he himself had carefully read and studied what ever was enjoined by Divine as well as by Canon Law on the subject of marriage, and where he had any doubt about it had engaged very good counsel to consult with. He could not imagine what orders the Pope could give him in such a matter as that. Upon which the Papal Nuncio produced the brief, and the King perceiving that it was long, said he would read it and give his answer. This, His Holiness says, has not come to hand yet, &c.

Juan Luis, Your Majesty's advocate, has written and printed a small treatise, whilst the opposite party have also printed certain articles of a Bolognese doctor, who came here [to Rome] lately, and published a book on the subject, wherein he embodied all the various arguments brought forward in favour of the King. Copies of both† have been forwarded by me to the cardinal of Santiago, de Compostella.

[The rest of the letter as in No. 965.]

Rome, 16th June 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lady the Empress and Queen."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

21 June. **962.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 28.

Three days ago Your Majesty's letter of the 25th ult° was duly received, and in pursuance of the orders therein contained I immediately apprized the Queen of the good remembrance

* "Que el Rey le avia remitido a un cavallero, que pienso que nombró Montfort." Here either Ortiz, himself, or the copyists at Simancas must have blundered singularly to mistake Norfolc for Montfort, the Emperor's master of the horse, who, according to the *Itinerary*, died at Mantua in 1530.

† Neither is to be found at Simancas.

1532.

and careful solicitude Your Majesty has of her affairs (*cipher*:) at which she was exceedingly pleased, begging me to express her gratitude and thanks, and at the same time recommending that since it is quite clear that His Holiness is only trying to delay the sentence, and thus maintain the difference between Your Majesty and this king, that you be pleased to urge the Pope to issue commendatory letters for the execution of the brief decreed at Bouloigne (Bologna), or at least to issue a fresh one not to be revoked by another subsequent one, as he did last time. Which earnest prayer on the part of the Queen I have so often mentioned in my preceding despatches, that I should have considered it unnecessary to reproduce it here, had not the Queen herself expressly commanded me to do so, and had not Dr. Ortiz strongly recommended the step, having lately written [from Rome] that he is only waiting for Your Majesty's commands to solicit and forward the said letters.

(*Common writing*:) With regard to the complaints laid before the Royal Council of Castille against the new taxes, which these people intended levying on Spanish merchants, I must say that although there was at one time some talk of it, and in consequence thereof the Spanish residents came to me and addressed a petition to the said Council, certain it is that since I myself went to the King and Privy Council, and remonstrated against the measure, there has been no further question about it. I have likewise summoned a meeting of all the Spanish merchants resident in this city to inquire from them whether they had any more grievances to complain of. Their answer was that they had not, except a few of old standing which had often been discussed between Your Imperial Majesty's commissaries and those appointed by this king. Should they, however, shew me hereafter that they have any serious complaint to make I shall not fail to remonstrate in the proper quarter.

The French ambassador came back ten days ago, and presented the King with two fine greyhounds (*levriers*) in his master's name. I also fancy that the Frenchman has been the bearer of news still more agreeable to this king than the said present, for he has been received, visited, and entertained in a style of unwonted splendour, having immediately after his arrival in this city gone to see the King seven miles from hence, and stayed with him two whole days. On his return the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), the dean of the Chapel (Sampson) and Dr. Faulx (Foxe), went altogether to his lodgings, alighted from their horses, and supped with him. Next day they were all in consultation together and transacted business; after which the ambassador returned to Court and came back in the evening, when another conference of the same parties took place, followed by a supper, which was given this time at the house of a

1532.

Genoese named Lomelino,* so that notwithstanding his great desire of seeing me, as he has sent me word twice, it has been quite impossible for us to meet until this morning that I went and called upon him.

The ambassador at first insisted, trying hard to persuade me of it, that the object of his late journey to France had been no other than to look after his own private affairs, though he admitted at the end (*cipher :*) that he had undertaken it principally at this king's urgent request, and that Mr. de Rosymboz' visit to Scotland was the chief cause of it. He also owned that he had, at the express desire of this king, warmly solicited his master to use all his influence with the Pope in this matter of the divorce. The ambassador would not tell me more particulars about his mission, but considering the frequent and private conferences held between him and the members of this king's Privy Council, before and after the ambassador's journey to France, I should say that something very important is now going on, and that the ambassador's confession, though reluctantly given, and almost extorted from him, affords us a clue to the whole mystery. I shall, however do my best to get at the truth, for even whilst I was with the ambassador the other day, Dr. Faux came in with a message from the Duke relating, no doubt, to this late business in France, intimating that he wished to speak to him, and inviting him to dine at Westminster†; and yet, with all that, I have hitherto been unable to get at the bottom of this mystery.

I have, moreover, been told by the French ambassador that Lasco had left France without achieving anything respecting the contemplated marriage of the Vayvod in France, and that with regard to the Order [of the Saint Esprit ?] conferred upon him that was only in fulfilment of a promise made to him when he first arrived in France as ambassador of the king of Poland [Sigismond].

The ambassador further said to me that the King, his master, had declined to entertain the overtures of the Genoese and their offers to treat, and that he is quite determined not to have anything more to do with them.

The 50,000 crs. due on All Saints' Day were only paid the other day. This king has also received 12,500 crs. out of the 15,000 which France is bound to pay every year in salt. The contribution was fixed at 10,000 crs. annually, and as it had not been paid for the last three years 30,000 were owing to this country. The sum was to be paid in four instalments; the first of 7,500 has actually been delivered, besides 5,000

* "En la mayson dung sennevoys (*sic*) nommé Lomellin."

† "Il faut croyre quil y a quelque demene dimportance entre le dit ambassadeur et ceulx çy, veu les grandes et continuelles communicacions quils eurent auant son partement, et quils ont presentement. Ce pendant questoye avec luy lenvoya [chercher] le docteur faux (*sic*) pour communiquer sur le despeche quil faisoit en France, et deuvoit aller disner au vasmotier (*sic*) avec le duc et son conseil."

1532.

more on account of this present year.* The pensions to private individuals have also been paid, especially that to the duke of Norfolk, who, I am told, has sent to the King's treasurer four hackneys by way of tribute.

A rumour is afloat that a certain Grimaldo, now a servant (*serviteur*) of the French king, but formerly a general at Milan, had recently sent from Paris to Lyons a number of chariots laden with specie, with which to recruit Switzers; but I have been told by the very man who paid down the said pensions that the money really belonged to Grimaldo, who, in order to profit by the exchange, had actually changed 20,000 crs. [into English money], inasmuch as a crown is worth 45 sols in Paris, whereas at Lyons it is only worth 42. The said treasurer, therefore, had given him 10,000 crs., which being mostly in copper (*des liars*) had filled seven or eight large casks. The ambassador has also assured me that no money has been remitted to Switzerland except the small sum required to pay the interest [on the debt] and the pensions.

(*Cipher:*) The man whom I sent to spy Camillo's movements has actually followed him into France. The captain who came with him is still in London, but has never gone to Court, or spoken with any of the courtiers. He seldom, if ever, leaves his lodgings, and spends his time playing at backgammon (*tictacq*), as I have been told by his landlord, who has, at my request, undertaken to watch him and report on his movements.

(*Common writing:*) With regard to the affairs of Scotland, about which Your Majesty has been pleased to write, I consider that by this time full information has been obtained through the despatches of Mr. de Rosymboz, since whose return from that country I have heard nothing particular, except that on Sunday last this king sent thither a herald, and, as I have been informed by a Scotchman living in this city, there is a very good prospect of peace or renewal of truce between the two countries. The Papal Nuncio who went to Scotland last winter is expected back every day; we shall hear all the particulars from him.

About 12 days ago the bishop of Rochester (Fisher) preached earnestly and strongly in favour of the Queen, (*cipher:*) in consequence of which he has been in great danger of being imprisoned or incurring some other punishment. He has, it is true, shut the mouths of those who spoke for the King, but nevertheless the Queen receives no better treatment, and therefore it is clear that the remedy lies only in the hands of the Pope. So great, however, is the desire which all in general manifest for a speedy sentence in her case, that

* "Et dauantage a receu ley roy xxi^{m}. v^{c}. escuz pour laccord fayt entre eulx sur les xv^{m}. escuz de sel que les françoys debuoint annuellement fournyr; le quel sel a este converty a dix mille escuz annuels, et les xxx^{m}. dehuz pour les troys annez passeez ont este mis a quatre payemans, dont pour le premier ont este deslivrez vii^{m} 3^{c}. escuz et les cinq mille pour le terme de ceste annee."

1532.

several high personages have sent word to her, and to me also, that should the Pope decide and pronounce sentence, they will take care that it is executed. In this same declaration Master Taillop* agreed two days before he started for France, whither he is now gone as ambassador, though I do not believe he will remain long, for these people begin already to perceive that he is not so ardent a partisan of the divorce as he was thought at first to be, and the duke of Norfolk has been heard to say several times, "Master Taillop is not very suitable for the charge he has undertaken, being better trained to war than to the management of political affairs."

I beg Your Majesty's pardon if I again urge the settlement of a matter upon which depends, in my opinion, not only the repose of this queen and kingdom, but also that of all Christendom, for the Queen's case once determined, Your Majesty may dispose of this kingdom as much or better than you ever did.—London, 21st June 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 5.

22 June. **963.** Miçer Miguel Mai and Giovan Antonio Muxetula to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 858, f. 56.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 28.

They (the Imperial ambassadors) are still trying to keep the Pope on friendly terms with the Emperor. Although His Holiness knows this to be the best course for him to pursue, he is nevertheless managing matters (*entreteniendo*) so as not to break entirely with France. He says that considering the friendship and alliance which unite him with the king of that country, and that of England, and the dangerous plight in which the affairs of Christendom are, he must dissemble with the latter, and make as if he bore him goodwill, for fear of a rupture, and lest both he and the king of France should withdraw their allegiance, as they publicly threaten to do. This notwithstanding, the Pope says that he will not for one moment cease to consider Your Majesty as his son, and join you for the defence of Christendom and of your mutual dominions.

Indorsed: "Abstract of letters from Miçer Mai and Muxetula of the 22nd of June."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

22 June. **964.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 857, f. 170.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 29.

Received the letter of the 2nd of June, and saw the Pope on three consecutive days, treating each time of the various affairs, such as Ferrara, the Council, cardinal Colonna, and duke of Gravina. On all and every one of these points His

* Elsewhere Taillebot, and Tallebault, both being meant for Talbot.

1532.

Holiness made a satisfactory answer to my questions, and seemed pleased with Your Majesty's resolutions. Spoke to him also about the French intrigues and the reports that had reached me of their insisting upon his declaring himself neutral, and, as they do not trust him, giving his nephew, the Cardinal, as hostage. This done, he could go away one fine day, and, they would spread the rumour that he had come with his uncle's consent. The Pope answered, "My nephew is mad." "Yes, that may be," said I, "but still Your Holiness must make him act otherwise" (*está obligado á hacerle tener buen seso*). That is not in my power" replied the Pope; "you know it as well as I do." "I see it very well," said I, "but neither the Emperor, nor the members of his Privy Council, nor his courtiers, nor the Venetians, nor other potentates, who know Your Holiness to be a wise and prudent man, will ever believe that the actions (*movimientos*) of the Cardinal are those of a madman; they will rather think, and not without reason, that they are done entirely at Your Holiness' suggestion," &c.

With regard to the Swiss cantons, the briefs have been drawn out, and the Verulan (Filonardo) is to take them thither himself. A clause, it appears, has been added to them, in which a reference is made to the league for the protection of Italy. I myself have written to Stephano [da Insola] about it, and sent orders to Naples for that treasury to pay him 1,700 crs. owed to his brother for his services in the last war. The Verulan has also been instructed to make a present to the alderman (*escuteto*) of Lucerna,* if he should consider it necessary; for that officer has the reputation of being a very useful man, and the French have before now tried to corrupt him, done the same whenever they wanted his services. Have likewise written to captain Sucar (Zuccaro) to take the command of the hackbutiers, and therefore everything in that quarter looks prosperous, inasmuch as the five cantons, knowing that the French ambassador is doing all he can here to prevent the expedition of the bulls of the Sedunense (bishop of Sion), say that they are much offended, considering it an injury done to them.† Already the Frenchman has gone to the Pope and complained that he has made the said five cantons enemies of France.

The Turk, &c.

Some suspect that the Infidel will pass by Hungary and come to Italy by Frigoli (Frioul). There is, however, no authority for this news, except the words of count Hanibal de la Novellara at Venice, who, as is well known, is in the confidence of the French king.

* "Tambien se escrivió al Verulano que paresciendole que convenga haga algund presente al escuteto (*sic*) de Lucerna, porque todos jusgan que es hombre muy provechoso y que los francesses assi le entretenian en tiempo que les servia."

† Silten or Sion in the Valais (Switzerland); the bishop's name was Adrian Riedmatten.

1532.

Respecting his contribution in money (*socorro*) towards the expense of the Turkish war, His Holiness excuses himself on the ground of his poverty. He says that he will get Parma and Piacenza to contribute, but as to himself that he cannot, &c. Nor was it easy either to make him fix the sum which the Church and the Clergy are to give towards it. After rather a tumultuous congregation, in which many foolish and braggart things were said (*se dixeron hartas locuras y hartas bellaquerias*), it was resolved to furnish Your Majesty and the king of the Romans with 40,000 crs. every month, that sum to be raised by a tax throughout Italy; cardinals to surrender one year's income, or, if they preferred it, to be allowed to sell or mortgage one per cent. of their whole income. I was scandalized at this, for in the first place the sum is considerably less than last time, and in the second, the greater part will naturally fall on us and come out of Milan, Naples, and Sicily.

It appears that at the said congregation of cardinals it was resolved to send one of their number to Your Majesty's camp, to enlist as many Hungarian horse* as he could pay with the above money. Monte and other cardinals wished to have the charge; but it seemed to His Holiness and to me that we should gain in reputation both with the French and with the Venetians by having the Pope's own nephew [Ippolito] appointed. His Holiness made no difficulty to that; on the contrary he was glad of the suggestion, but said that he (Ippolito) was to apply for the post himself if he wanted it.

I hear that after a good deal of negotiation the Pope has offered the tithes to the king of France on condition of his lending his fleet; but the French ambassador has not dared to accept without consulting home first.

Respecting the Turkish fleet nothing certain is known. It is still believed that it will come down to Modon, and that there the commander-in-chief of the forces will open the sealed orders of the Sultan, as is their wont. They have already lost a ship with 20,000 oars and 800 sailors, which, considering the need they have of both oars and crews (*chiurma*), will reduce by ten at least the number of their galleys. That of the privateers coming from Barbary is estimated at 22; but according to the account of those who were wrecked on the coast of Sardinia, and of another "fusta" captured at Formentera by the galleys of the prince Andrea Doria, they have suffered much, and are greatly diminished in strength. At La Belona the plague was making most dreadful ravages. The Turks were fortifying Patras and all the towns and villages of that coast. At Malta a conspiracy had been detected among the Turks who were working at the fortifications, four of whom had been convicted, executed, drawn and quartered. This intelligence comes from a spy of the Grand Master of Rhodes at Constantinople.

---

* "El qual assoldasse los cavallos hungaros."

1532.

Rodrigo Niño advises that the castle of Clissa and its territory have surrendered to an agent of Luigi Gritti, which piece of intelligence has caused general indignation in Venice against his father (the Doge Andrea Gritti), for besides the harbour of Clissa being the best in the world, it is only 100 miles distant from Ancona; and if the Turk only continue his successes, it is to be feared that he will soon take possession of the two fortified towns which the Venetians have on that coast. There is still another circumstance which makes the advance of the Turks on that coast more formidable than ever; instead of attacking with fury and massacring the inhabitants, as is their general habit, nowadays they proceed slowly, with greater caution, promising people liberty of religion, privileges, franchises, and all manner of good treatment, which would shew that they intend perpetuating their domination in those parts.—Romæ (*sic*), xix* Junii MDXXXII.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To His most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Indorsed: "From Miçer Mai at Rome, the xxii (*sic*) of June 1532."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

22 June. **965.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 857, f. 166.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 36.

In answer to his two letters of the 2nd and 12th inst., he (Mai) must begin by thanking him (Covos) most warmly for his promise to have him recalled, and allow him to visit Spain.

His despatch to the Emperor will inform him of the state of affairs. Has little to add on the subject, except that Mugectola (Muxetula) is as far off as ever from getting his cardinal's hat. When applied to His Holiness never says "No;" on the contrary, he tells him and Loaysa: "Nobody deserves it better than Muxetula, and I will think of him at the next creation;" and yet time passes and nothing is done, and what is worse the cardinals seem more than ever to be against him (Muxetula), for they have discovered that he is of Jewish descent and not enough advanced in years. If he ever gets it he will have enough to do.

Abbot Gonzaga.—The son and brother-in-law of Granvela.†

In the cause of England the wind, as he has written to the Emperor, is decidedly against us. Everything that is done in it one day seems to be undone the next. Cannot say whether these people (the Pope and the cardinals) think that the best way for each of them to preserve his friends is to remain stationary, or what the cause may be, but the fact is that very little

* The indorsement has the 22nd.

† "Lo del hijo del Sr. Granvella ya se assentó y agora ando en lo del Cuñado." By son of Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot is meant, and by brother-in-law Mr. Bonvallot, both of whom had at that time affairs to settle at Rome.

1532.

progress is made one way or the other. Has often applied for letters in the Emperor's name for Monte and Ancona, recommending to them the justice and quick expedition of the matrimonial cause, and telling them how pleased and grateful the Emperor would be if they only attended seriously to this business; but the letters have not come, and he (Mai) is afraid that those cardinals will not stir. It is very possible that Ancona, who drinks from all sources (*beue de todas aguas*), may, after pocketing the 2,000 ducats the Emperor sent him, have received a larger sum from the English, who in these matters are rather lavish of their money, for certainly he does not move as he ought. Let another letter come for cardinal Ravenna, shewing him the great trust the Emperor places in him. Muxetula says that if fault there be, it lies with Monte and Ancona; he (Mai) thinks that all three are to blame, for in conversation with Ancona one day, he was heard to say: "Ravenna has no opinion of his own; he always says what others want him to say."

Has not written before because he (Mai) was waiting for the result of the appointment of legate, which now seems decided in favour of cardinal Ippolito de' Medici, so much so that this very morning, in church, some Spanish gentlemen told him that they had actually seen cardinal Triulzio, the French ambassador, and another,* son of Renzo de Cheri (da Ceri), walk up and down one of the saloons of the French embassy very much excited, and from time to time beating the walls with their fists, as if they were possessed. In fact the French have done all they publicly could to prevent the cardinal [Ippolito de' Medici] from accepting the office, telling him that it was a preconcerted plan to keep him away from Florence. Seeing that this would not do, they had persuaded him to ask for so many things that the Pope could not stand it. No sooner did he (Mai) hear of it than he went straight to the Pope and informed him. The blow, therefore, has been parried and everything settled. Ippolito will go as legate, &c.

Spoke to His Holiness respecting the marriage of the duchesina de Camarino (Giulia) and the duke of Sulmona,† and he gave hopes of it. The Emperor's letter to the mother was also forwarded.

Cardinal Colonna has answered his request for money to help the Swiss cantons by saying that he cannot promise, for he has none to dispose of.—Rome, 22nd June 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the High Commander of Leon, the Emperor's Principal Secretary."

Spanish Holograph. pp. 4.

* Distinct, no doubt, from Gianpaolo.

† The prince, not *duke*, of Sulmona, at this time was the son of Charles de Lannoy; but Giulia Varana, daughter of Giovan Maria Varana, duke of Camarino, married Guidobaldo della Rovere, duke of Urbino.

1532.

25 June. **966.** The EMPEROR to CARDINAL COLONNA.

S. E. L. 1,559, f. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 42.

Has been informed that a servant of the prince of Melfi has been to see the king of France. He is now at Rome on his return from that country, and is going back to Melfi. He (Colonna) is to set spies on him, apprehend him, and have him questioned about his negotiations in France, and then wait for further orders.—Ratisbon, 25th June 1532.

Spanish. Original draft by Idiaquez.

— **967.** HELWIGHEN'S Report concerning the MAN OF LOUVAIN.

B. Li. de l'Aud.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 43.

I Loys de Heylwigen (*sic*), of the Emperor's Council in Brabant, was twice at Louvain on business, at the end of May, and on the 22nd of June 1532. Having gone to supper at the castle of the said town with the concierge thereof, whom I was in the habit of visiting, found myself *pour honneste moyen* at table with Messire Jehan Barlo or Carolo,* priest and dean of Westberry, a native of England, with three other Englishmen and other people of this country (*par decha*), whom the said concierge of the castle had himself invited to supper on the occasion that the said Dean and the rest of the Englishmen were residing at the house of Knight-Commander Chantrain situated on the mound of earth (*motte*), at the opposite side of the castle, owing to which circumstance the said Englishman and his friends were in communication with the concierge, and frequently visited each other. At table I found the said English honest and gracious; some of them understood and spoke Flemish, but the Dean did not, as he said. The Dean was by them considered as their chief; he is short, red haired, very moderate in eating and drinking, and silent (*et peu de devises*) unless addressed, saying, among other things, when there was a question of pleasure or pastime, that he knew neither music nor games of chance.†

Whilst the dinner was being served nothing important was said, nor was the divorce mentioned, but after the cloth was removed the Dean asked permission to retire to his lodgings with his friends. I accompanied him, and on the road thither I inquired from him what he knew about the divorce, as it seemed to me that there was no longer so much talk about the King procuring the dissolution of his marriage as there had been at other times. I asked him, therefore, if by chance the affair had subsided.

The Dean answered: "You are right; the matter has been more discussed than it is now, but nevertheless it has not wholly subsided.

* An ecclesiastic of this name, prior of Bisham, was sent by Henry to Scotland in 1534, and was subsequently appointed bishop of St. Asaph, but his name was *William*, not John, as here stated.

† "Et est homme de petite stature ayant cheveulx rouges, sobre en menger et boire, et peu de devises, ne fust [-ce] que l'on parla a luy, disant entre aultres, au propos de recreation, non sçavoir aulcune musicque ne gueres de jeuz."

1532.

I then asked him who had been the cause of the king of England adopting that opinion, after having lived so many years with the Queen, his wife, and whether it was the cardinal of England (Wolsey) or some one else.

The Dean said that the King, after he had been married nine or ten years, having gone to confess to a priest whom the Dean named, though being a strange name I have quite forgotten it, found by the counsel and advice of the said confessor, whom the Dean described as a learned divine, that he (the King) could not any longer live with the Queen, his wife, his marriage being certainly null and void, he having married his own brother's wife, which marriage no dispensation could make lawful; and that since that time the King, for the quieting of his conscience, had embraced that opinion, in which he has ever since persisted, the more so that he has found many worthy people in England entertaining the same; the said Dean averred that the King was sorry for it, for he was much attached to his wife, and should have liked to continue living with her.

Upon which I asked the Dean whether the King had not found other learned doctors to dissent from him in that respect, that is to say, to consider the Papal dispensation, which I thought I had seen, quite sufficient to remove all the King's scruples on that score, and decide for the validity of the marriage. The Dean's answer was that he believed there were some, but that those whom the King consulted had decided otherwise.

It is true that one of the King's arguments is that when the said marriage was proposed to him he had not given his free consent, but had yielded out of respect and fear for his father. I have heard (the Dean said) something about that, and that the King intended to allegate that his free and deliberate consent to the marriage had never been given, but there is no longer any mention of that.

I replied that also there was little appearance of this being so, since after the death of his father, Henry VII., he had for many years cohabited with the said queen, and therefore, even supposing that his consent had not been absolute and free (*libere*) at the time of his marriage, it was enough that he had by subsequent cohabitation and conversation established his consent. I said more; I told him that, from the moment the King had called to his assistance such allegation as the one just named, it was evident that the divorce had not been merely to satisfy his (the King's) conscience, which accused him of having married the widow of his own brother; for had that reason been sufficient for his purpose, certainly he would not have considered it necessary to allege this other one of his want of free consent. That was to me (I said) an evident proof of the scanty affection the King had for his Queen, especially if he had no other allegation to make except that one, for it was clear that he

1532.

might at any time, and when he chose, consent to it and follow a different course; from which I concluded that he no longer loved the Queen, but loved another woman.

The Dean's answer to the above argument was that the King did not particularly insist upon the absence of free consent on his part, but only on the first-mentioned point. He did own that the King daily visited with familiarity a maiden of a good and noble house in England, and that a rumour was afloat that should the King persist in his idea of the divorce, owing to his firm belief that his marriage with the Queen was unlawful, he would marry the said maiden. The Dean further added that he believed the said lady to be in the King's good graces.

Hearing which I said to the Dean, as if I marvelled at what he said: "And yet the general report here is that the King has made up his mind to legitimatise by a subsequent marriage a bastard son he had before this, and thus make his kingdom pass to the male line. How can that be?" The Dean said: "There is no probability at all in that, inasmuch as the girl by whom the King had that son has been since married to a gentleman of his kingdom, with the consent and approval of the King himself, from which time he, the King, has discontinued all communication with the said lady."

My reply was that I had never heard of the fact, and therefore thought naturally that the love withdrawn from the Queen had been bestowed upon the lady who was the mother of his son, and that he intended marrying her in order to legitimatise the said bastard.

The Dean having again replied with a repetition of the arguments above stated, I observed that since the communication of the King with his present mistress was so frequent and so intimate as he (the Dean) assured me, it was to be presumed that some secret "liasson" existed between them.

"Not that I have heard," said the Dean.

After this I asked him whether he knew personally the girl by whom the King had had his son, and this present lady who, he said, was so much in favour with the King; whether they were pretty or handsome, and whether they were worthy of the King falling in love with them and abandoning his own wife.

The Dean answered that he knew both the lady and the girl; the latter (he said) was prettier than the lady, but this one was more eloquent and graceful, more really handsome, and especially of a good family.

"And yet," I said, "whatever may be the accomplishments of the lady you allude to, they can bear no comparison with those of queen Katharine, and, therefore, considering the great virtues of the King, of which people speak so highly, it seems to me that the King would have prized her honour and nobility

1532.

more than he does had he not by means of philters, charms, or otherwise been dragged into this illegitimate love as much with the present lady as with the former girl."

No answer to this observation of mine, except this: "I do not know, I can't say."

"What is the opinion of the theologians at Louvain on the divorce?" was my next question. "I have not consulted them," replied the Dean.

Here the conversation ended. After publicly beseeching God to put an end to this affair to the satisfaction of the parties concerned, I took leave of the Dean for a time, saying to him that I would occasionally visit the castle for the sake of a little amusement playing at tennis (*jeu de palme*) and other games, and if he chose to join me I should be delighted.

After this and on a different occasion having inquired whether the said Englishmen, friends of the Dean, were at Louvain for the purpose of studying at its University, or to consult and procure the opinions of some theologians on the pretended divorce, I have incidentally spoken to some of the doctors of the Faculty on the subject; but I must say that hitherto I have been unable to find any proofs of the said English being here for that purpose, or to meet with any doctor whom they have consulted on the subject. If they have I must say that they conduct their affairs with such secrecy that nothing does transpire. The Dean, I am informed, since my return from Louvain has asked the concierge when he expected me back, that he may invite me to dinner and cultivate my acquaintance, &c.

French. Original. pp. 3.

28 June **968.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 29.

On the 21st, after writing to Your Majesty, I sent one of my secretaries to the duke of Norfolk on business relating to a Flemish merchant, who had been expressly recommended to me by the Queen. Not only did the Duke receive my secretary most graciously, but walked with him in his garden for nearly one hour, and spoke to him in very familiar terms, inquiring, among other things, for Your Majesty's health, your whereabouts, and the state in which the affairs of the Lutherans were; and upon my secretary answering that you were doing very well, and that there was hope of those matters being satisfactorily settled at the diet of Nüremberg, which the electors of Mayence (Maintz) and Palatine had attended, the Duke interrupted him by saying: "That must be a hoax (*bourde*); I cannot believe it, for we have letters from our ambassador residing at the Imperial Court, dated the 18th ult°, announcing on the contrary that the Emperor's health was much worse, that the Lutheran diet (*la diete des Lutheriens*), to which the said electors of Maintz and Palatine had gone, had been dissolved, and, lastly, that the Lutherans, having rejected all offers of conciliation, had made a close

1532.

league with the king of Polone (Poland), king Frederic of Danemark, the Vayvod, and the Grand Master of Prussia, for the express purpose of opposing the Emperor and his brother the king of the Romans." The better to prove his assertion the Duke caused a long search to be made among his papers for the English ambassador's letter, which he afterwards remembered had remained in the King's hands; and although my secretary did not attempt to contradict the news in the least, the Duke kept emphatically repeating the intelligence he said he had received [from Germany], begging my man to attach faith to his words, and believe that Your Majesty was really in a very precarious state both as to health and affairs. The better to enforce his statements, after my secretary had taken leave and left him, the Duke called him back and said: "Pray tell your master, the Imperial ambassador, that he must abstain in future from publishing statements contrary to those I have just made, for if he does he will have the mortification of finding them untrue."

Hearing the Duke's message, I went, in order that I might ascertain what his real sentiments were, and also thank him for the courtesy and familiarity shewn to my secretary. On the ensuing morning, which was Saturday, I went to hear mass at a church attached to his lodgings, and sent him word that if he was disengaged I would have the honour to visit him afterwards, not indeed on business, but merely to inquire after his health. The Duke's answer was that he thanked me very much for my attention, but that feeling rather indisposed that morning he begged to be excused if he did not receive me. On Sunday, about 7 a.m., the Duke himself "tout pesant quil estoit" came to see me, and after thanking me again for the trouble I had taken the day before, and making his excuses for not receiving me, he began to tell me the very same news he had imparted to my secretary on Friday. Upon which I explained to him that I had seen letters not from Your Majesty, but from private individuals, in date of the 4th inst., bearing testimony of your convalescence, and also of the diet having been resumed at Nüremberg, which diet the above said electors Palatine and of Mayence (Maintz) had attended.

To this intelligence, fresh as it was, the Duke knew not what to reply, that which he had received being of a much older date. I then mentioned the rumours that were afloat about Mr. de Rosymboz, and how his mission to Scotland was generally supposed to be the real cause of the departure of the French ambassador, though my belief was, considering the very lengthy conferences held with him both before and after his departure, that matters far more important were under discussion. The Duke's answer was: "If you mean that the ambassador's mission to France was for the purpose of preventing the Scotch marriage, you are mistaken; for we know that the queen of Hungary (Mary) has flatly refused the offer; and with regard to the daughters of Denmark the

1532.

alliance on the father's side cannot do us any harm at the present juncture; besides which we have no fear of the king of Scotland negotiating any such marriage or other important affairs without our being aware of it in time, for the king of that country (he said) does nothing without the advice and will of the duke of Albany, who most probably communicates before with the king of France, so that we are immediately apprized of it." (*Cipher:*) The Duke went on further to say that whatever negotiations the king of Scotland may have entered into for a marriage out of England, certain it was that he had all the time solicited the hand of the Princess (Mary), but (the Duke observed) this was only losing his time, for he never would as long as he lived obtain it, being too closely related to her. The Duke also said that king James was very badly advised; the duke of Albany had applied for a Papal bull in his favour, in virtue of which he (the King) had appropriated no less than 10,000 crs. of revenue formerly belonging to the Clergy, who had hitherto protected and defended him successfully against the nobility, but would now seize the opportunity and renew their attacks. I replied to him: "I hear that the son of the duke of Cleves has also applied for the hand of the Princess." "Yes (said he), but the report is that the father is mad (*fol*), and no one knows yet what the son may come to.* However that may be (added the Duke) we would much rather grant her hand to him than to king James. The Princess will never marry except in a very high sphere, for up to the present time she is the true and legitimate heir to the crown of England, and even if this grave case (*le gros affaire*) should be settled according to the King's wishes, and he should marry again, no one can tell whether there will be male issue out of such marriage. Should there be none the Princess would always be preferred to the other daughters of the King; and should anyone dare say that she is illegitimate it would inevitably cost him his head."

Respecting his communications with the French ambassador to which I had alluded, the Duke made no remark, but I firmly believe that these people have some great object in view, though most likely they have not yet come to an agreement, and are making, as usual, much noise about nothing.† I cannot guess what they are about, unless it be to declare that both kings have faithfully observed all the articles agreed between them at the time of their league against Your Imperial Majesty, which declaration these people have long solicited, as I have already noticed in one of my former despatches. Now all their communications are at an end; the French ambassador no longer goes to Court, nor do the

* John III., duke of Juliers and Cleves, died on the 6th of February 1539. His son, William IV., duke of Ravenstein, succeeded him; but of his pretended insanity I can find no traces in the histories of the time.

† "Et que selon leur coutume ils ont mene comme lon dit grand bruit pour peu de layne."

1532.

Privy Councillors go to him as they used formerly, but I hear he intends all the same following the king's hunting parties if he gets an invitation. I have been told that the duke [of Norfolk] and he have lately had angry words together, which might after all be the chief cause of his visit to me the other day.

(*Common writing:*) Having mentioned to the Duke the fact of Camillo Orsino having done injury to this king and court by his publicly stating wherever he went that he was about to join the Turk, and that the King would furnish him with anything he might want for his undertaking, he answered that Camillo had made no such boast before the King. He had merely brought a letter from Lasco, to which letter he could get no answer in writing, whatever his solicitations, save that the King had verbally signified to him that should Lasco, who had charge to propose the contents of the letter, present himself, a suitable answer should be prepared to his request. (*Cipher:*) The above answer of the Duke sufficiently proves how desirous these people have been, and are still, of Lasco's coming, and how dexterously they threw out hopes to Camillo of helping his enterprize. (*Common writing:*) The Duke, however, did not say more about Lasco's negotiations. As to Camillo's companion, who is still here, the Duke swore to me on his honour that since the King had ordered 200 crs. to be given to him, he had not even once been at Court, nor spoken to the King, nor to him, and that he wondered what could keep him so long in this country.

After this the conversation turned naturally on the Turk the Duke saying to me what a pity and misfortune it was, now that the Infidel was about to invade Christendom, that its princes should not be closely united to resist his attacks. He lamented the fact, and observed that Your Imperial Majesty was the principal cause of such union not taking place, wishing no doubt to intimate thereby that should you consent to the King's divorce all other matters would be satisfactorily arranged.

I need scarcely reproduce here the arguments I brought forward in justification of Your Majesty's conduct; suffice it to say that they were so strong that the Duke had nothing to say in reply, and I put an end to my discourse by saying to the Duke that since he owned that it would be a great shame if all the princes in Christendom did not unite for so meritorious an enterprize, that was enough for me, as I had not the least doubt that Your Majesty would do everything in your power to bring about such a union, and thus fulfil your duty towards God and man; the rest was in the hands of the Almighty, who, according to Philo, the philosopher, never poured out so willingly and so abundantly His grace as in cases where the help of man was most backward. I told him, besides, of the measures lately introduced in your Spanish dominions, and how orders had been issued throughout the country not to alter in any way the treatment of the English,

1532.

notwithstanding that the Council of Castille had often represented to you that every day new taxes were being imposed here on Spanish merchants. The Duke answered that since he had the management of affairs in England he had taken good care that the subjects of Your Majesty should not be over taxed or oppressed (*grevez ne follez*), and that he intended to persevere in this. I had (he said) only to state the grievances, if any, and they should be immediately redressed. A term was then fixed for my inquiring among the Spanish merchants whether they had any complaints to make, and Your Majesty may be sure that if any grievances exist I will immediately ask the Duke to fulfil his promise.—London 28th June 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 13th July."

French Holograph. partly in cipher. pp. 5.

5 July. **969.** Doctor Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. L. 857, f. 6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 46.

Is in receipt of his letter of the 17th ult°. Having lately given a full account of all the incidents in the matrimonial cause he (Ortiz) has nothing to add except that the English excusator has lately claimed to use as mandate the last letter which his master wrote to His Holiness, a copy of which, as well as of the articles lately presented, he (Ortiz) forwarded some time ago. On this point there was a disputation in consistory; reports (*informaciones*) were sent separately to each cardinal, and last Monday the deliberation commenced in consistory, His Holiness commanding under pain of excommunication that no one should publish what passed on the subject. To-day there is to be consistory again. He (Ortiz) has no doubt that the Rota having already decided against the English demand, and justice being clearly on the Queen's side, the application of the excusator will be dismissed. Has heard that the English have had for a long time the said mandate in their possession, but have put off its presentation the longer to delay the principal cause. Thinks that in order to shorten the judgment it would be better that the mandate, if they really have one, should not be presented, for then His Holiness might give us sentence by contumacy (*contradittas*) of the opposite party, and after that determine by means of an extraordinary bull the principal cause, &c.

It is said that in England the King is daily committing acts of disobedience against the Holy Apostolic See, and also that some preachers during his absence, and likewise in his very presence, have alluded to the mortal sin in which he is living owing to this divorce which he is attempting. This intelligence and other news coming from England, the ambassador there has

1532.

no doubt forwarded to His Imperial Majesty, he (Ortiz) will therefore conclude this letter by praying God to give him victory over his enemies, the Turks, that he may the sooner return to Spain, &c.—Rome, 5th July 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

9 July. **970.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 858, f. 155. B. M. *Add*, 28,585, f. 49.

God be praised! in this last consistory held this very morning a sentence has been issued in favour of the queen of England. It has been decided that the King's procuration and mandate must be to some one to represent him at the principal suit, not to make excuses as before; otherwise he will be proceeded against by contumacy (*por contradictas*). For brevity's sake, and the speedier termination of this affair, it would be much better if no mandate at all were forthcoming, because the sentence once drawn up and published we might then have the truth of the principal cause determined by an extraordinary bull *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, with which the cause would be firmly established for ever. I have, however, heard that such a mandate exists, and has been for some time past in the hands of the English agents, who have not produced it in order to cause longer delays.—Rome, 9th July 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Empress."

Spanish. Original. pp. 2.

9 July. **971.** CARDINAL SIGUENZA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 859, f. 47. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 50.

Nothing new to write about by this post, except that yesterday cardinal de' Medici left this city taking with him 50,000 ducats in specie, as the Pope himself told me. It is to be hoped he will work so well where he goes now that his uncle (the Pope) may be induced to send him as much money as he requires [for his own expenses].

Respecting the Pope's contribution towards the expenses of the war, I flattered myself, and said so in my last despatch to the Emperor, that we were to have at least 10,000, but the ambassador (Mai) has since told me that he has flatly refused giving any. I see clearly that Juan Antonio [Muxetula's] illness has been and is still a sad disappointment, because had he been in a situation to call upon His Holiness, I have no doubt this matter would have been satisfactorily arranged, whereas now I see no chance of it. I cannot help thinking that for Miçer Mai to speak to the Pope concerning such matters is equivalent to his not speaking at all. I cannot say what the reason is, whether it is that considering himself already replaced, he (Mai) takes no interest in these matters, but the fact is that he is so cold and indifferent about it that the Pope thinks we are flush with money, and that we only ask his in order to save ours, &c.

1532.

With regard to the English matrimonial cause some resolution was taken yesterday in Consistory, the substance of which comes to this. The king of England to be told that unless he send at the beginning of October his mandate and power for the principal cause, the suit will be proceeded with by contumacy (*por contradittas*). If the provision be carried out just as it has been made, it cannot be possibly improved upon, but I confess that until I see it executed I have no great confidence, because the awe they seem to have of the king of England is very great, and both the Pope and the cardinals treat him with the greatest possible moderation.

The Pope has sent me word that he has letters from France of the 25th ult°, from the confidential reporter he has at that court announcing that the Most Christian King is determined to do our master the utmost harm he can, and that the duke of Albany is coming to Marseilles. I am, however, more inclined to believe what the archbishop of Capua (Niccolo Schomberg) himself writes to His Holiness, and the latter told the Florentine ambassador to shew me, namely, that the King will not move until he sees the Emperor fairly hand to hand with the Turk, when he will no doubt do all the harm he can, that is unless the Emperor, our master, complies with his wishes with respect to Milan.

Cardinal [Ippolito de'] Medici who was to have taken with him Giovan Paolo [da Ceri], as he positively told me, has left him behind, and I have this very day been told that the reason is that the French wish to secure the services of that condottiere. Count de Anguilara, who is an Orsino, and a great friend of mine, wrote to me yesterday from his estate confirming that news.

The vice-royalty of Naples ought to be filled up.* Sancho Bravo wants to accompany the Emperor in this campaign, but I would rather have him stay where he is, for he is a wise and trusty man, and his services will be invaluable there at Naples, whilst there is no viceroy. Let one come, and then he [Bravo] may go where he likes.—Rome, 9th July 1532.

Signed: "Fr[ater] G[arcia] Card^{lis} Seguntinus."

Addressed: "To the very magnificent Lord, the High Commander of Leon, secretary to His Imperial Majesty, and member of his Privy Council."

Spanish Holograph. pp. 4.

11 July. **972.** Eustace Chapuys to Mons. de Grandvelle.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 32.

Monseigneur: Finding that it was of no use amplifying and exaggerating the imminent danger of a Turkish invasion with a view of obtaining the help and assistance of these people, but

* "Napoles se debe proveer presto" are the words of the original; but as cardinal Colonna died after the date of Loaysa's letter it must be inferred that the appointment of the marquis de Villafranca [Don Pedro de Toledo] had been made some time before that cardinal's death.

1532.

that all like solicitations would be in vain, I have been of opinion, as the Papal Nuncio had to speak again on the subject, that he should take a different course, and that without alluding either to the forces of the Infidel, or to the dangers of invasion from him, he should, on the contrary, at his next interview with the Duke, magnify the preparations made both by the Emperor and by the Pope, and the hopes entertained of a glorious victory over the enemy. The Nuncio, therefore, has followed my advice, and played his cards so well that instead of disregarding, and almost rejecting his demands, the Duke has thrown out some hopes of assistance, as you will be able to judge by my despatch to the Emperor. Thus, what duty could not effect jealousy at least has in a manner provoked, though I fear that neither sentiment will be of much use in this instance. I have purposely avoided writing to His Imperial Majesty on the subject, or relating in detail the Nuncio's address to the Duke for fear of prolixity, but if there should be any need of explanation, I hope that I have said enough to you at former times to explain satisfactorily my views and the motives of my conduct on this occasion.

A very piteous thing has just happened in the case of a young priest, which I will relate to you.* He had hitherto lived in such honesty and virtue that I really believe there were not two men in England more generally esteemed and loved, his profession being taken into account. It appears that he had received a sum of money in new angelots, which he out of simplicity rather than malice proceeded to sweat or file, fancying perhaps that he could well do it as he occasionally did with the consecrated wafers when he found them too large.† No sooner had he accomplished his task than he went to the goldsmiths to sell the filings of the said angelots, which might be worth about half a crown, and shewed them to three or four of their number to see if he could get one farthing more upon them. He was at last arrested and sent to prison, and though his case excited general pity, and people of all classes interceded for him, the King—who had lately pardoned a Frenchman and tavern keeper for the very same offence—would not hear of any extenuation, and either through his hatred of the priesthood (*theologie*), or to please the Lady [Anne] who, I am told, being requested by her father [the earl of Wiltshire] to intercede in favour of the prisoner, answered that he (the Earl) ought not to speak for a priest of whom there were already too many in this country, rejected the application, and the poor man, after being tried by a civil court, was sentenced to death, and without previous degradation dragged through the streets of this capital and hanged. The above lamentable case will shew you to what extremity the Clergy of this country are reduced!

* "Il est ces jours icy advenu ung cas bien piteable d'ung jeune prestre le quel commist linfortune dont parleray; [il] a vesçu si tres honnetesment," &c.

† "Le quels angelotz il rogne (rogna) pensant par avanture que cella pouvoit yl fere comme yl faysoit aux hosties estant trop grandes."

1532.

Monseigneur: the cardinal of Burgos writes from Naples that he cannot get anything out of the Royal Treasurer's hands for me, and therefore I am obliged to apply urgently for my regular salary in that country (Flanders), about which I am now writing to the Secretary, &c.—London, 11th July [1532].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "A Monseigneur, Monseigneur de Grandvelle."

French. Holograph. pp. 3.

19 July. **973.** CLEMENT VII. to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 52.

The late advices received from my legate [Gambara] at Your Majesty's Court, and which I have no doubt have been forwarded to you from Venice, have sadly afflicted me for they take away from me all hope of being left in peace this present year, and holding an interview with you, which is what I most desire.

If such a calamity, however, as a Turkish invasion is to come upon Christendom I thank God most sincerely that it happens at a time when you find yourself [in Germany] in a position to repel it.

I write at full to the Legate on this matter of the Turk. He will represent to you both my fears and my hopes.

I wish and hope that Your Majesty's late indisposition may have left no traces behind, and that you are in good health.

The clemency which Your Majesty has already begun to use towards the duke of Gravina emboldens me to recommend him so that he may recover both his estate and your favour.—Rome, 19th July 1532.*

Addressed; "Carmo in Cho filio nr̃o, Carolo Romanorum Imperatori semper Augusto."

Latin. p. 1.

19 July. **974.** CARDINAL of SIGUENZA to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 859, f. 48.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 54.

Sanga came to me yesterday with a letter from the Papal Nuncio in France to His Holiness, saying that the ten galleys which His Holiness had asked for against the Turk he (the King) could not and would not furnish. In the first place he mistrusted Andrea Doria; and then the French galleys being inferior in number to the Imperial fleet under that captain they might be badly treated, and if returned to him, would

* Porcacchi in his *Lettere de Principi, &c.*, edition Zirletti, Venetia, 1581, small 4to, published four letters of Clement to the Emperor, dated respectively 7th March, 10th May, 18th June, and 7th July; but they all differ from this one, and relate chiefly to the Council and the affairs of Germany; the date, however, of the one at Simancas was originally, as we are informed, the 29th of May, though subsequently changed by Idiaquez, or another of Charles' secretaries, into 19th July 1532.

1532.

surely be spoiled and in bad condition as were those which he lent on another occasion at the time of the deliverance of his sons. On no account would he now put his galleys in the hands and at the mercy of Andrea Doria; but should the Pope require them for defending the coasts of his Roman estate he would send not 10 but 17 altogether, under the duke of Albany, on condition that His Holiness would put under him the 10 he is arming at Genoa, and the three he has at Rome.

The writer further says that notwithstanding the information conveyed to His Holiness that France is making preparations for war, he could affirm that there was nothing of the sort. He (the Nuncio) knew France well, and could see and judge for himself. There was no possibility of war for the present; the galleys which were thought fit for sea long ago have been found in such a state that although the Admiral was sent for, he has been [at Marseilles] for upwards of two months, and yet not 100 ducats have been spent on them.

The duke of Albany's visit to the court of France had been merely for the purpose of negotiating the Scotch marriages, after that he returned immediately to his own estate.

It was intimated in the letter that the king of France hated the Emperor, and wished him all possible harm. The writer thought that he was in correspondence with the Lutheran princes. The day before a native of Lombardy, who had gone to Germany on behalf of the King, happened to return from that country, but he seemed to know nothing of what he himself had been negotiating.

The Most Christian King, moreover, shewed resentment at the Pope, owing to his having furnished the Switzers with money. He did not believe that was for the purpose of helping Christians but of dividing them.

This is in substance the summary of the news which His Holiness has received from France.

Spanish. Original. pp. .

20 July. **975.** Lope Hurtado* to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 369, f. 163. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 59.

Gave his letter to the king [of Portugal], who shewed great joy, and said he was disposed to serve him [the Emperor] in all ways, though his means (he said) were very small. The King then inquired after his (the Emperor's) health, and was sorry to hear it was not so good as might be wished. He also made many other inquiries, such as the number of his troops, &c., and whether the kings of France and England had answered the calls for help against the Turk made upon them. Answered that he did not know. The King then spoke in very harsh terms about the king of France's behaviour, which he qualified as unchristian, &c.

* Lope Hurtado [de Mendoza ?] had been Imperial ambassador in Portugal ever since August or September 1528, two years after the Emperor's marriage to Isabella of Portugal, the daughter of king Dom Manuel. At this time [in 1532] the throne was occupied by João III., and the Emperor's letter to him must have had reference to the Turkish war.

1532.

Intrigues of the Turk, the Vayvod and German Protestants at the court of France, &c.—Lisbon, 20th July 1532.

Signed: "Lope Hurtado."

Addressed: "To his most Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph in cipher.

24 July. **976.** CARDINAL DE SIGUENZA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, ff. 49–50.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 60.

. . . . . .

Spoke to the Pope about the matrimonial cause of England, as the Emperor's letter prescribed. His Holiness' answer was that he believed the resolution just taken, about which the ambassador (Mai) has no doubt written, could not be improved upon; it was the best that could be taken under the circumstances. Replied that he (Siguenza) was of the same opinion, provided the promises that had been made should be fulfilled. If after the expiration of the holidays no excuses from the King were listened to, unless his mandate for some one to represent him in the principal cause was first exhibited, there could be no doubt that the resolution was a good one. The Pope answered that he promised it most solemnly; on no account would he listen to the representations or excuses of the English unless they produced first a mandate from their king. Should this be so he (Loaysa) will be perfectly contented, because then the King's adulterous union cannot in any way affect the validity of the Queen's marriage, or the Princess, her daughter, in her right to the succession; besides which it will be a good opportunity for bidding the King to separate from his mistress.*—Rome, 24th July 1532.

Signed: "Fr[ater] G[arcia] Card^{lis} Seguntinus."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

27 July. **977.** GIOVANNI ALOYSIO ARAGONA to the SAME.

S. E. L. 857, f. 211.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 61.

Has not written of late expecting that some good resolution would be taken in the cause of the queen of England; but, as Your Majesty has no doubt heard from the ambassadors, the excusator's article having been disputed and decided in our favour, it has been resolved that after these holidays the principal cause shall be proceeded to, and should not the king of England in the meantime appear, or send powers to represent him, steps shall be taken "in contumacia per le contradicte."†

Has for many years acted as advocate to the Emperor, and to his brother, the king of the Romans. Has always done

* "Y quando esto fuere yo seré contento por que entonces el adulterio del Rey no podrá dañar al casamiento de la Reyna ni á la herencia de la Princesa, su hija, y habrá mejor saçon para mandarle que deje la manceba que agora tiene."

† "Et non venendo sopra cio qui sufficiente procura del Re se possa procedere," &c.

1532.

service, most particularly in the Traietto suit,* and in this one of the queen of England, which was entrusted to him from the very beginning. Had to go to Bologna, as the Emperor may recollect, and give his opinion in writing, and then return to Rome, where frequently, in the presence of His Holiness, and of his cardinals, he has had to plead for the Queen, and dispute with the English lawyers, and very lately against three of the latter, who maintained that their king was not obliged to appear at the Roman court, that his excuses ought to be admitted, &c.

Does not make the above statement to ask for reward, but merely that the Emperor may know that he is ready, as also his brother, the Auditor, to serve the Emperor to the utmost of his ability.—Rome, 27th July 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Aloysio de Aragonia."

Addressed: "Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty."

Italian. Original. pp. 2.

28 July. **978.** Dr. Ortiz to the Same.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 156.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 63.

. . . . . .

As it might happen that in the fulfilment of a certain commission which the admiral of Castille [Enriquez] entrusted to him some malignant persons may have reported about him, and accused him of things that never crossed his imagination, he (Ortiz) has by this post sent to the High Commander of Leon, His Majesty's chief secretary, a regular investigation (*informacion*) signed by witness that his own innocence may at once be established.—Rome, 28th July 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 1½.

28 July. **979.** The Same to the Same.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 157.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 65.

I wrote a few days ago that the Consistory of Cardinals had decided that the king of England was to send a mandate not only to excuse himself but to proceed in the principal cause, and that if he did not the case would be tried by contumacy. As the suit could not be resumed until after the vacations, and no time was to be lost, I asked His Holiness for a declaratory brief explaining the words and meaning of the said sentence, in order that at the end of the vacations no detrimental delay should ensue in the matrimonial cause. His Holiness answered that he would, but when I came to remind him of his promise he told me that the brief had been drawn up and enclosed to his Nuncio in England to be notified to the King. I then begged for a copy of it that I might forward it to the Queen for her consolation and comfort, but this the Pope told me was

* "Fra le altre cose occorse di importantia stata la materia traiectense ne la quale io fe bono officio et fo expedita *ad votum*." The duchy of Traietto was claimed by one of the Gonzagas (Luigi, detto *Rodamonte*), about whom see vol. iii., part 2.

1532.

not suitable (*no convenie*). He had ordered his Nuncio in England to notify it to the King only at the opportune moment, and communicate it besides to the Queen. I have accordingly written to the latter as well as to the ambassador (Chapuys), relating my conversation with the Pope, and begging that should the brief be notified in England they should inform me at once in order that no time should be lost here at Rome.

Eustace Chapuys, Your Majesty's ambassador in England, wrote some days ago earnestly requesting me to procure from His Holiness a second brief of excommunication, declaring the King to have incurred that penalty; but as Your Majesty wrote that the Queen was of opinion that the first brief should not be notified, and, therefore, that a second was not needed, and that I was to press for a sentence, I of course obeyed Your Majesty's commands, and paid no attention to the ambassador's request. Chapuys then wrote again with great urgency that if I saw that a sentence could not be obtained before the beginning of the holidays, I was to procure this second declaratory brief, adding that it would be very useful under the circumstances, and that Your Majesty would soon send me orders to that effect. With this letter of Chapuys in my hand I called upon Your Majesty's ambassador here (Miçer Mai), read it to him, and asked his advice on the matter. His answer was: "If you (Ortiz) wish to ask the Pope you may; as for me, I consider the step useless, for His Holiness will never grant our demand."

Went up to His Holiness, reproduced all my arguments, and proved to him that he was in duty bound to excommunicate the King. His Holiness, with changing colour and trembling voice, said: "Since sentence has been given against the King, and he has been summoned to send his mandate it is but just to wait and see what he intends doing, for should he send it, the cause will be proceeded with at once, and if he do not the trial will go on just the same by contumacy (*contradittas*)." I immediately replied that there were two things to be considered: one was the principal matrimonial cause; of that I did not speak since it was going through its judicial terms; the other the mortal sin in which the King was, and chose to remain, having cast away his queen. It is to this sin that I alluded, for which the King had deserved excommunication, &c. Told His Holiness with all due reverence that if he did not excommunicate the king of England I (Ortiz) would stand up on the day of judgment and accuse him before God.

Somewhat moved by this reasoning the Pope said in anguish: "Well, since you insist so much on it, go and consult Ancona and Monte as to how and when the thing is to be done." Replied that the whole matter should be kept a secret that the opposite party might not hear of it, and try, as they are in the habit of doing, their hand at corruption. Since His Holiness had engaged his word there was no need for

1532.

consulting other people thereupon. "I am not a lawyer," replied the Pope, "and upon everything I do in this way I must consult with lawyers."

Perceiving, however, that I could not drive the Pope out of his intrenchment I said: "If Your Holiness will allow me I will consult only with cardinal Ancona." This concession the Pope granted me on condition that I would not call on him until the next day. I went immediately to the ambassador's, related to him my conversation with the Pope, and begged him to call on Ancona that very evening, as I had promised not to see him till next day.

Whether Miçer Mai did or did not call on cardinal Ancona, as requested by me, I do not know; all I can say is that I called next morning and explained the case to him. The Cardinal's answer happened to be the same as that of His Holiness: "We must wait for the King's mandate; after the vacations you yourself will report in the principal cause, and the trial shall be proceeded with; that is my advice." Strongly objected to this opinion, using the same arguments I had employed in my conversation with His Holiness, but to no purpose; the Cardinal said: "You speak as a theologian, but I, as a lawyer, must look to the bearings of the affair." At last I pressed him so hard that he said to me "let me study the whole affair and I will tell you sincerely what I think of it." Then (said I) I will call to-morrow for the answer—I want two or three days to consider the case. When after that lapse of time I called for the answer I was told: "The Cardinal is unwell, and cannot see anyone." To-day I have called again, and have been told that although he is better he will not give audience for the next 10 days. I cannot help thinking that His Holiness is at the bottom of all this, because yesterday, when I called at the Palace I was not received, and was told to return to-day, and when I went thither this morning was informed that His Holiness was under medical treatment and could see no one!! —Rome, 28th July 1532.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 11.

29 July. **980.** Eustace Chapuys to the Same.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 33.

(*Cipher:*) The King was on his way to the Northern counties where he intended to hunt [this autumn], all those who wish him away from this place having incurred great expense in provisions and so forth, when he suddenly changed his purpose, and came back to town. The causes of his return are variously explained. Some say that for the last three or four days after he started on his journey, wherever he went accompanied by the Lady, the people on the road so earnestly requested him to recall the Queen, his wife, and the women especially so insulted the Royal mistress, hooting and hissing on her passage, that he was actually obliged to retrace his

1532.

steps.* Others fancy that it is on account of some movement of the Scotch, who have lately made a raid across the Northern frontier, and among other damage done, have slain one of this king's captains; with this additional circumstance that the Scotch raid commenced when the ambassadors of king James had already been four days in England asking for the restitution of the town and castle of Berwick. Again some people say that the cause of this king's sudden return to town is that he wishes to break off his former engagements and to favour the King's enemy, the earl of Angus. But I heard yesterday, and again to-day from a very authentic source, that the chief cause of the King's sudden return is that he wishes to be prepared for the interview, now in contemplation, between him and the king of France, at Calais, on the last day of September next, and that the six or eight vessels which three days ago he ordered to be got ready with all haste are destined to escort him to the said port of Calais, though, on the other hand, it is publicly announced that the armament is really meant against the Scots. I must say that, though the information comes from a very good source, this last plan does not seem to me at all probable. I have, nevertheless, deemed it necessary to acquaint Your Majesty with all these rumours, for, as I hear from the same person who brought me the news, the whole thing has hitherto been kept a most profound secret, so much so that treasurer Febblien (Fitzwilliam), who is one of the King's Privy Councillors, knew nothing about it until three days ago. In addition to which a respectable man (*un homme de bien*), who had not heard of the said interview to take place at Calais, has just called and brought me news that the duke of Orleans is to come here, and the duke of Richmont is to go to France (an exchange by the way, which seems rather unequal), and that negotiations have already commenced with this king respecting certain plans [and alliances] which having been long ago abandoned cannot be speedily reconstructed.† The French ambassador himself, who counted upon his accompanying the king during the whole of the summer excursion, and had actually started, will be here to-morrow, and it is rumoured that the cause of his sudden return is no other than a skirmish he has had with the King concerning the Scotish affair, which he was unable to adjust during his last journey to France, in the manner this king could have wished, and he himself had promised since his return to town. I shall do my best to procure information on this point, that Your Majesty may be early apprized of the intentions of this king and Court.

* "Les ungs dient que cest pour ce que pour deux ou trois iours ou il auoit commence de passer, il auoit este requis bien instamment de la part du peuple de uouloir reprendre la royne, et les femmes avoyent crye estrangement apres la dame, luy disant mille iniures et vituperes."

† "Ils ont commence de laborer du roy choses que ne sont si tost rabiliees car elles sont bien desmarrees et caduques."

1532.

Meanwhile, it would appear that in consequence of despatches received from Rome, or fearing perhaps that the Pope is about to issue certain letters of monition compelling him to recall the Queen to Court and cast away the Lady, the King, it is said, has lately shewn his temper in a most remarkable way, and often said in public that he could not tolerate His Holiness treating him in the manner he had done hitherto. The Pope (he said) had no power over him, and he was therefore determined to accomplish this new marriage with the greatest possible solemnity and pomp. He has, I am told, issued orders for suitable preparations to be made against such an event, and Tallebot (Talbot), who is a sort of Grand Master, and has some other pre-eminence at the coronation of queens, has been sent for. No one of those present when the King made the above declaration dared remonstrate in the least, though all were exceedingly displeased at the time, and the courtiers greatly scandalized for fear he (the King) might carry his plan into execution. Though this is not probable, I have taken care to warn the Queen that she may guard against the King's threats, and watch every opportunity to arrest the intended blow.

I hear from Paris that just at this moment, and by the advice of Parliament, two conclusions have been debated and carried there, namely: that according to, and by right Divine, the Pope could not excommunicate the king of France. Also that no female could legally obtain and possess the kingdom. The debate on these matters, as I can hear, has been instituted and carried out at the express request of this king* for the purpose and with the intention which Your Majesty's great wisdom will understand much better than I can describe. Had the Pope taken his measures at the beginning, when the Parisian doctors dared dispute his authority on the divorce question, all this might have been avoided.—London, 29th July 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original entirely in cipher. pp. 4.

29 July. **981.** Miçer Miguel Mai to the Same.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 123.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 71.

As I have informed Your Majesty in former despatches all last Lent and the summer months have been spent in publicly debating this question of the excusator and ambassador of the king of England, they pretending that their excuses ought to be admitted by right, especially because at the end of the audiences they introduced an article about the Turk's threatened invasion, whereon they founded their arguments

* "Je suis aduerty de paris que ces iours ont este par ladueu (*sic*) du parlement disputez deux conclusions assçauoir que par et selon le droit diuin le pape ne pouoit excommunier le roy de france. Item que nulle femme estoit habille ne capable a tenir ne posseder royaulme, la quelle dispute, a ce que ientende, a este dresse et promue a linstance de ce roy."

1532.

for their king not appearing at Rome, we alleging the contrary on the side of the Queen, in fact as well as in right. Whilst we were expecting sentence on this last article His Holiness in Consistory decreed that should the king of England at the re-opening of the audiences not send proper mandate to represent him, the cause would be legally proceeded with notwithstanding the excusations and all other reasons alleged by his agents. This Papal decree has been intimated to the English [excusator] by means of a brief, although in my opinion this step is quite superfluous, since the decree itself brings execution. I should have liked to notify it myself, but the Pope's people would not give it to me.* After all it comes to the same thing as the sentence we asked for, and I fancy that they have made out the brief in this manner for two reasons: the first and principal one out of consideration for the King, and that he may thus be induced to send his mandate, and give commission to some one to represent him before the Rota; the other that they may themselves take advantage of these vacations (*ferias*) and not be importuned by us, as they have been of late years, with incessant petitions for the cause to proceed during them. As I know perfectly well that had I again made such an application nowadays it would have been refused, I have not insisted, and am satisfied with the brief, in the hope that at the re-opening of the audiences the principal cause will be proceeded with, and that unless some new obstacle stops the way a sentence will be obtained by next Christmas. Besides which the Pope has pledged to me his most solemn word that immediately after the vacations the proceedings shall be resumed, so that, although he has singularly failed hitherto in his promises, I have reason to think that this time at least he is in earnest.

Meanwhile I am doing all that is proper for the good issue of the Queen's cause. Just recently a messenger of secretary Joan Garcia, whose name is Miguel Perez de Olivan, has brought me some allegations written by a consummate theologian [of Bologna], which allegations the partisans of the king of England have tried hard to prevent coming into my possession. Miguel Perez, who is a student at that University, has behaved very well on this occasion. Some time before he sent to the Empress another set of allegations written by a lawyer of that city.† In fact we all are getting ready against the resumption of the proceedings.

---

* "Y este decreto se le he (ha ?) intimado con un breve, aunque para mi no hace al caso, pues trahe consigo la execucion, bien que quisiera yo intimarselo, sino que no me lo quisieron dar."

† The passage is somewhat obscure: "Y agora de nuevo un embiado (criado ?) del Sec. Joan Garcia, que se llama Miguel Perez de Olivan, me ha embiado unas allegaciones de un gran theologo que me querian desviar los fauctores del Serenissimo Rey [de Inglaterra], y este mancebo que estudia en Bolonia lo ha hecho muy bien, y ya otra vez embio otras de un legista de alli a la Mag^{d}. de la Emperatriz."

1532.

The second brief has been lost, nobody knows where or by whom; the loss, however, is of no great consequence just now, for if we have to wait until the re-opening of the audiences, which will be on the 1st of October, to see whether the King will or will not send his mandate—which last would be far better for the good of the cause—the brief in reality is not wanted. These people say that all this has been done not to over irritate the King.—Rome, 29th July 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

9 Aug. **982.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S.E. *Aleman.* L. 636, ff. 168–9. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 75.

The Turk was not at Buda on the day of Santiago as reported. The overflow of the Danube seems to have prevented him.

Now that it is ascertained that the Turk is marching against Germany many gentlemen and knights come from all parts of the Empire, and principally from those Spanish dominions of ours to join in this war.

Rodrigo Enriquez has arrived in Genoa.

News of the Imperial fleet.

Is well aware of the great financial difficulties under which Spain is labouring, but nevertheless must insist upon having the money he has asked for.

Is satisfied that in all churches and convents daily prayers be said for the delivery of Christendom from the most dreadful scourge that ever fell on it.

The king of Portugal (Dom João III.) has been asked to give assistance.

The frontiers of the kingdom on the side of France to be carefully watched.

The services of Lic^te^ Pisa in the "Quarta" and in the matrimonial cause of England will be fully acknowledged and remunerated. A copy of the work which he says he has written for the good administration of those our kingdoms must be sent that it may be examined by competent persons. Let it not be printed until our Council give him permission.*

On Saturday last, the 27th of July, the Diet was closed. An agreement was come to with the duke of Saxony and his adherents on matters of Faith, so that all the estates of the German confederation have now made their submission and promised, among other things, to keep the peace throughout the sacred Empire, and help against the Turk, in which last service those who, owing to their differences in matters of Faith once made difficulties, are now shewing as good inclination as the rest, as well as in the general affairs of the Empire, and

* Curia Pisana; Medina del Campo, 1548, 4^to^. *Juan Rodriguez de Pisa, corregidor of Granada* was its author.

1532.

chiefly in those which concern the administration of justice, and policy of towns. The question of Faith and Christian religion being referred to the next General Council or in another way to the Imperial diet, it has been agreed that until then no innovation shall be made or allowed.—Ratisbon, 9th August, 1532.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original in cipher. Deciphering by the Empress' secretary. pp. 5.

21 Aug. **983.** MEMORANDUM respecting the SWISS CANTONS.

S. E. L. 1,559, f. 63.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585. f. 77.

The ambassador who went to Switzerland writes that the king of France excuses himself, saying that if he asked for a number of men to be enlisted, it was not for an attack on the Turks, but merely to defend Provence in case that Infidel should make a descent on that coast. He, nevertheless, assures them that he is concerting with the king of England the means of successfully attacking the enemy of Christendom.

After all neither the "heretical" nor the "Christian" cantons of Switzerland intend sending troops to the French king; on the contrary, they seem disposed to help the duke of Savoy (Carlo). The Emperor can at any time take them into his pay, if he wishes. The Swiss are to hold a Diet on the 3rd of September next at Basilea (Basle) and expect that an Imperial ambassador will go thither as commissary.

Indorsed: "The memorandum sent to Rome with the despatch of the 21st August 1532."

Spanish. Original draft. English abstract by Bergenroth. p. 1.

21 Aug. **984.** DR. ORTIZ to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 158.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 78.

Wrote some days ago reporting on the state of the matrimonial cause, and of His Holiness' answer, confirmed also by cardinal Ancona, when requested to issue the second declaratory brief. It is evident to him (Ortiz) that when so learned a lawyer and canonist as cardinal Ancona says that he wants three or four days to study the case, and to give an answer, these Romans are looking out for an excuse to have it delayed. Already Ancona is indisposed, or feigns to be so, and whenever he (Ortiz) calls at his hotel, the answer is that he is not well and can receive no one. On the other hand, His Holiness has lately been suffering from fever and ague, and although he is already free from it he has not given him audience. Hopes, however, that he will have one soon and convince the Pope of the necessity of issuing at once the second declaratory brief, for if His Holiness do not excommunicate the king of England this time, as he is bound to do, he (Ortiz) can do nothing in the principal cause.

1532.

Is afraid that all this delay is only intended for the purpose of letting the king of England know of it, the more so that insisting since, as he (Ortiz) has done, upon the brief being made out and sent, he has never been able to see the Pope again, whilst his opponents the English are daily admitted to his presence. This would shew that His Holiness has betrayed the secret he was bound to keep, and has told the English of the danger that menaces them. If so he has not acted well, for it was agreed between them that the whole thing should be kept a profound secret until the brief was made out and actually executed. Is also afraid that in consequence of this the Queen will be worse treated, though cardinal Burgos (Don Iñigo de Mendoça) maintains that there is no fear of that, and that the more favourable her cause at Rome and the chance of success greater, the more esteemed and honoured will the Queen be in England.

Since the above was written he (Ortiz) has had an audience from His Holiness. Relates his conversation and his arguments to persuade the Pope of the necessity of issuing the declaratory brief for the King's excommunication. Said to him, among other things, that king Henry was living in mortal sin, and that he (the Pope) would be answerable before God on the day of judgment if he did not immediately fulminate against him the censures of the Church. The Pope said in answer, that in his opinion the king of England was sinning mortally, but many might say that the custom in England was for kings to be on friendly and intimate terms with the ladies [of the Court], and that it would be impossible to prove that the King had any other connexion with the Lady. As to his not leading a conjugal life with his queen the King could easily excuse himself on that head with conscientious scruples, &c.

Replied suitably to the above objections, until at last the Pope said: "Draw out the brief and bring it to me." "It is already drawn out and Your Holiness saw it eight months ago after it had been approved of by cardinal Ancona. Having been considered too diffuse and rather strongly worded, it was corrected by Blosio and with Ancona's approbation put on one side when it was thought of trying first the brief of monition." "Well then," replied His Holiness, "let Ancona and Monte examine the minute again that it may be in order."

With this promise he (Ortiz) has called three times upon the secretary (Blosio), who tells him he cannot lay his hand upon the draft that he made at the time; his (Ortiz's) will not do because Blosio says it must be written in his own individual style. Begged him to make another; has promised that he will if he cannot find the first. Cannot help thinking, however, that it will be some time before the brief is put into his (Ortiz's) hands, and that he will be obliged to see the Pope about it more than once.

One of the signs of the pertinacious adherence with which

1532.

heretics generally hold to their erroneous opinions is, according to theologians, that those who preach erroneous doctrines in matters of religion are generally favoured, whilst those who preach Catholic truth are incarcerated and persecuted, as happens in these our miserable times in England, for Master Abel writes from that country, that he has been persecuted and imprisoned because, taking up the Queen's part, he has refuted the arguments brought forward in other sermons. Shewed His Holiness Master Abel's letter, and asked him for a brief forbidding, under pain of excommunication, to preach against the marriage pending the suit, and also to give the said Abel the title of Apostolic preacher. Has promised that he will, and ordered the minutes to be made out accordingly, &c.—Rome, 21st August 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

21 Aug. **985.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S.E. L. *Rom.* 858, f. 159.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 84.

Is in receipt of two of his letters of the 21st of June and 2nd of August.

The matrimonial cause of England is in the state described in the despatch to the Emperor to which he refers.—Rome, 21st August 1532.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious the High Commander of Leon, secretary and councillor to the Emperor."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

26 Aug. **986.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 37.

My letter of the 11th inst. must have acquainted Your Majesty with the proposed interview of these two kings at Calais, for the accomplishment of which several ships and other smaller craft are being fitted out. They say that almost all the grand officers (*grans maystres*) in the kingdom, four bishops, namely, London, Bath, Lincoln, and Winchester, and 200 or 300 gentlemen have received orders to be at Canterbury on the 25th of September next. The whole suite will consist of 3,000 or 4,000 persons. Though the ambassador of France, when he last called on me, assured me most positively that there would be no ladies at the interview, neither on this side nor on the other, yet I am rather inclined to think otherwise considering the great preparations the Lady Anne is making, and the long train of female servants she is getting ready for the expedition, *as the Queen informs me for a fact.* Indeed, I find there is a rumour afloat that the first meeting will take place at Boulogne, and that thence the two kings will go to Calais, where they will not make a long

1532.

stay, for I am told that the provision ordered from the royal purveyors for both kings at Calais is only for four days. Respecting the matters to be discussed or treated at the said meeting, I must own that hitherto I have been unable to learn anything besides what I mentioned in my last despatch to Your Imperial Majesty; *only that they are beginning to speak more openly and distinctly of a marriage between this king and the eldest daughter of France, and that there have been heavy bets offered by merchants of the latter nation that the said marriage will take place. But in my humble opinion, if the French really entertain such a hope, they must be most egregiously mistaken, or else the Lady* [*Anne*] *must be labouring under a strange delusion, for she considers herself so sure of success that not later than a week ago she wrote a letter to her principal friend and favourite here, whom she holds as sister and companion, bidding her get ready against this journey and interview, where, she says, that which she has been so long wishing for will be accomplished.*

Several days ago I *represented to the Papal Nuncio how injurious it would be for the authority and reputation of the Holy Apostolic See, and how humiliating for the Pope himself, if either of the two marriages above alluded to should be arranged at this meeting, for the French king would then become a party to it, and His Holiness be obliged either to act unjustly towards the Queen and her adherents, or else provoke the enmity of these two kings. I proved to him that this dangerous dilemma arose solely from the Pope's delay in having the case tried and determined, and that the only remedy consisted in a prompt and definitive sentence affording the king of France sufficient excuse and opportunity for not complying with the wishes of this one; or else that His Holiness should at once decree comminatory briefs so as to prevent altogether the negotiations for either marriage.*

These arguments of mine the *Papal Nuncio* has found good, reasonable, and opportune. He has actually written home for greater security through two different channels, and I have no doubt that *should a few ships be armed in Flanders under some pretence or other the interview would not take place, for these people would naturally take umbrage at such an armament, and try to increase the number of their ships, and in the meantime the season for navigating would pass, and the proposed meeting not take place to the great disappointment of some of the parties concerned.* Such is my opinion in this affair, and I beg to be excused, if not having been consulted upon such matters, I make bold to propose the means of preventing the interview of these two kings; my ardent wish to serve Your Imperial Majesty compels me to it.

About five days ago the duke of Norfolk came to town accompanied only by four of his servants. He supped

1532.

(*souppa ce soir*) that evening with the ambassador of France, and whilst at table declared that the King, his master, could not do him a greater pleasure than to allow him to join Your Majesty's camp with a number of armed men. This statement the Duke repeated several times. Next morning he returned to Court, and, as I can learn, his object in coming to town was to persuade the contractors for the customs' duties to advance upon them a sum of 100,000 crs. towards the expenses of this journey. He said to the Nuncio, who went to call on him early on that morning, that there had certainly been some talk of a meeting of the two kings at Calais, but that the affair was not quite settled, and that if the King, his master, went to Dover it would be merely for the purpose of seeing the docks he is having constructed in that port, and that from thence he purposed to cross over to Calais, in order to inspect certain fortifications already raised, and others which he intends raising. The king of France (he said) having accomplished his tour in Brittany was about to return to Paris, and both kings being thus so close to each other he had no doubt that an interview might easily be arranged, but he (the Duke) did not hesitate to say that nothing would be treated of at the meeting likely to affect the peace and repose of Christendom.

The Duke said no more to the Nuncio, but the dean of the Chapel (Sampson), now one of the Privy Council, who came to visit me the other day—a great wonder indeed under present circumstances—held the very same language and seemed to me to regret that this king had not contributed towards the expenses of the Turkish war, though he observed there was still some hope of his doing something on behalf of Christendom in union with the French king, who, he said, was very well disposed. The Dean then asked me whether I thought it would be easy to stir up rebellion in Syria, and wrest it from the Turk, *which question makes me suspect that the two kings may have agreed to propose an invasion of that province.* The Dean also said that although England had not yet given any material aid to Your Imperial Majesty the spiritual had certainly not been spared, since all classes of society had been daily praying God for the prosperity and success of your arms. This last, in particular, the King seems to desire most just now *against his general custom*; *whether he dissembles, or is really in earnest, I cannot say,* but certain it is that for some time past he has done nothing but praise Your Majesty's virtues and magnanimity, and the great efforts you are making against the Turk. *It may be that he says all this intentionally and in order to make people believe that the journey he is about to undertake, and his interview with the king of France, are not for any hostile purposes against Your Majesty.* The King, however, may dissemble, and do or say what he likes, he will hardly find people to agree to this journey; all those who are to accompany him go against their

1532.

will, and people talk about the contemplated interview in the most savage way (*en sauvage sorte*).

The King has not yet decided who is to govern during his absence. They talk of Millort Fiçuatre (Fitzwalter) and Millort Burguen (Bourchier).* Nobody knows yet whether the Queen, who is now living at a house of the bishop Dily (of Ely), 17 miles from this city, will be removed anywhere else. She has lately had great cause for sorrow, owing to a chaplain of hers having been arrested by order of the King and taken before the Duke, and thence to the Tower, in consequence of his having published a very able book in English in her favour; and the King has ordered an inquiry to be made respecting the copies (*livres*) sold, and to whom, that they may be all seized and destroyed, and all traces of it disappear, for the book touches him to the quick. The King, moreover, has had the said book examined by the university of Auffort (Oxford); but the doctors find nothing in it worthy of censure, and surely had not the book been forbidden, people might† have been influenced by it.—London, 26th August 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 4.

28 Aug. **987.** MEMORANDUM of T. CRANMER, ambassador of England.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 242. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 85.

The king of England, my master, cannot but lament that an occasion has been given to the most cruel emperor of the Turks to assail Christendom. Besides his malice and inveterate ill-will against the Christians, the Turk has been goaded and irritated beyond measure. The King laments the more this provocation unnecessarily offered to the Infidel, that he himself, like a Christian prince, has been and will always be ready to take up arms for the defence of threatened Christendom. He would not have hesitated in the present instance to send 30,000 of his own subjects properly equipped and armed to fight the Infidel, had he not known from experience, as well as from the knowledge he has of the character and condition of the English, that they would never support the fatigues of so long a journey to distant lands. On the other hand, the King, my master, is well aware that preparations on a large scale are being made here, in Germany, so that should the Infidel dare to invade this country he is sure to meet with confusion and defeat. For this reason the King, my master, deems it unnecessary—nay superfluous—to send hither any army of his own.

* "Encore na estably le roy que (qui) demourroit içy gouverneur; yl se parle de millord fiçuuatre et de millort burghen; lon ne scayt ausy si le roy fera remuer la royne quest en une mayson de leuesque dyly a xvii miles diçy." It is not easy to determine who the two noblemen were to whom Henry intended leaving the government of the kingdom during his short absence. By an effort of imagination, however, we might be inclined to suppose that Fiçuatre is meant for Fitzwalter, and Burguen (perhaps the original read Burguer) for John Bourchier, lord Berners, or for Bourke, earl of Clanricarde, also called De Burghe.

† "Mays yls ne sçavent que mordre, et certes si le dit livre neust este prohibe le peuple eust este en dangier de se garbougler."

1532.

As to the defence of other Christian countries threatened by the Infidel, my master knows very well partly from what he has himself read in history, and also from his own experience, that the kings of England, his predecessors, when they have not personally attended such expeditions have nevertheless spent their treasures upon them, thus performing a duty most pleasing to God and man, and thereby gaining considerable fame for themselves.* But he knows also that far from their deriving any personal benefit from such expeditions against the Infidel the kings who preceded him on the throne have thereby rather afforded a cause for domestic troubles and civil wars.

Owing to the above considerations the King, my master, has resolved not to send his army to Germany, but should the Turk be prosperous, and invade other countries of Christendom—especially those which have not the same means of defence as the German Empire, and where his assistance may be of use—he is fully determined on the very first intelligence of such an event to hasten thither at the head of his forces, and act most vigorously against the foe of Christendom and for the service of God and the Christian community, which intention his dearest brother the king of France and himself have signified more than once to His Holiness.—Ratisbon, 28th August, 1532.†

Latin. Contemporary copy. pp. 2½.

— Aug. **988.** Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 858, f. 160.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 91.

Ever since my arrival at Rome I have refrained from acquainting Your Lordship or any other person, except perhaps the most reverend archbishop of Santiago de Compostella [Tavera], with certain facts connected with the matrimonial cause of England, and my most humble person. In addition to the anxiety and trouble to which I have been subjected in consequence of the horrible injustice which the Queen and the whole of the Christian Church are suffering, a new source of trouble has accrued to me in the conduct of the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) towards myself. I should have thought that in all matters connected with the matrimonial cause, and which were evidently conducive to, or necessary for, its success, I might, after consulting with the ambassador and begging his permission, speak to His Holiness, hear what he had to say, and afterwards communicate with him (Mai) as to the result, as I have done up to this time.

The other day having asked him to procure me an audience from His Holiness—who (I said) was receiving at all hours

* "Cum non sint profecti ipsi se bona thesaurosque contulerunt suos, non modo nihil profecerunt, quin potius materiam suppeditarunt deterioribus consiliis ineundis ac promovendis."

† Cranmer's letter is not signed, but its indorsement being: "Quod per Oratorem Serenissimi Regis Angliæ exhibitum fuit Ratisponæ die 28 Augusti 1532," I have not hesitated to assign it to Thomas Cranmer before he was raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and during his mission to Germany.

1532.

the French and English ambassadors—Miçer Mai said to me: "I have told you since the beginning that your commission here does not empower you to treat of this business with His Holiness, but merely with the Imperial solicitors and advocates under my direction, and by my orders. If I have hitherto tolerated your acting otherwise it has been merely out of consideration for your personal character and profession." No wonder at the Pope being chary of granting me audiences if Miçer Mai has spoken to him in this way of the nature of my commission!

My answer to the ambassador was that if he considered my solicitations and requests inconvenient or out of season, and actually commanded me not to see the Pope, I would remain at home, studying as I used to do at the Sorbonne; but that unless he could absolutely prove them to be irrelevant or detrimental to the principal cause I should with his permission, or without it, prosecute them, as well as my reports to Court, having received particular orders and instructions to keep the Empress, the most reverend cardinal of Santiago, the queen of England, and the Imperial ambassador in that country (Chapuys) "au courant" of every incident in the suit. I nevertheless begged and entreated him to make use of me, as it was not just that I should gain a salary without work. Even if I had no express commission from Your Majesty for this affair, he ought to give me permission to talk like *unus de ecclesia Dei sancta*, whom a cause of this kind concerns surely as much, and perhaps more than the English excusator, who, when he was here without mandate from his king, talked like *unus de populo*, and yet was always listened to, whereas I myself have been insulted by refusal of audiences, &c.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1 Sept. **989.** The SAME to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 858, f. 161.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 93.

I said the other day to the Pope that I thanked God and him for his decision to send out the declaratory brief. His answer was that the brief would certainly be signed and sent, but on condition that no use should be made of it until after the holidays, when it could be seen whether the king of England intended sending his mandate or not. After the lapse of that period, whether the King's mandate came or not, the declaratory brief would be used for the purpose of restoring the Queen to the possession of her conjugal rights.* Perceiving, however, that I could not possibly get more from the Pope, that the term fixed is comparatively short, and that there seems to be some reason for expecting that the King's mandate will be ultimately produced, and, moreover, that so much labour and time has been already spent in procuring the said

* "Pero que pasado este tiempo en que le ha de presentar [el dicho mandato], agora le presente ó no le presente, es contento que se use de este breve declaratorio hasta que la Serenissima Reyna sea restituyda en la posesion de sus derechos matrimoniales."

1532.

declaratory brief, I contented myself with what I had got, and will now work for its being ready against the appointed time. The viceroy of Naples, marquis de Villafranca, who was then at Rome,* did likewise speak on the subject, and His Holiness promised most solemnly that it should be ready immediately after the holidays. I should have wished that the brief itself had been delivered into my hands for me to forward to the Emperor under protest that no use should be made of it until the appointed time. I have asked, and will go on asking for it, but I doubt whether my petition will be granted.—Rome, 1st September 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Empress."

Indorsed: "To His Majesty. From Dr. Hortiz (*sic*) 1st September 1532."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

2 Sept. **990.** The SAME to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 858, f. 162.
M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 97.

His letter of the 22nd ult° has been duly received. Thanks him for having read to the Emperor his report on the Ureña case.

With respect to the Queen's cause, he (Ortiz) has written at length both to the Emperor and to the Empress. Has nothing to add, except that His Holiness says he has sent a brief to the king of England admonishing him to send his mandate, and that his (the King's) ambassadors say that the brief has not been received, and, moreover, that in virtue of the judicial powers here instituted, it is required that the sentence which the Pope said had been given in Consistory should be formally confirmed (*se ponga por decreto*), and be entered into the register book, and communicated to the party. He (Ortiz) has frequently spoken to the ambassador (Mai) about this, and yesterday he answered that the sentence was already written by the Datary, who is now the notary of the cause. Though he (Ortiz) had no reason whatever to doubt the ambassador's statement, yet he went to the Datary and inquired about it. His answer was that there had been no sentence at all, and that nothing had been put down in writing; the decision of the Consistory was not a judicial sentence, but merely an explanation of the cardinals' views on the subject, to be notified to the king of England. He (Ortiz) is exceedingly sorry at this, and intends speaking again to the ambassador, for they

* "Que al presente estava aqui" says the copy of Simancas, but "estava" (was) cannot go with the adverb "al presente;" probably the writer meant *que entonces estaba aqui*. Indeed Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis de Villafranca, made his entry into Naples on the 4th of September 1532; cardinal Colonna, whom he succeeded as viceroy, having died on the 10th (?) of July, the government of the kingdom remained in the hands of Ferrante d'Aragona, duke of Montalto, as president of the Collateral Council. *See* Giannone, *Dell' Istoria Civile del Regno di Napoli*, vol. iv., lib. xxxi., p. 43.

1532.

may have deceived him. His Lordship will then send his instructions, because the fear of the opposite party appealing is not, in his (Ortiz') opinion, a sufficient cause to put off the due notification of the Consistorial decision by sentence and decretal, for the English are sure to do so afterwards, if the matter is not now fairly determined by a decree.

These things had better not be communicated to the Queen for fear she should receive pain.—Rome, 2nd September 1532.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

4 Sept. **991.** Miçer Mai to the Same.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 89.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 108.

After closing the other despatch of the same date, the new viceroy of Naples arrived and alighted at the Palace, as the Pope said that he wished to do him honour, and that at the same time the Romans should witness the great regard and esteem he entertained for all of us, the Emperor's ministers. After spending three days there the Marquis* moved to cardinal Siguenza's hotel, where he was entertained three more days. The day before his departure the Marquis returned to the Palace to take leave of the Pope, and visited the cardinals as well those devoted to the Emperor (*los de la devocion Cesarea*) as those of the contrary party, and it seems that he has left a favourable impression with them.

At his first audience from the Pope, at which I was present, the Viceroy was told the very words which His Holiness said to me on a previous occasion, namely, that he would never grant the "decimas" to the French; but I do not believe a word of it, for certainly the French ambassador is as assiduous at the Palace as before, has his free entry at all hours, and appears to be much satisfied and contented. Nor am I inclined to believe either, though His Holiness may take his oath upon it, that there being nowadays a talk of an interview between the kings of France and England, His Holiness is likely willingly to offend his ambassador, &c.

The French ambassador told the Pope that the death of the prince of Denmark was much to be lamented, inasmuch as he was a youth of great promise,† and because should his

* Don Pedro de Toledo, marquis of Villafranca, who, after the death of Pompeo Colonna, was appointed viceroy of Naples. Colonna died, as we have seen (p. 500), in July. Don Pedro was the second son of Don Fadrique Alvarez de Toledo, second duke of Alva, and the brother of the more celebrated Don Fernando, the governor of the Low Countries in Philip the Second's time. The title of Villafranca, which he used, came to him through his wife, Doña Maria Osorio Pimentel, only daughter and heir of Luis Pimentel, marquis de Villafranca del Vierzo.

† Frederic, duke of Sleswig and Holstein in 1482, king of Denmark and Norway in 1523, after the dethronement of Christiern II., did not die until the 13th April 1533. He had a sister, Margaret, who as early as 1470 was married to James III. of Scotland. Mai must have singularly confounded dates and events in this instance, for otherwise it is not easy to reconcile the fact of a prince of Denmark giving great hopes, and having besides a sister, who might have been given in marriage to James V., dying in 1532? The only construction I can put on this passage is to suppose that Christiern, who was still living, though dethroned, and was married to Isabella, the sister of Charles V., might still be considered by Mai as rightful sovereign of Denmark, and that he had a son, who died in 1532, and gave great hopes, &c.

1532.

sister be given in marriage to the king of the Scots (James), his alliance with that country might possibly be disturbed.* Not knowing how things stand about this matter, nor whether it would be convenient just at present to allude to a marriage, I have avoided taking any engagements (*no me he querido prendar á ninguna cosa*), but I have told cardinal Ravenna to write to Scotland, and suggest to them this alliance, as if it came from him, that they (the Scots) may make overtures, &c. But should the marriage seem feasible and convenient at the Imperial Court I should advise more activity in this affair, because otherwise the Scots will never of themselves bring that affair to conclusion.

The Pope also assured the Viceroy that he had not granted, and would not grant, the tithe to France, and I believe it if the difficulties they make about granting this half annat, the bulls for which, after the approving of the draft have been made and remade ten times, be taken into consideration, &c.

(*Cipher:*) With regard to the English cause His Holiness declared that at the re-opening of the audiences it would be proceeded with without interruption, whether the King's mandate had come or not. As His Holiness has often given me the same assurances I naturally reminded him of his promise at the time. He said he would fulfil his engagement, and added that he had heard from his Nuncio (Baron de Borgho) that Parliament had been convoked for next October, wherein some measures were to be proposed and voted against the authority of the Apostolic See, and that for fear of that he had caused two briefs to be made out, one admonishing the King to forbear, the other commanding the English prelates not in any wise to consent to or tolerate such an attempt. His Holiness further said that these English ambassadors and lawyers (*letrados*) were about to send one of their number to England to inform the King of the state of the cause, and where truth and justice really lie: that the bishop of London (Stockesley), the same who two years ago inveighed so much against the Queen here, and did so much harm, had changed his mind, and voluntarily withdrawn from Court, and he (the Pope) was of opinion that Your Imperial Majesty ought by all means keep on good terms with the duke of Norfolk, as he might be of great assistance, being, as he is, the master key of these French negotiations.

The Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys), and the Queen's ministers apply for a declaratory brief confirming the first. I have asked His Holiness for it, and the Viceroy [of Naples], admonished by me, did the same. The Pope's answer was: "Let us wait till October, because if the King appear by proxy at the cause the brief will not be required, and the cause itself can be soon got over. If he do not, then it shall be given." For this reason the Pope was of

* "Y tambien dize que le dixo que le pesaba mucho de la muerte del Principe de Datia, por que era señor de mucha esperança y porque agora dando la hermana por muger al de Scotia les destorbarian sus tratados."

1532.

opinion (and I feigned also to share it) that the brief ought to be kept back until then, especially the delay obtained being so short. I am afraid, however, that if the king of England persist in disobeying the Pope's injunctions on this point no second brief will ever be issued, though doctor Ortiz maintains that whenever he speaks to His Holiness on the subject he fails not to promise it.

Respecting the levies, the Pope said he thought that Switzers would on the present occasion be better than Germans for many reasons which the Viceroy approved of entirely. To-morrow Salviati, the ambassador of the duke of Milan, and I (Mai) are to meet and decide what quota each is to pay for the support of the 7,000 men.

A chief from Friburg has arrived here* apparently on other business; he has unbosomed himself to the Pope and offered to help the Verulan in his mission. They say that this man has great power and influence over his countrymen; until now he followed the party of France, but it would appear that he has lately been moved to devotion, and has of his own accord come and made these offers. The Pope has accepted his services with much alacrity, and he has now left for his native city. The last intelligence is that the French are asking the Swiss for a number of men to resist the Turks in case Your Majesty should be defeated by them; but their intrigues and devices are so well known in Italy nowadays that there is no honest man who does not hate their king, and wishes that God and Your Majesty may give him the punishment he deserves.

Advices having come by way of Brindisi that the Turkish fleet had actually been withdrawn and the privateers dismissed, I asked the Pope to permit that the part of the force now at Anchona (Ancona), before being disbanded, should go to Clissa, and dismantle its castle and the new fortifications erected by the Turk. The Pope said it was difficult to obtain a sufficient number of vessels for the passage of the men, but promised to see to it. To my great astonishment, next day he sent orders to Ancona to disband the whole force, on the plea that the soldiers were laying the surrounding country waste, ravishing the women, and committing all manner of excesses. In the march alone [to Ancona] only they had sacked and destroyed three villages, &c.

Having read in one of the letters of the cardinal bishop of Trent to Miçer Andrea del Burgo that cardinal [Ippolito de'] Medici refused to spend the money the Pope has given him save on the 10,000 Hungarian light horse, and that he wanted to give them a uniform and other superfluities† I went and apprized the Pope thereof. His answer was that his instructions were

* "Un capo parte de los de friburgo es llegado aqui por otros negocios," &c.

† "Como el cardinal de Medicis no queria gastar sino en los x^{m} cavallos hungaros, y que les queria dar livrea y otras liviandades."

1532.

to spend his money at the will of the Emperor and of the king of the Romans.* The truth is that His Holiness promised us that over and above the money for the payment of the said 10,000 light horse he would give his nephew, the Cardinal, a certain sum to meet other expenses. We have reminded him of his promise, and if he attend to it much will be gained.

Miçer Andrea del Burgo has been and is still dangerously ill. I do not think he will recover. It might be advisable to think beforehand of some worthy personage capable of replacing him in this embassy to the satisfaction of the king of the Romans and of the Emperor, the more so that there is at present here a man named Fray Fonsecha (Fonseca), who pretends that in the event of Burgo's death he is to succeed him. I fancy that the Friar is better suited for other work than diplomacy. At any rate I beg Your Lordship to represent this in the proper quarter, for though I may again be the sufferer, as I was once with the High Chancellor [Gattinara] and others, I will never hold my tongue or arrest my pen where our master's honour and interest are concerned.

(*Cipher:*) These French intrigues (*bellaquerias*) are enough to drive one mad. Now they say that king Francis is trying for an interview with his brother of England, and that he has issued one month's pay to all his cavalry, and is sending it into Picardy. Only the other day they tried to surprise Monaco, and I have no doubt that every day they will be at some new trick. A letter from Constantinople which the Pope has received says that when Scalenga (De Scalengues) arrested Giorgio Gritti and seized his papers the letter which king Francis had written to the Turk was hid behind a box of combs and escaped discovery.

(*Common writing:*) The Viceroy left yesterday the 30th of August. I am confident he will do well, though I should like to see better people about him. Figueroa is good enough, but I doubt whether he will have the experience of Roman affairs which is required to govern Naples well. He goes to a bad place, for the country is exhausted, and justice is not administered as it ought to be.† I hear just now that Miçer Sigismondo di Lofredo, owing to a law-suit of his brother-in-law (*consuegro*), the count of Sant Angelo, with a gentleman of Aversa, is creating disturbances, &c.—Rome, 1st September 1532.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

4 Sept. **992.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 90.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 104.

Three days ago as I was sealing my despatch of the 1st letters from the king of the Romans were received but his ambassador being still very unwell I was requested by him to

* "Respondiome que escrivia (*sic*, escribiria) que lo gastase todo á arbitrio del Emperador y Rey de Romanos."

† "Va á mal lugar y muy gastado."

1532.

communicate with the Pope. So I did; on the 2nd I called on His Holiness and delivered the letters which he read attentively, seeming particularly pleased at the news they contained as well relating to the Turk as to other matters. In compliance with Your Imperial Majesty's order I recommended Joan Fabro,* the bishop of Vienna, for another bishopric. He promised one as soon as a vacancy should occur.

Upon my asking him to increase the monthly quota of 40,000 ducats he excused himself on account of his extreme poverty, said that he had not touched a "carlino" from the last tax, and that the cardinals themselves would not pay their share.

Respecting the 25,000 ducats for which the king of Hungary asks in case the Turk should retreat into his own dominions, and be pursued by our troops, His Holiness assured me that there would be no difficulty at all as to that. In such an event he would assist with all his means.

I must not omit the mention of a fact which His Holiness told me the other day. It would appear that the French ambassador being afraid of the judicial inquiry that was being made here on the criminality of certain parties, such as the secretary of cardinal Colonna and others, accused of having entered into a conspiracy with a "mayordomo" and a secretary of his, had a large pit dug in the garden of his house and hid in it a large bag of papers (*scripturas*) for fear the Pope should get hold of them and have them examined by experts. After this, I myself having begged him to release the said secretary, he said to me: "Let him remain in prison a few days longer, for since the French ambassador has buried the papers I must try to ascertain without them what were the conspirators' plans."

Don Pedro Pacheco.—Cardinal Santiago and the deanery of that church.—Commission in the affair of the count of Ureña.—Bulls for the half of the annats or first fruits to go to-morrow by express messenger.—That for Germany and Flanders in two or three days.—The last courier brought the Imperial letter.

The courier, bearer of this despatch, has been retained one more day because as he brought the letter of the 22nd ult°, I wished to know first whether there was anything in it important or requiring immediate answer.

I saw the Pope this morning and he told me that he had already written to cardinal [Ippolito de'] Medici bidding him to dispose of the money just as they will direct him at the camp, and that he wishes Ferrante Gonzaga to become general of the whole force. He told me further; he said that the Hungarian peasants were shewing so much courage and determination that it would be advisable to allot to each town or district a number of Orsini gentlemen well trained to arms, to instruct

* John Faber from 1530 till his death in 1541.

1532.

them in the knowledge of warfare, &c.—Rome, 4th September 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent the Lord High Commander of Leon, first secretary, and of the Privy Council of His Imperial Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 12.

5 Sept. **993.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 38.

Your Majesty's letter of the 12th ult° has duly come to hand. Immediately after its receipt I called on the duke of Norfolk, and communicated to him the agreeable intelligence therein contained. The Duke was more astonished than pleased at the news of the perfect union of all Germany. (*Cipher:*) And when I say astonished, I must add singularly displeased also and sorry at the issue, as he himself declared soon after my departure from his house; for he said to one of those present that I had just brought him news that would not please the King, and this he further shewed by evident signs of ill-humour, remaining for some time thoughtful and silent, and ordering that no one should speak to him, as the Queen herself informs me. I really do believe that the Duke's disappointment and sorrow were greatly increased by the fact of my telling him that it was generally rumoured here that secretary Paget had gone to Germany for the sole purpose of negotiating with the German princes, and perhaps, too, inciting them to rebellion; for no sooner had I said that to him than he changed colour, and remained quite confused, not knowing what to say, and after a time declared with some hesitation that if the said Paget had thus addressed any of the princes on the other side of the water it was on his own behalf and authority, as he had no other charge than to take a message to the King's ambassador. (*Common writing:*) Notwithstanding the Duke's asseverations I am inclined to believe the contrary, owing to the conjectures expressed in my former despatches, and what I have since had the honour of telling Your Majesty.

After talking for some time of the Turk's threatened invasion, and of Your Majesty's march against him, the Duke alluded to the proposed interview, and said, among other things, that presuming, as he did, to be acquainted with some of his master's secrets, and also with the French king's mode of thinking, he did not hesitate to assure me, and affirm most positively that no other matter would be under consideration at the meeting, save the means of resistance against the Turk, should Your Imperial Majesty be unfortunately worsted in the attempt; for in that case it was to be apprehended that the Infidel would immediately invade Italy. Both kings would then personally march to that country, and

1532.

followed by such a force as the case required, attack the Infidel and destroy him (*lui fere la barbe*). To this end (he added) and the better to prepare the means of defence and offence the interview of the two kings had been designed.

The Duke did not enter into more particulars on the subject. True I neither made inquiries, nor shewed curiosity on the occasion, for fear he should think that I attached any importance to what might be said or done at the conferences. I only asked him news of the king of Denmark (Christiern); his answer was that as the affairs of that monarch interested them [the English] very little he had not taken the trouble of inquiring about them. What the King, his master, knew of him through letters from Flanders was limited to this, viz., that he had surrendered unconditionally, and placed himself entirely at the mercy of his uncle, the Emperor.

After this and other remarks not worth relating the said Duke, perceiving that I was about to leave him, made me more profuse offers of service, and treated me with greater courtesy than he had ever done on previous occasions.

The Nuncio, however, went on Saturday evening to present the brief in which His Holiness begs and exhorts this king to send his procuration and powers to some person at Rome to act for him and in his name. No sooner had the Nuncio entered the Royal presence than the King, without waiting for him to explain his errand, said that he was well aware that it had been decided in Consistory to draw out two briefs, one for the king of France, and another for himself, enjoining them both to consent to the remittal of the said procuration; "but the Pope (he added) loses his time, for I will never put up with it;" saying which he flew into a great passion, as he has done at other times, threatening that should the Pope go on irritating him he would open the eyes of other princes, who, not being learned as he was on such subjects, were in absolute ignorance of the fact that the Pope's true and legitimate power was very small in comparison with that which he (Clement) had tyrannically usurped.

In this way did the King proceed with his usual threats, until at last *his anger having somewhat abated*, he promised to consider the tenour and wording of the brief, and let His Holiness know his full intentions in a letter. After which he passed on to the subject of the Turkish war, and the military preparations made by Your Majesty, which he greatly praised and commended, and yet, he observed: "I am very much afraid that the Emperor's army will not be ready to take the field as soon as is necessary, and, therefore, that the Turk in order to undermine (*miner*) and harass the Emperor, will take up winter quarters in Hungary." He then inquired from him what sort of help the Pope had promised to give Your Majesty and how much the former intended contributing towards the expenses of the war, and having heard all the particulars from the Nuncio said no more about it.

1532.

At my request the Nuncio inquired also what news there was of the king of Denmark. The King made substantially the very same statements as the Duke, and, therefore, the Nuncio refrained from addressing any more questions. Neither did the King say one word about his intended expedition across the Channel, which, in my opinion, would have been a proper and polite thing to do for the Nuncio to report to His Holiness.

On Sunday last before mass the Lady Anne was created marchioness of Penebroc (Pembroke) with a fine revenue (*constitution*) of 4,000 ducats a year. The appointment was publicly made with much ceremonious pomp, with the account of which I will not trouble Your Majesty. A most solemn mass was then celebrated by the bishop of Winchester (Gardyner), after which the King and the French ambassador having approached the altar certain articles were read to them and to the Bishop, which the two former signed and swore to in common. This being done, Dr. Faux (Foxe) began a peroration in praise of the peace and amity thus established between the two kings, which (he remarked) was so laudable an act, and so admirably brought about and achieved that the learned Doctor could not do less than describe it as the work of God, not of man, and added in his speech that concords of this kind were the surest means of arresting the progress of the Turk, this peace not being temporal and frail like the preceding, but an inviolable and eternal one. After this the singers began to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus,* to the accompaniment of trumpets and other instruments. As to me, having for some days past had the bad odour of this new treaty in my nostrils, I have since tried to learn some of its particulars, though hitherto without success.

Yesterday the Seigneur de Langez (du Bellay, sieur de Langeay), arrived here sent by the king of France. What his mission may be I have not yet been able to find out, unless it be that it was agreed between this king and that of France, that the moment the latter should quit Brittany to come here, a gentleman [of his chamber] should be dispatched with the information, and that this one should do the same to advise the day of his departure for France, which, I hear, is to take place very soon. Indeed it is a settled thing that Francis will be at Boulogne on the 1st of October at the latest, and this king at Calais on the same day. They are to meet first between Boulogne and Calais, whither this king purposes taking his brother of France, that he may rest from the fatigues of the journey. Both will then go to Boulogne, and feast for three consecutive days, at the end of which this one will quit that town and return to Calais to be ready to sally out and meet the other. There the two kings will stay three or four days, it having been agreed that for the mutual security of the Royal persons an equal number of armed men from the garrisons of Calais and Boulogne shall be provided for

1532.

their escort. The Lady [Anne], who is to accompany the King, will not move from Calais. It would seem, however, as if this king were much pleased at the prospect of this interview; never at any time did he shew such joy, for certainly he does nothing but talk about it all day, *and, to say the truth, he has every reason* to be satisfied with his success, as far as he himself and his kingdom are concerned, for this is a sort of pleasure which he may well keep to himself; not one of his subjects envies or wishes to compete with him in that respect, except perhaps the Lady, all the rest being much displeased and grumbling in the most strange manner.* All his Privy Councillors are against the interview, principally the duke of Suffolk, who has publicly spoken about it in a manner that has provoked the King's anger, and been the cause of his being reprimanded in very injurious terms. The earl of Auffort (Sir John de Vere, earl of Oxford)† said a week ago to one of his friends, who repeated it to me, that he feared this proposed interview would be the cause of many evils in this kingdom for various reasons which he did not specify, though he declared that the whole thing had been exclusively got up by the King, the French ambassador, and the Lady [Anne] without the intervention of the Privy Council, and that no one save those three knew what the interview was about, or what subjects would be treated therein.

For the last month considerable repairs have been made in the Tower of London, both inside and outside, refitting the apartments which were out of order (*gatez*), &c., which circumstance makes some people believe that it is the King's intention to send the Queen thither, whilst he himself is out of the country. This, however, is highly improbable, unless the King wants to exasperate his subjects and drive them to rebellion.

Whatever may be the terms of the new treaty of friendship and league between this country and France, certain it is that the English have their suspicions of the Scotch, and for this reason all the lords and gentlemen of the Northern counties remain at their post *and have received orders to prepare for war. Indeed it is rumoured that a body of* 5,000 *or* 6,000 *men is to be ordered to the frontier.*

Whilst writing the above lines intelligence reaches me from two different quarters that this king has put off his journey for ten days more, owing to a rumour of plague in Dover, and along the road thither. If so it will be necessary to have at this port of London a sufficient number of large vessels to transport to Calais such a mass of men and horses, which cannot be done in a short space of time. *And as it is not probable that the season being so far advanced the King would*

* "Et a vray dire il a raison den estre ioyeulx pour lui et tout son royaulme, et prendre ce plaisir tout seul, puisque en ce il ny a nul que luy en tienne enuye, ne que luy face competence; si ce nest la dite dame toute la reste en est desplesante et en parle le peuple en tres estrange sorte."

† "Grand chambellain du reaulme."

1532.

willingly trust his person to the dangers of the sea, he may still listen to the persuasions of his courtiers, who generally dislike the job, and try to postpone the intended expedition. —London, 5th September 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England, 5th September. Received the 21st."

French. Holograph. pp. 6.

13 Sept. **994.** QUEEN KATHARINE to her Nephew, the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 806, f. 33. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 112.

Though I know Your Majesty to be engaged in grave and important Turkish affairs I cannot cease importuning you with my own, in which almost equal offence is being offered to God, for I see no difference between what these people are attempting here, and what the enemy of our Holy Catholic Faith is aiming at there where you are. Your Majesty knows very well that God gives the victory to those who do good and meritorious work in His service, and also that one of the best works that can be done is to try, as you are now trying, to end this business, which, as far as I can see, is no longer mine exclusively but concerns all those who fear God, considering the evils it has already brought, and will bring on the whole of Christendom if His Holiness does not look to it quickly. There are many signs of the evil meditated here; new books are being printed, full of lies, impurities, and blasphemies against our common Faith, shewing their staunch determination to bring the suit to an end in this kingdom, all of which, coupled with the contemplated interview of the two princes, and the infamy brought upon the whole kingdom by the lady companion the King takes with him, and the authority he bestows upon her, has, Your Majesty may be certain, caused scandal and fear throughout this kingdom, and all dread that some great calamity is impending.* As to me I should feel great scruples in my conscience if knowing the fears of the English people I should not attempt to resist; and centered as all my hopes are in God's mercy, and in the favour and help of Your Majesty I think I ought, were it for no other purpose than to relieve my conscience, to inform you of the strait (*necesidad*) in which I find myself, begging Your Highness for the service of God with all possible speed to induce His Holiness to decide this cause without delay; because should he tarry the evil will be surely more difficult to remedy. The particulars of what passes here every day are so ugly, and so unreasonable, and so ungodly that as they touch the honour of the King, my Lord and husband, I will

* "Las señales que para esto dan aca asy en ymprimyr libros nuevos llenos de falsedades y suciedades deshonestas y otras cosas que tocan a nuestra fe con determynacion de dar fyn á esta causa en este reyno, juntamente con las vistas destos dos pryncipes con tanta ynfamia del reyno, Señor, por la compañera que consygo lleva, y la autorydad que le da, sea cyerto Vuestra Magestad que ha puesto mucho escandalo y temor en este reyno," &c.

1532.

not for the love I profess to him, and for the honour and prosperity which I desire for him, mention them further as Your Highness no doubt already knows them through your ambassador here, whom I beg to commend.

I will end this letter begging God to grant Your Majesty such health as the repose and welfare of Christendom require as well as victory against the enemies of our Holy Catholic Faith, which I hope will be sure and complete.

To cardinal Egydyo (Gil de Viterbo) and to a secretary of his abbot Lloro (*sic*) by name* I am much indebted. Your Majesty ought to thank them in my name.—Enfyle (Enfield), 13th September [1532].

Signed: "Catherina."

Addressed: "To the very high and very powerful Lord, Emperor, and King, my nephew."

Spanish. Holograph. pp 3.

15 Sept. **995.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 30.

My despatch of the 5th inst.† must have acquainted Your Majesty with the arrival of the sieur de Langey (Langeay) and other occurrences of this place. That gentleman left four days ago for the country without making any stay in town, so that I have been unable to interrogate him on the object of his mission, which, as far as I can guess, is only to inquire from the resident ambassador (De la Pommeraye) and others what day has been definitely fixed for the intended meeting of the two kings. Indeed, I hear that Mr. de Langeay, in consequence of the late prorogation demanded by this king, and of his putting off the interview until the 20th of October next, has come for the purpose of excusing his master if the length of the journey and the necessary preparations should prevent him from being at Boulogne on that day. He comes also, as I have been given to understand, to offer, in his master's name, a fleet for the passage to Calais, which this king has of course refused to accept, and besides to request that the new Marchioness [the Lady Anne] may be one of the party. If this last be not one of the objects of Langeay's mission, certain it is that the French ambassador announces it in public to be such, and the King himself tacitly owns it, since he has lately written to many lords and courtiers bidding them keep their wives in readiness to accompany [to France] his dearest and most beloved cousin, the marchioness of Penvroc (Pembroke), whom he intends to take with him at the express desire of his kind brother and perpetual ally the king of France.

It is not at all improbable that the said king [of France] may have made such an invitation, knowing how pleased

* The Abbot of Llor.

† See above, No. 993, p. 506.

1532.

this king and the Lady would be, and knowing also that had he not invited the Marchioness to the interview she would have gone just the same, for the King cannot be one hour away from her. I think, moreover, that the king of France is himself very anxious to see the Lady, and personally thank her for the many good services she has rendered, and is daily rendering him, which, in the French ambassador's words, are more than his master, the King, could ever sufficiently acknowledge or repay, and I presume that besides the proper return of thanks everything will be done and said at the meeting likely to keep the Lady devoted to his interests. In short, it can be confidently asserted that the king of France has lost nothing by the demise of the cardinal of York (Wolsey), and the recovery of this Lady's favour, for besides her being more maliciously inclined, and her enjoying much greater favour, king Francis is not obliged to expend on her an annual pension of 25,000 crs. as he did on the Cardinal, but pays her only in *flattery and in promises of forwarding the divorce at Rome.*

Two days after the arrival of the said Langeay, the King having left him and the other French resident ambassador at Windsor, came secretly to this city to inspect the fitting up of the ships that are to convey him and his suite to France. Seeing, however, that it was quite impossible for him to prepare vessels enough to embark the number of men and horses he thought at first of taking, of which I myself had the honour to inform Your Imperial Majesty by my last despatch, he has now changed his mind and resolved, in spite of the plague still raging all along the road, to go to Dover and embark there; and in order not to have too numerous a suite with him for fear of the said plague, has given permission to all the gentlemen of his household, and to other people, each to embark wherever he may like, provided they all meet at Calais on or before the day appointed for the interview; in consequence of which the duke of Suffolk, though one of those who is bound by his office at Court to attend upon him, and was already here ready to embark for Calais, returns to-morrow to Suffolk for that purpose. *I cannot say for certain whether the Duke is not taking such a circuitous route that he may hereafter excuse himself from not attending a meeting, against which he has, as I have informed Your Majesty, strongly remonstrated already, but I suspect that such are his real motives.* I hear also that in order to acquaint the king of France with his final resolution as to the day of his departure and probable disembarkation at Calais, as well as to thank him for his courtesy in sending De Langeay here, this king is now about to dispatch Brian (Tuke), who is to leave to-morrow by post.

Notwithstanding all my endeavours I have yet been unable to penetrate the secret particulars of this new league sworn at Windsor on the 1st inst., of which I have had the honour to

1532.

inform Your Imperial Majesty. All I know about it is that the ambassador of France has assured me that no subject will be discussed at this interview that bears any possible relation to Your Imperial Majesty. The only affair to be treated therein, he says, is a defensive and offensive league between this country and France, which the ambassador himself observed to me is anything but necessary under present circumstances, considering the previous stipulations which are still in force; only (he added) that the English had some scruples about it, and for that reason demanded a further declaration and specification of the terms of former treaties. But there must be, in my opinion, some other cause for all this (*droguez et demenneez*), for the substance of the address made at the time that the treaty was sworn [at Windsor] indicated something more than a defensive league, as Your Majesty has no doubt learned by my said despatch of the 5th. I will, however, prosecute my inquiries as carefully as possible in order to ascertain whether there be anything more than is said.

The ambassador of France (de la Pommeraye) among other things indicating the envy and ill-will of his master towards Your Imperial Majesty, said the other day to me, in presence of the Venetian envoy, and of his secretary, that a rumour was afloat that you actually had under colour of your own brother, the king of the Romans, and without his knowledge, sent an embassy to Solyman, the Turk, offering to leave Hungary entirely in his hands, provided he helped you to conquer the rest of Christendom, though "I attach no faith whatever to the report" added the ambassador. I immediately replied that in my opinion he ought to abstain from spreading such rumours, especially if he believed them (as he said) to be unfounded, otherwise people who heard him might fancy that he did not altogether discredit them. Such false reports, I added, could only be invented by wicked people, who circulate them for their own private purposes, and he (the ambassador) was bound to contradict them.* To this remark of mine La Pommeraye made at first no reply, but said to me some time after that his information came from Mr. de Langeay himself. However, as he did not refute my arguments, or attempt to excuse his informer, and *seemed, moreover, sorry that he had named Langeay as his authority, I said no more about it, and changed the conversation.*† Your Majesty may, therefore, be sure, that since the French ambassador thus dared spread in my presence, and in that of the Venetian ambassador, such injurious reports about Your Imperial Majesty, knowing, as

* "Je luy dis quil me sembloit quil se pourroit bien depourter de reciter tels propos quil sçauoit bien non estre vrays, et que les recitant pourroit sembler a pluseurs (*sic*), ores quil dye quil ne le croyt, quil y adiouste quelque foy, et quil ne pouvoit auoir ouy tels propos que de quelque home meschant," &c.

† "Et pour ce quil ne me reffrica (*sic*) point le blason quavoye donne au semeur de telles bourdes, et quil avoit nomme [langes pour se desculper, et sembloit quil se repentoit lavoer dit ie ne chargey plus avant]."

1532.

he must know, that I could not do less than report them home, it must be that he and those of his party (*de sa tecte*) are now busily employed in circulating false rumours highly injurious to Your Majesty, in the hope of their not being refuted by those who happen to hear them.

After the above conversation the same French ambassador, La Pommeraye, came to me and said that perhaps at this next interview of the two kings an undertaking against Greece and Constantinople might be possibly discussed, of which his master would be the chief commander (*dont son maistre seroit empereur.*)

In short, not only has the King refused to help the enterprize against the Turk with men or money, or allow his subjects to join it, but he has actually forbidden the promulgation in this country of a Papal bull granting plenary indulgence to those who might make *preparations* [*for helping*], *or pray for the prosperity of your arms and the success of Christendom in so mighty an enterprize.* Notwithstanding which prohibition I dare say there are not* 10 *persons in all this kingdom who do not at this moment pray for you as earnestly and devotedly as if they were the natural subjects of your Imperial Crown.*

I have for the last month been in possession *of a book in English which this king has ordered to be written on this matter of his divorce, but principally against the authority of the Pope, which book I immediately handed over to the Papal Nuncio that he may forward it to His Holiness at Rome. Perhaps this will be an incentive for him to give sentence at once in the Queen's cause, and thus prevent, if there be yet time, the spreading of such doctrines, for it is to be feared that this king—who is only looking out for excuses to exempt himself from Papal obedience—may induce and persuade his brother of France also to follow his fantastic opinions* (*ses fantaisies et opinions*). I have taken good care to instruct on all these points the Nuncio who has already, as he tells me, very fully written to Rome about them.†

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

17 Sept. **996.** Dr. Ortiz to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 858, f. 164.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 114.

The letter which I am now writing to the Emperor will inform Your Lordship of recent incidents in the Queen's cause. I gave the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai) notice, and begged him to have the last sentence pronounced by Consistory [in the affair of the English excusator] put down in writing and registered. His Worship did always maintain to me that it had been put in writing, I was positively sure of the contrary, for having myself applied to His Holiness I was distinctly

* "Une bulle de plaineur (pleniere ?) indulgence a ceulx que se mectroient en bon estat et prieroient pour la prosperite de chrestiente."

† The remainder of this letter is missing in the Imperial Archives.

1532.

told that political considerations had prevented this being done.*

Instead of cardinal Cesarino, now absent from Rome, and to whom the charge of drawing out the act was first entrusted, cardinal Cesis has been appointed by His Holiness. I, therefore, called yesterday and asked that Cardinal for a copy. He promised it for next day, but up to the present hour has not sent it in, on the plea that he had not by him the register book where the decisions of the Consistory are entered. He, however, promised to send it as soon as possible, and has since kept his word, for at the moment I write it has been delivered into my hands. I enclose it. Your Lordship will perceive from its tenour that the time allowed for the production of the Royal mandate is prorogued until the month of October, or rather until God grant Your Majesty a complete victory over your enemies.—Rome, 17th September 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

18 Sept. **997.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 858, f. 167.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 115.

By my last I wrote to Your Majesty that His Holiness was purposely delaying till after the holidays the expedition of the brief for which I have applied, on the plea that he wishes to allow time for the King's mandate, which he expects from England, to be sent. I am sure that he will delay it still longer, for his own secretary (Sanga) told me yesterday that there are many considerations (*respetos*) to be attended to in this business, and that His Holiness is naturally desirous of knowing what resolution the kings of France and England are likely to take at this their approaching interview. Chevalier Casal, one of the English ambassadors here, is about to depart for England, and is to take a message from the Pope to the effect that the King must without fail send his mandate here, separate himself at once from his concubine, and restore the Queen to her matrimonial rights, and that should he not comply with this injunction he must not expect any favour from him, as he (the Pope) will be obliged to let justice have its course.

My impression is that the Pope will wait not only for the return of the messenger, who is, as I say, about to leave for England, but also for the news of the very signal victory which our gracious God will most undoubtedly give Your Majesty, and with which all this disputing and pleading will come to an end.

Nevertheless, no time in my opinion should be lost, and, therefore, as soon as these present holidays are over, there being no plausible excuse to allege, Your Majesty might send fresh orders to the ambassador (Mai) to demand and solicit the expedition of the aforesaid brief. Time is favourable and

* "Me respondio que por buen respecto se havia dexado de escrevir."

1532.

the opportunity at hand. Even if the king of England send his mandate here, which I fancy he is not disposed to do, if he does not at once separate from his concubine and restore the Queen to the possession of her matrimonial rights, the cause will not be over so soon, whereas if the Papal brief is now expedited it will tend as much as the sentence itself to bring about the King's confusion and to cause his kingdom to rise against his contumacious disobedience, so likely to produce a schism in the Church.*

His Holiness has heard from his Nuncio in England that the brief, which he addressed to the King by two different ways enjoining him to remit as soon as possible his mandate, and full powers for some one to represent him at the suit, has actually reached its destination, although up to the present no answer from him has been received.

The sentence which the other day the cardinals in Consistory gave had not been written down until now. Thank God it is already on paper in due form and I have seen it with my own eyes.—Rome, 18th September 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

22 Sept. **998.** JEAN HANNART to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f 117.

I wrote from this town (Amboise) on the 11th by way of Flanders, and again on the 13th; besides Carasa, of the Chamber of the Most Christian queen of France, was the bearer of another in answer to Your Majesty's letter of the 19th of August from Tordesillas. I had also written from Nantes advising late events, and as I consider that part, if not all my letters, must have reached Your Imperial hands I will not record here past events but simply refer to my correspondence.

My last despatch† announced that on the 13th inst. the Most Christian king and queen of France had made their entrance into this town, and that the grand master of France (Anne de Montmorency) had started for Calais. After that on Sunday, the 15th, in the chapel of the Palace, before the mass was over, the king of France, in the presence of certain prelates dressed in pontificals, and of the English ambassador, swore on the sacred Gospels to fulfil the new treaties of alliance and friendship lately stipulated with England; after which a secretary read to him certain clauses which he (the King) was to swear to, and which were not published because the ceremony took place so close to the altar that nobody could hear what passed. It is said that the king of England

* "Para que el Rei se confunda y su reino se levante contre él por su contumaz y scismatica desobediencia."

† Not at Simancas like this one of the 22nd, perhaps it may be found at Paris in the "Archives du Royanme," where most of Praet's, Bonvalot, and Garay's letters to the Emperor are still retained, having been forcibly taken from Simancas. See Bergenroth's Introduction to the first volume of this Calendar.

1532.

is to do as much on his side, and that it was thought that for the greater security of the two kings it was desirable that the ceremony should be public.

Yesterday, the 21st, I spoke with the Most Christian king of France, and told him that I had received letters from the Emperor. We conversed about various matters, and he told me that he had for many days been thinking of speaking to me about this interview with the king of England, that I might learn the exact purpose for which it had been devised, and that Your Majesty should be informed thereof beforehand. "For upwards of one year," he said, "the king of England has been importuning me to hold a conference with him.* I did not then comply with his wishes, but put him off because I myself was thinking at the time of holding an interview with the Emperor. Now lately he has solicited me again, and laid so much stress upon it that I have not been able to refuse. We are to see each other soon, the interview having been fixed for the 20th of October in a town of my kingdom called Boulogne [sur mur], and afterwards in another town possessed by the king of England, the name of which is Calais. Each of us to take with him 600 horsemen and no more; the first day I shall receive my guest in a small village of France on the confines of the country of Boulogne, shall invite him to dinner, and thence proceed to the town itself where we shall spend three days together. Next day the king of England will give me a dinner in a village close to Calais, and thence we shall both march to that town, and I shall stay three days with him."

As to the cause and reasons of the interview the King said it was the great strait and necessity in which the Christian Republic had been placed by the Turk, that both kings together might concert what measures to take in the present emergency, in accordance with their dignity, titles, and estates, for the defence of threatened Christendom in case the Infidel should prosecute his undertaking next year, and try to carry out his wicked purposes. The oath which he (the King) took in the church of this town [Amboise] the other day was for the purpose of renewing and confirming the old treaties of friendship and alliance existing between them, and some additional articles still more binding which the king of England had lately caused to be introduced therein for the mutual defence and preservation of their respective kingdoms and dominions. That nothing shall be treated of or discussed at the interview likely to affect or invalidate the treaties of friendship and confederation with the Emperor, and that he is sure the King will give assistance against the Turk though he may not perhaps be able to march personally against

* "Que a mas de un año que el Rey de Inglaterra le a mucho importunado que se viesen y que [él] lo ha dexado hasta ahora de hazer porque pensó verse antaño con el Emperador, nuestro señor, y que agora de nuevo lo a tornado á procurar."

1532.

him. In the event, however, of his not helping with troops —though, the King remarked, I know he will do his utmost to assist personally in the defence of the Christian religion wherever his services are wanted—the King offers to contribute a proportionate sum of money wherewith to help the undertaking. He (king Francis) would not fail to inform me of whatever was resolved at the conferences on this particular point that I may at once communicate with Your Majesty. He himself would dispatch a confidential person to you to declare the same on his part.

Whilst on this topic the King said many gracious things to me and shewed much affection for Your Majesty, as well as admiration of your warlike preparations against the Turk, which, he said, were so immense and so ably conducted that they could not fail to ensure the victory of the Christians over the Turks. He went on praising Your Majesty's resources and the spirited courage with which you had personally marched against the Turk, and finished by saying that he had promulgated a general jubilee throughout his dominions, and ordered prayers and processions. I failed not to praise his holy purpose as well as the good affection and interest he shewed for the preservation of the treaties. I assured him that the Emperor had always lived in the same confidence, without for a moment doubting or believing the contrary, and that he would always find him ready to respond.

The Queen (Eleanor) had a miscarriage a few days ago, owing to which she is to remain at Amboise three weeks more or so until she is able to travel. The King, who had started the day before, came back in haste and has remained in her company until to-day the 22nd, when he has again retaken the route of Paris, where he is expected at the end of this month.—Ambuesa (Amboise), 22nd September 1532.

Signed: "Jean Hannart."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

25 Sept. **999.** Rodrigo Niño to the Same.

S. E. L. 1,301, ff. 187–9.
B M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 120.

After my despatch of the 14th a light vessel (*esguiraço*) coming from Candia anchored in this port yesterday, the 24th. No sooner did I hear of its arrival than I sent for the master and inquired what tidings he had of the Imperial fleet in those parts. He said that being at anchor in the island of Zante on the 5th inst. the prince Andrea Doria had arrived there with 39 galleys and some brigantines and fustees, and that the rest of the fleet were cruising* in those seas. On the arrival of the Prince he heard that two days before the Turkish fleet had been at Coron but had sailed with so favourable a wind that he did not doubt that they would

* *Boltegeando* says the original for "voltegeando," from voltejear in Spanish, *i.e.*, to tack.

1532.

reach that night the port of Prodrono, which is 36 miles from Coron. If so he (Doria) was sure to overtake them before they passed cape Malio (*sic*).

Having asked the Doge and Signory what intelligence they had received from their captain general in the island [of Zante] they told me that they knew nothing beyond what the master of the vessel* had related to me. A few days later they heard from their ambassador at the Imperial Court that the Turk had commenced his retreat. At this news the Doge and Signory shewed much satisfaction and came to offer their congratulations. These I declined, observing that I was really sorry at the Turk thus slipping through our hands, for this was the occasion to destroy and annihilate him, whereas if he again invaded Europe they (the Venetians) would be the first attacked. But, as I have written many a time, this Signory would much prefer to let matters stand as they are.

Since then they have received letters dated the 16th from their ambassador, advising that the Turk had laid siege to Grez (Gratz) which he says is a town in Styria, and sent a considerable force of cavalry to waste that province and those of Austria and Coruacia (Croacia), and that they were making great havoc and inflicting most terrible injury on the inhabitants. The Signory has decidedly been much annoyed at these news, fancying that Your Majesty may possibly be tempted to give the Turk battle if he remain behind; although others say that this could not be attempted owing to the difficulty of procuring provisions, should the Imperial camp advance far beyond the banks of the Danube. I am also told that both the French ambassador and Rincon, who is with him, have circulated the rumour that the march of the Turks upon Grez (Gratz), is a fact, and that Solyman is actually besieging it for the purpose of getting possession and remaining there this next winter, whilst his army is encamped between the two rivers, Saua and La Draua, in a territory which is said to be very fertile. By these rivers Solyman will bring to his court at Gratz the provisions that are stored at Belgrade, and those that he may bring from his own dominions and from the river of La Mura. He will not return to Constantinople without paying Italy a visit in the spring, &c. I told the person who related this extraordinary piece of news to me, to ask the French ambassador and captain Rincon what would Solyman do if he were to be treated before Gratz as he had been not very long ago at a miserable little village which he was besieging.† Most likely he would fare much worse since the forces which Your Majesty had to bring against him this time were more considerable. But the fact

* "Esquirace, It. schirazzo (says Jal in his *Glossaire Nautique*, p. 660) est le nom d'un navire du xvi^me^ siecle sur le quel nous n'avons pu trouver aucun renseignement."

† That of Gunz in Hungary.

1532.

is that Frenchmen cannot hide their disappointment at the Turk being beaten by Your Majesty, thus shewing plainly what are the means they have used to make him come down upon Christendom.

The day before yesterday the Doge said to me that advices had been received from Lubiana stating that the Turks were doing great execution both in Styria and Coruacia (Croatia), slaying the inhabitants, wasting and burning every village they came to. My answer was: "That ought to have moved your Signory and the rest of the Christian princes to join the Emperor in this war, that the Infidel Turk might at once be annihilated." Some senators present said I was right. Why then not do it? It is not yet time said the Doge.

This and other news are sedulously propagated by the French, with what intention there is no need for me to declare. In the present case there is a decided contradiction in the reports, for if the Turk intend, as these Frenchmen say, to winter in Gratz, why waste Styria and Croatia, which are said to be very fertile, and from whence he might draw provisions? Besides, even if Your Majesty were to leave the banks of the Danube in order to offer the enemy battle, there is complete security that provision will not be wanting for your army. My own impression is that the Turk will retreat as far as Belgrade, and that if he winters at all in Christian land it will be in Hungary, keeping his army in Servia. However, those more versed in Turkish affairs consider all this a hoax invented by the French, and believe that the Turk will retreat as far as Constantinople, unless the Most Christian King and the king of England persuade him to the contrary. As to Your Majesty's faithful servants in this place all wish you the most complete success, and calculate that Your Majesty will go to Buda and recover it, then to Belgrade, keeping always the Danube in sight and thus ensuring provisions, and that the Turk then will be obliged to fight.

(*Cipher :*) Letters have also been received from Rome of the 20th inst., saying that the kings of France and England were about to hold an interview, and that the French gave out that the subject of the conference would be the welfare of Christendom. Most people, however, thought that there would be question of the divorce, and of fresh proposals of marriage between the Dauphin and the princess of Wales, and the King and a daughter of France. I told the Doge, who was the first to communicate the intelligence received, that the whole thing seemed to me incompatible, for in order that the king of England might marry he had first to obtain his divorce—which would at once incapacitate the Princess for the succession—and in that case the dauphin of France would certainly not take her for his wife. If there was no divorce king Francis was not likely to give his daughter to the English king. My impression was that the conferences, if any, would end like the former ones, that is, in banquetting, jousting, and smoke.

1532.

(*Common writing :*) Yesterday this Signory received a letter from the governor of Spalatro, saying that the count Pedro Crusique (*sic*) had taken the castle of Salona, which the Turks built last year not far from Clisa, and slain the whole of its garrison. Enclosed is a paragraph of the Count's letter describing the whole business.

About two days back it was rumoured here that Luigi Gonzaga had, by the commands of the Pope, taken Ancona. The intelligence is conveyed in a letter from the duke of Urbino to his ambassador in this city, as will be seen by the enclosed copy* of a paragraph relating to this subject. All I can say (*cipher :*) is that the Signory seems not to like it at all, for they do not wish the Pope to possess any port in the Gulf, or indeed anywhere else.

The duke of Urbino has retired to his estates very much hurt at His Holiness having imposed certain taxes on his subjects and vassals without his having come to report what he thought about the site of the fortress which this Signory intends to erect in the Frioul.†

I have told the ambassador that since the Duke, his master, is so very desirous of serving Your Majesty, and the inconveniences existing until now, such as his estate being situated in the territory of this Republic, and others, had been removed, I had no objection to enter into negotiation with him.

The duke of Ferrara returned last week from Ystria (Istria) where he has been fishing, and neither called on the Signory nor would let anyone call on him, and in this way he went back to Ferrara.

For the last five or six days agents of Renzo da Ceri have been, they say, looking out for a house for him. They say that he is disgusted with the king of France, and that he intends settling here. Mai writes to me on the 20th, saying that this is a fact, that he knows it from Renzo's son (Gian Paolo), and that I ought to be keeping him on with promises of engagement.—Venice, 25th September 1532.

A brigantine from Cephalonia has just arrived in port with despatches from the Signory's captain-general of the 9th inst. There was the enclosed letter for me from Andrea Doria, which will shew where the Imperial fleet now is, and what it has accomplished lately.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

— **1000.** Dr. Ortiz to the high commander of Leon.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, ff. 105–6.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 125.

By my two last despatches to His Imperial Majesty Your Lordship must have seen what passed between His Holiness and myself when, with Miçer Mai's permission, I applied to him for the second brief. The truth is that the gravity and

* The copy alluded to is not in the packet.

† "Sin venir á hacer relacion de lo que le parecio del sitio para la fortaleza que esta señoria quiere labrar en el frigol."

1532.

importance of the case required that after acquainting that ambassador with my resolution, and asking for his approval, he himself should have gone to the Pope and officially made the demand, but he did nothing of the sort, and it was only 30 days after that he spoke to His Holiness about it, and therefore was obliged to mention it to the viceroy* of Naples, that he might endorse my petition in the Emperor's name.

I received about the same time from England a summons to obtain as soon as possible a brief authorising Thomas Abel to preach the Evangelical doctrine in England. The said Abel had been imprisoned, and forbidden to preach because he had maintained in a sermon the right and justice of the Queen's cause, and the authority of the Holy Apostolic See in this and other matters, when perverse and impudent preachers had maintained the contrary from the pulpit. Also for this I asked the ambassador's permission, and, when obtained, went to the Pope and applied for it. His Holiness had already consented, and given orders that it should be made out. I myself had furnished the materials, as it were, and the name of the individual, &c., but when I called upon the Pope's secretary (Sanga) he told me that His Holiness and the Imperial ambassador were both of opinion that the brief should not be sent. "How can that be," said I to Sanga, "when the ambassador approved of this step, and His Holiness also said that there was no objection to it?"

I beg Your Lordship prudently to take these facts into consideration, and without informing His Imperial Majesty or causing Miçer Mai annoyance try and prevent the recurrence of such things in future, for besides the shame and disrepute that fall upon one, I do not know really what excuse to give to the ambassador in England, who will no doubt wonder why the brief, which I felt sure of getting, is not forthcoming.

The letter is unfinished and undated.

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 4.

30 Sept. **1001.** Divorce.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 166.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 126.

In causa Anglicana Sanctissimus D.N. una cum Consilio Reverendissimorum D.S.R.C. Cardinalium discussis mature omnibus exceptionibus et allegationibus hinc inde datis, tandem conclusit expectandum esse Illustrissimum Regem Angliæ usque et per totum mensem Octobris proxime sequentem ad hoc ut producat mandatum in causa principali, alioqui lapso dicto termino procedatur prout justitia suadebit.

Latin. Copy in the handwriting of Dr. Ortiz. p. 1.

30 Sept. **1002.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 857, ff. 1–2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 127.

Has written many letters and wishes to know whether they have reached or not. Said in his last that His Holiness put off issuing until after the vacations the brief for which

* The marquis of Villafranca, Don Pedro de Toledo.

1532.

he (Ortiz) had applied, on the plea that he did not wish to prevent the King from sending his mandate. Is afraid, however, that even after that the Pope will devise some new delay, for his secretary (Sanga) tells him that they wait to see what the kings of France and England will do at this interview of which there is now a talk. Besides, Cavaliere Casale, one of the ambassadors the king of England has here, and who is to depart soon for that country, will be the bearer of a message from His Holiness, exhorting him to send his mandate as soon as possible, as otherwise it will be impossible for him to delay the sentence any more. Thinks, therefore, that the Pope will not only wait for the answer this English ambassador is to bring him, but also for the news of the complete victory which God cannot fail soon to grant to the Emperor over the Turk. Then will be the time for these law-suits and litigations to be put an end to, for though the King may send his mandate, still if he do not cast away from him this concubine of his, and restore the Queen to the full possession of her rights, he (Ortiz) intends to persevere in the demand for the brief of excommunication, that the whole of England may rise against him for his contumacious and schismatic disobedience.

The Pope says he has not yet heard from his Nuncio in that country whether the King received the brief that was sent to him by two different ways. If he has, no answer has been made, nor has the sentence given in Consistory the other day been written down and published until to-day. Enclosed is a copy of the decision,* which, as Your Majesty will observe, grants the King a respite until the end of October. —Rome, 30th September 1532.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed "To the Imperial and Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

1 Oct. **1003.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS† to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof.-u.Staats-Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 39.

During the last few days, owing to the prorogation asked by the French, there has seemed to lurk some suspicion here among these courtiers that the interview of the two kings will not after all take place; which suspicion was much strengthened by the fact that [Sir Francis] Brian, who was to have followed Langeay into France immediately, had not yet moved (*deslougé*), and that neither the duke of Norfolk (who came to town only the day before yesterday to purchase silk cloth), nor several of the principal lords and officers of the Crown who were to accompany the King on his journey

* No. 1001.

† A portion of this despatch, for reasons which will be fully explained in th Introduction, has been inadvertedly printed among Chapuys' letters for the year 1531. The circumstance of both letters, which differ slightly, bearing the date of 1st October, though in reality thay are *one* and the *same*, has led to the misplacement."

1532.

gave any signs whatever of preparing to cross the Channel The interview, however, is now again in the ascendant, and instead of Brian, the grand squire (Carew) is positively to leave to-morrow for France, to stir up the French and announce the immediate departure of this king, which will take place on Friday next, St. Francis' Day. It appears that avoiding Rochester and other towns on account of the plague, and because people are there dying of it, the King will go from Greenwich to Gravesend in his State barge, then to the house of a gentleman where he will stay one day, and then on board a well appointed ship of 150 tons, called "La Mignone,"* and in fact more than deserving this name if her strength be taken into consideration. The "Mignone" will then sail for a small island on the Thames, where the King intends to feast and carouse for three consecutive days at the manor of a gentleman of his bed chamber, named Chennet.† Thence the King will go by land to Canterbury and Dover, at which last he will again embark on the said ship "La Mignone," calculating upon reaching Calais on the 15th inst.

But though on this matter of the journey and interview the courtiers appear cold and indifferent, certain it is that the Lady [Anne] thinks otherwise, for knowing very well how to make hay while the sun shines, she has not been slack to provide herself with rich and most expensive dresses and ornaments, which the King has ordered to be bought for the occasion. After sending her his own jewels (baghes), the King has, I hear, lately given the duke of Norfolk commission, and he has come down here on purpose, to procure through a third person those belonging to the Queen; who, I am told, said to the bearer of the Royal message: "I cannot present the King with my jewels as he desires, inasmuch as when, on a late occasion, I, according to the custom of this kingdom, presented him with a New Year's gift he warned me to refrain from such presents in future. Besides which (she said) it is very annoying and offensive to me, and I would consider it a sin and a load upon my conscience if I were persuaded to give up my jewels (baghes) for such a wicked purpose as that of ornamenting a person who is the scandal of Christendom, and is bringing vituperation and infamy upon the King, through his taking her with him to such a meeting across the Channel. Yet," continued the Queen, "if the King sends expressly for my jewels I am ready to obey his commands in that as well as in all other matters." Though highly displeased and sore at the Queen's answer the King nevertheless did send a gentleman of his chamber, who brought express orders to the Queen's Chancellor, and to her Chamberlain, to

* "Dempuys entrera en ung navire de cent et cinquante toneaulx que lon nomme La Mignone, quest tres bien en ordre et plus que mignone."

† Sir Thomas Cheyne?

1532.

see to the delivery of the said jewels, besides a letter to the Queen herself in credence of the messenger, who said to her in the King's name that he was very much astonished at her not having sent her jewels forthwith when he first asked for them, as the queen of France, her sister, and many other* [*ladies*] *would have done."*† *Upon which the Queen gently pleaded excuse for her former refusal, and sent him the whole of her jewels, and the King, as I am given to understand, is very much pleased and glad at it.*

About eight days ago, as the French ambassador was going to court, whither he had been summoned, to attend a dinner the Lady was giving to the King, at a manor-house, with which he has lately presented her, he happened to pass by my lodgings, and came in. I took the opportunity of shewing him the summary of the news from the Turkish camp, as related by their own prisoners. The ambassador did not seem at all pleased with the contents of the paper, and knew not what to say. He took the paper into his hands and said he would shew it to the duke of Norfolk, as he had promised even before I shewed it to him. *Had it not been for this promise I have no doubt that the ambassador would willingly have declined so unpalatable a commission as that of reading to the Duke the said news of the Turk; perhaps he thought that in doing so he might take his revenge, for I am told that when he saw the Duke about it, not only did he refuse to give credit to the news, saying that it could not be true, but he added that he knew from an authentic source that Neustat had been taken, and that in two different encounters about* 10,000 *lanskenets had been defeated by the Turks.* On this last piece of reliable intelligence, as he was pleased to call it, the ambassador laid particular stress, as the Duke himself informed me the day before yesterday, when I myself gave him the news of the Turks having raised the siege of Chastel, and of the small town (*villette*) of Gunz, at which he (the Duke) seemed to rejoice greatly, *were it for no other purpose, as he said, than to convict and confound the said ambassador, who according to the Duke's own statement has lately been in the habit of inventing news at pleasure.*‡ And certainly the Duke is right in his estimation of the French ambassador and in holding him to be a most mischievous newsmonger, *for he lately spread at this court, and indeed induced the King to believe the rumour, that the dukes of Bavaria, owing to the Spaniards having, when they crossed their estate, done some damage to the country*

* Et non obstant que le roy fust marry des dits propos si ne layssa il de les envoyer demander par ung de sa chambre, le quel appourta au chancellier et ung (*sic*, et au?) chambellan de la royne lettres du roy bien expresses pour tenir main a lenvoy des dites baghes."

† The original has "comme *auoit* fait la royne de France, se seur, et pluseurs autres." I prefer *auroit* in the conditional tense, for it is not likely that queen Eleanor's (who after all was not the sister, but the niece of Katharine,) jewels had been applied for on the occasion.

‡ "Speciallement pour [con]vaincre et confondre le dit ambassadeur qua accoustume de leur donner com disoit pluseurs nouvelles faictes a plaisir."

1532.

people, had arrested an officer, expressly sent by Your Majesty to borrow some pieces of ordnance from them only because the Spaniard had used threatening language. In consequence of which the ambassador said, they (the dukes) were no longer on good *terms with Your Majesty.** This and other reports does the French ambassador sedulously propagate here, either because he wishes these people to believe any disparaging story about Your Majesty, or perhaps *to impress them with the idea that the interview is held for no other purpose* than the one he says and the King's ministers point out.

The Duke tells me that his advice was, that from the very beginning the King ought to have informed all foreign ambassadors, and especially those of Your Imperial Majesty, of the designs and object of the conferences, in order to remove all suspicion that might be raised of your own Flemish dominions being invaded by the armies of the two kings whilst you were engaged with the Turks. Upon my remarking to him that in my opinion neither the King, his master, nor he of France had any right, cause, or pretext for such an invasion, and that even if they had the means and the power to do so, I thought that they would never agree on that point, he (the Duke) said: "Do not be so sure of that, for if the French are once allowed to follow their own inclination you may find yourself completely in error. As to my countrymen, the English, it is a different thing, I really believe that it is not in my master's power to make them move against the Flemish, nor would the Flemish willingly attack the English; that is my idea."†

It was evident to me that by these and other equally unfavourable expressions aimed at their *French allies the Duke tried to persuade me that the two kings did not entirely agree as to the line of conduct to be observed, and yet in order to make up, as it were, for his incivility towards the French, he began immediately after to praise and commend in the highest terms the very close friendship which now bound the two kings.*

I replied that no one in the whole world would be more delighted than Your Imperial Majesty to hear of such intimate friendship, since your aspirations had always been, and were still, for the universal welfare of Christendom, but *the closer the friendship* (*I said*) *the greater the danger, and* I proceeded to prove my thesis by various arguments and reasons which

* "Que les ducs de Bauiere a cause que les hyspaniolz passant riere eulx avoint endommage quelque villette, et que ung spaignol estant envoye a eulx de part de la vostre maieste pour les requerre (*sic*) daucune artillerie leur auoit use de quelques menasses, nestoint pas bien avec vostre maieste."

† "Et luy respondant que no pensoye veu que ne lung ne lautre de ces deux roys ny pretendoint nul droit que oeres quils heussent moyen et pouoer de ce fere quil y voulsissent enteudre [il me dit que mon pensement nestoit le plus asseure du monde, et que si lon se iouoit de laisser fere françois que lon verroit bien le contraire, et quant aux anglois yl croyoit quil nestoit au pouoer de ce roy les esmouvoer contre la flandre, et le mesme pensoit [il] des flamans contre ce pays."

1532.

then and there I alleged, and which the Duke readily admitted, adding that he wished the French ambassador had been present to hear them, but that he would repeat them to him when he saw him next. And so he has done, for the French ambassador himself told me so this very morning, besides which I have found him more moderate in his speech than he has been hitherto, praising Your Majesty beyond measure, and assuring me that he hopes there will be soon between Your Majesty and the King, his master, closer friendship and alliance than ever, and that he can see plainly that the time has now come for such intimate union.

About eight days ago this king happened to meet the Princess, his daughter, in the country (*aux champs*), though he did not say much to her save asking how she was, and assuring her that henceforward he would visit her oftener. *There was no question of course of the King inviting her to the place where he is now holding his court, for the Lady is with him, and she will not see or hear of the Princess, as I* have already informed Your Majesty in a former despatch. I believe, nevertheless, that *had not the Lady very cautiously dispatched two of her most confidential servants towards the King* that they might hear and report *his conversation with the Princess, his daughter,* the former would have conversed with her longer, and with greater familiarity. There was in my opinion no indication *of the marriage between the Princess and the duke of Orleans, so much spoken of,* being mooted during the interview, for, as far as I am aware, not a word was said about it. After the King's departure [for France] the Princess will reside in Windsor, which is a strong castle in the midst of a very pleasant park and grounds. Where the Queen is to go and reside no one knows yet. *She has lately been terribly afraid of the King's marrying the Lady at the proposed interview;* but is now *more tranquil, owing to the said Lady herself having assured a great personage, in whom she trusts,* that even *if the King wished to marry her now* she would never consent to it, *for she wants the ceremony to take place here, in England, at the usual place appointed for the marriage and coronation of queens.**

Three weeks ago the king of Scotland had an ordinance promulgated throughout his kingdom enjoining all men from 20 to 60 years of age to take up arms and get ready for war. So I have been told by two servants of the Papal Nuncio in Scotland who have now been dismissed from his service on the advice of the Scotch governors themselves, owing to their being both English born.† I also learn from them that

* "Mais la dite dame a dit et affirme a quelque personnage dont elle se fie que oeres que le roy voulut elle ny consentiroit, car elle veult que ce soit icy au lieu que lon a accoustume de espouser et coroner les autres roynes."

† "Comme mont dit deux serviteurs du nunce du Pape estant au dit escosse, les quelz y(il) a icy ranvoye par laduys des gouvrneurs de par dela a cause quill sont angloix."

1532.

immediately after the publication of the said ordinance upwards of 20,000 men took up arms, and are already in the field without including in that number some Irish, who have also crossed over. The English, on the other hand, are by no means negligent in strengthening their own frontiers; both infantry and cavalry are continually seen passing to and fro, and when the two above-mentioned servants of the Nuncio crossed the war had already commenced, and there had been on both sides several forays, burning of small villages, and so forth. Many people attach no importance whatever to these movements of the Scotch, for they say this: "If at the time that the French were at war with us we were able to resist successfully, now that France is our friend and ally there will be no difficulty in repulsing the attacks of our neighbours. *Others think that the Scotch can now play a better game owing to this king's bad government, which has entirely alienated from him the affections of the whole nobility and commons alike.*

The Scotch meanwhile pursue their undertaking, and the French instead of declaring openly in favour of the English, and holding the others as their enemies, do nothing of the sort, and affect to be neutral in the contest, in consequence of which people here will soon cry out, as they have already begun to do, and say that the French are deceiving them, and will not remain [*long*] *as cousins and good friends.** This very moment one of my men, *whom I had sent with a message to the Grand Squire has returned, and says to me on the part of that officer, that he is going over to France much against his will with the charge of soliciting, pressing, and recommending the interview of the two kings; and he sends me word that far from executing his commission with fidelity he will do any and everthing in his power to have it put off.* He further sends me word that the King is not over pleased at some rumours now current respecting certain arrangements proposed. It would appear that the king of France had promised, and this king hoped that *as a sort of countenance to the Lady* [*Anne*] *he would take* [*to Boulogne*] *his own sister, Madame d'Alançon, whereas it now turns out that the latter being indisposed and unable to attend, Francis proposes to take thither Madame de Vendosme instead,* at which these people are by no means pleased, saying that since the said Madame de Vendom had been in former times considered doubtful company she will perhaps take in her suite some of those who shared her former bad reputation; which would be a shame and insult to

* "Mais il semble a plusieurs autres que les dits escossois auroient maintenant ieu plus a leur auantage que lors a cause du mal gouvernement du roy que luy a fait perdre entierement la volonte de toute la noblesse et pareillement du peuple. Les dits escossois continuent en leur emprinse, et les françois tiennent ouvertement pour ceulx-ci, declairant les autres leur enemys, [et] ceulx-ci penseront commilz commencent desia murmurer que les françois les pipent et ne demeureront cousins."

1532.

the ladies on this side of the Channel.* This will shew Your Majesty the blindness and poor judgment of these people, who cannot see the beam in their own eyes and yet wish to pick out the mote in those of their neighbours.

The King has ordered processions to be made throughout his kingdom for three days in the week. They began here on the first day of the Ember week just past,† and were attended by great crowds of people, who very devoutly and sincerely thanked God for the signal victory granted to Your Majesty's arms, though this must be said, no official notification has yet been made respecting the object and motive of such processions, *for I am told by the mayor of London, who having charge of those in this city, that having naturally inquired for the purpose and intention of the thanksgiving, he was refused all explanation.* Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that had it not been for *the shame likely to be incurred by it, and because France has so well acquitted herself of this pious duty, the King would in nowise have consented to the said processions and thanksgiving in the churches of his kingdom. With regard to the Papal indulgences, however, there has been no question; the King would not allow their publication,* in order, as I do believe, *to go on taunting the Pope.*‡

The duke of Norfolk tells me that this king is about to recall his ambassador residing at Your Majesty's Court, and send thither instead of him a certain doctor and archdeacon of Yly (Ely), whose services have been very great ever since this last declaration of the English clergy recognizing him as supreme chief of the Church in England; at which declaration the said Archdeacon has worked very efficiently indeed, *as likewise in everything else that has been done and written against His Holiness here.* That Your Majesty may form an idea of what sort of person the Archdeacon is, *and who are the people here who have most favour and credit with the King,* I will only add that the said Archdeacon was long confined to prison on the charge of Lutheranism, nay, tried, convicted, and sentenced by his own uncle, the bishop of Yly (Ely) to appear publicly in a procession carrying on his shoulders a faggot of wood, which is the sort of preliminary punishment here inflicted on those condemned to the stake for such causes.§

* "A cause que lon luy avoit donna entendre quelque funoyere et espoir que le roy de france meneroit avec luy en contreschange de la dame sa seur madame dalanson, et que maintenant ilz disoient quelle estoit malade, et que en son lieu se trouveroit madame de vendosme, de quoy ceulx-cy ne se contentent, disant que comme la dite dame de vandosme a este autres foys bonne compaigne, quelle aure quelque compaignie correspondente au temps passe, et de male reputacion, que sera une honte et iniure pour les dames de par deça."

† "Les quelles commencirent (*sic*) la premier iour des quatretemps derniere-ment passez."

‡ "Pour, comme ie croys, continuer ses braueries contre le pape."

§ "Il a este detenu longuement prisonnier pour lutherien, et a la fin convaincu et par son oncle propre leuesque de yly condampne a porter sur les espaules publicquement en procession ung fagot, quest la premiere punition que lon donne icy en tel cas pour preambule au feu."

1532.

I have no doubt that he has been sufficiently provided with means and money to gain opinions concerning the divorce.

The King and his Council have decided that all foreign ambassadors, with the single exception of the French, shall remain here, on the plea that were all and every one of them to go to the interview there would be no room at Calais or Boulogne to lodge them and their suites. I am sorry not to be present that I might the better do Your Majesty's service, and I am afraid that if I ask permission for one of my secretaries to go thither and see whether any of the packets brought by the Imperial couriers is addressed to the King to deliver the same it will be refused. I have likewise informed the Queen that she may, if she deems it necessary, send some one [of her own household] under some pretence to hear and report what is going on—London, 1st October 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England." Received at Spimberghe (*sic*) on the 25th of the same month.

French. Holograph. pp. 7.

9 Oct. **1004.** Miçer Miguel Mai to Francisco de los Covos.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 154.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 132.

The bulls for the Crusade have at last been obtained, though with infinite trouble, and the greatest exertions on our part. Indeed it seems impossible that so much delay and so many subterfuges should have been employed in this matter unless they thought that by the Turk retreating into his own country bulls would not be wanted. An attempt was likewise made, as I suspect, to grant the tithes (*decimas*) to the king of France, for soon after the taking of Modon the old overtures about an offensive alliance against the Turk were resumed, &c.

Cavalier Casale, who was English ambassador here, at Rome, has taken his departure to attend the conferences between the kings of England and France at Calais. As he (Casale) is a great favourite with the Pope, and has been at other times much in his confidence, and employed as his agent, I am very much afraid that he has taken some secret commission from His Holiness, the more so that Casale having a law-suit with the brother of count Guido—who disputes with him all the property he possesses in the world—and the Pope favouring, as it would appear, the justice of the latter, Casale went about complaining bitterly of His Holiness, and yet lately, and before his departure for Calais, he has put into his hand, as I am informed from an authentic source, a decree ordering the suspension (*sobreseimiento*) of the suit, which, in my opinion, is a very bad sign. I may be mistaken, but it strikes me that the Cavalier is after no good. The ambassadors in Calais ought to be written to on the subject, for although it is said that they will not be admitted into the place where the interview is to be celebrated, yet it may

1532.

be useful to put them on their guard respecting Casale's commission.

In the matrimonial cause the king of England has respite for this month to come (*todo este mes por venir*). This delay has been cunningly extended for the Consistory said *September*, and those who had to draw the decretal wrote *October*. This is bad enough, but not so bad after all if they keep their word as to the rest of the decree.

His Holiness is certainly prosecuting his action against Napoleone [Orsino], though I am told that the French ambassador intercedes for him, and has lately obtained a delay of three months for him. Suspecting some trick of the French I went to the Pope and spoke to him about it; he assured me that he was determined to see justice done, and I really believe that he intends it this time.

Arrival at Rome of a secretary of the cardinal of Santiago (Tavera), who comes on business relating to the Crusada. His name is Johan de Mañer (*sic*).

My brother, Clemente Mai, has been most dangerously ill, so much so that for five and twenty days I considered him a dead man. For the last three, however, he has somewhat improved, and there is now some hope of his recovery.

Strange rumours are afloat here about the Cardinal Legate, Ippolito de' Medici, having received a sabre cut across his face, and about the marquis del Gasto (Vasto), and I do not know how many officers and men having been slain in a skirmish with the Turks; also about the threatening comet which these Romans believe is a sign that the Pope will die soon, and that the Emperor cannot fail to come westwards.

Sends Artal with the present despatch.—Rome, viii October 1532.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, first secretary, and of the Privy Council of His Imperial Majesty, &c., my Lord."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

9 Oct. **1005.** Cardinal Siguença to the Same.

S. E. L. 858, f. 127.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 135.

. . . . . .

The Pope considers that the interview of the kings of England and France as certain, but I believe he fears it will turn out to his prejudice. I cannot see what other reason he can have for acting as he has done lately, or what excuse he can offer to those kings unless it be that he has often acted against his conscience in trying to please them. God will permit that the result of this conference will be the same as usual, that is that the princes will come out of it more divided than before.—Rome, 9 October 1532.

Signed: "Fr. G[arcia] Cardinalis Segontinus."

Addressed: "To the very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon, &c."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2½.

1532.

12 Oct **1006.** The HIGH COMMANDER of ALCANTARA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 118.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 137.

I arrived here to-day, Saturday, in company with the bishop of Palencia, and several other gentlemen journeying together. Though we were upwards of 100 without counting the servants all armed to the teeth, I can assure Your Majesty that we were in some danger, for within sight of us several light horse have this very day been slain, and others have lost everything they had with them. If Your Majesty does not put a stop to this nuisance, or order that no man of the Imperial army should go forward, there will be no chance for those who may come after us; they will all be robbed or slain.

I found the Legate [Ippolito] at liberty, at which I was much pleased, though I am sorry to hear that Lockinghen refuses to take charge of him. I am doing all I can that way, may God give me success!

Gambara, if he dares, will proceed on Your Majesty's errand to conciliate matters and keep people contented; if he has not a letter ought to be written to him in your name. The Legate (Ippolito) the very moment he was set at liberty departed with great fury in the direction of Venice. They tell me that he said he would pass this night at Bilaque. Though my eyes are not good enough to travel at night and in the dark I will still use all possible speed to arrive there on Sunday morning at day break, though they tell me that the Legate will not perhaps stay so long there.

Count San Segundo I have seen here. Though closely watched he is not actually under arrest. He offers to prove his innocence. If Your Majesty intend to release him the thing had better be done at once.—San Vitores, Saturday afternoon, the 12th of October [1532].

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most invincible Emperor, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

13 Oct. **1007.** Captain LEKINGHEN and Commander LEGUIÇAMO to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 2,457, f. 185.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 139.

Your Lordship has no doubt already been informed that on Friday morning my colleagues and myself arrested cardinal [Ippolito de'] Medici, after presenting to him His Majesty's warrant with all due respect and the greatest possible courtesy. We also arrested the person of count San Segundo, who will be kept in prison until Your Majesty's arrival, according to orders.

On Saturday, at 10 in the morning, Mercado, the servant of His Highness the king of Hungary, arrived and brought letters for us [Leguiçamo, and myself, Lekinghen,] besides another one for the Legate. Upon which we went straight to him, delivered the letter we had received, and asked his pardon for having through a misunderstanding of our in-

1532.

structions and commission proceeded to his arrest. It was not (we said) His Majesty's intention to detain him at all, but only count San Segundo. We had evidently misunderstood the order and had arrested him instead. We again entreated the Cardinal to forgive our blunder and be the intercessor with the Emperor that we might not be punished for it. The Legate's answer was that he had nothing to forgive; we had done our duty and obeyed orders from our master; that he knew well. We again assured him that it had never crossed the Emperor's mind to have him arrested, and therefore that we were mightily afraid of being punished unless His Most Reverend Lordship interceded for us: "Go, I know all about it," said the Cardinal, and left the room.

When we delivered the King's letter the Legate was at table dining. Scarcely had he finished his dinner than he asked for post horses and left by the road leading to Venice, where, considering the haste he is making, he will arrive soon.

Your Lordship knows very well how innocent we are in all this affair, and that although we have actually taken upon ourselves all the responsibility of this act, and are ready to sacrifice our honour and reputation as well as our lives for the Emperor, it was at Your Lordship's express command that we undertook this commission. And we cannot omit the circumstance that we have been threatened that the very moment we put our feet in Italy we shall be murdered or despatched somehow.—Santo Vito,* 13th October 1532.

Signed: "De Lequinghen.—Leguiçamo."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent lord the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

14 Oct. **1008.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 43.

Everything was ready and in order for the King's departure when on Friday some news came into town which retarded the journey until yesterday, Monday, the 7th inst. It is true that in order to make up for the said delay the King intends not to stay so long where he at first thought, but to cross on the 14th, provided he gets a favourable answer from his Grand Squire, whom he sent the other day to France to report immediately about the affair.

The day before yesterday as the French ambassador (La Pommeraye) came to take leave, he failed not among other subjects of conversation to touch upon the interview of the two kings at Calais, and repeat to me what he had said on so many previous occasions, namely, that the meeting of the two kings had only been designed for the defence against the Turk, and to devise means (he added on this occasion) of expelling him altogether from Christian territory. In this

* Probably Sanvito (Santo Vito?) in the Friul, the same town as the San Vitor of La Cueva's despatch, No. 1006, p. 532. Lequinghen's name is also written Loquinguien.

1532.

manner (said the ambassador) both princes would participate in the glory and profit of the undertaking, which was not a thing to be disdained; and he further thought that the two princes coming to treat of the said matters would give an opening for Your Majesty to join the league, if you chose, and that if you refused it would be clearly proclaiming to the World that you never intended to work for the public welfare, but merely for your own particular glory and profit. After this the Frenchman asked me point blank what answer Your Majesty had made to the above views, and upon my replying that until now I had received none, the ambassador thought that very strange, and observed that either through dislike and fear of the projected interview you were hesitating and undecided about the plan to be pursued, or that you had been badly advised by your counsellors to despise and look contemptuously upon the meeting of these two princes so great and so powerful. He and many others, he said, were of opinion that Your Majesty could not do less than send thither [to Calais] some distinguished person for the express purpose of representing you, whereof he said there had been already some indication (*et que desia yl en auoit senty quelque fumiere*).

I relate all this that Your Imperial Majesty may duly appreciate the fantastic ideas of people like these, who with their meetings and interviews partly brought about by the will of ladies think to frighten and intimidate the whole World. My reply, among other things, was that no answer was required to my announcement of the projected interview, especially as the notice did not actually come from the King himself. Most likely (I said) when the meeting is definitively fixed the King will not fail officially to inform Your Majesty thereof through his ambassador at the Imperial Court or through me. That (I continued) was an act of courtesy, with which he could not well dispense, besides which, Your Majesty might well with God's help provide so effectually for the defence of Christendom and the repulse of the Turk by yourself that a meeting of the kind for the avowed purpose of waging war against the Infidel separately would be most useless and inefficacious. As to sending expressly to Calais *some one to represent you, I doubted much whether on hearing that your ambassadors had been precluded from all intervention, you would condescend to appoint another one for that express purpose.*

After this I adroitly changed the conversation, and tried to ascertain which of the two princes had first conceived the idea of the interview and proposed it to the other, and although I frankly and openly told La Pommeraye that the generality of the English firmly believed the idea to have first originated with this king, he maintained that the contrary was the case, and that the idea came from his master, though he owned that the Lady had forwarded it and was much pleased at it.

1532.

Then passing on to the Scotch movements (*esmotions*), about which I wrote lately to Your Majesty, the ambassador said that the Scots had taken up arms rather for fear of an invasion from this country than from any other motive. His master, the King, had done everything in his power to procure peace and union between them, but since all his efforts had been unavailing they might wage war against each other as much as they liked, he (the king of France) would not interfere or help either.

The King takes with him to Calais a legion of doctors and priests, who hold for the divorce, and among the rest three Franciscans (*courdeliers*) whom king Francis sent him some time ago from Britanny, as I informed Your Majesty by my last despatch, and likewise the Jew* who came from Venice at his bidding. This last gives out that there will be [at Calais] a conference on the matter of this divorce, which perchance at the request of this king will be discussed before the Council and cardinals of France, and then be decided by the latter. And it is to be apprehended that should the said cardinals be bold and unwise enough to take this affair into their hands this king would not hesitate to carry out his mad purpose (*parchever sa follie*). In fact I conclude from what I have heard this resident ambassador say that the king of France will employ this and other means to make this one and fall, that he may entirely alienate him from Your Majesty. I have given due notice of this to viscount Hannart, and sent him copies of the two briefs by which His Holiness under most extreme penalties forbids anyone to take cognizance of or decide in this affair, that he may make use of them in Flanders as he best thinks for Your Majesty's service and the good of the affair, and that the said cardinals and others may not *allege ignorance on that score.*

Since the above was written, Your Majesty's letter of the 20th ult° to me, and the copy of the one to the Imperial ambassador in France, have duly come to hand. In obedience to the commands of Your Majesty, and according to the instructions therein contained, I will shape my conduct, and regulate my answers on the principal business [of the divorce] and its dependencies, continuing, as hitherto, to advise the Imperial ambassador in France of every new occurrence in this country, and using my own cipher for the most important communications, so that, God willing, no inconvenience will result therefrom. Two days ago I dispatched a clerk of mine, whom these people have at last allowed to go to Calais, who will go straight to the lodgings of the Imperial ambassador there with my letters and news from this country. *He has express charge of speaking in my name to the Duke* [*of Norfolk*] *and other members of the Privy Council, and inquiring the news, as he may be ordered by the said viscount*

* See part 1, p. 761.

1532.

Hannart. I have likewise prevailed upon the Papal Nuncio to send thither another man, who will use all diligence to ascertain what is going on at the conferences, and communicate with my own.

With regard to the King's answer to the Nuncio when he was asked to contribute towards the expenses of the Turkish war, I must say that it has not yet been received. I have already informed Your Majesty that talking on this very subject with *the duke of Norfolk, he had frankly owned to me that he was literally ashamed at its being so long delayed.* May God help Your Majesty and enable you to act as hitherto without the aid of these people, or else to have this affair of the Queen settled, since after all it is the principal cause of the hatred they bear Your Majesty.

There is no other news to report except that the government of the kingdom has been placed in the hands of the archbishop of York, Edward Lee, of the earl of Sussex (Robert Ratcliffe), and of the sieur Darcy (Sir Thomas Lord D'Arcy), together with the Privy Council.—London, 14th October 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 4.

15 Oct. **1009.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to Francisco de los Covos.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 119.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 141.

The despatch brought by the last courier reached me at this place. No better provision could in my opinion have been made to mend the very foolish blunder committed by these gentlemen, though they persist in saying that they acted rightly, and according to orders. The worst is that both the instructions Your Lordship gave them at the time of their departure, and the letters you wrote to them afterwards enjoining them to take the blame upon themselves they have shewn, as I have been informed, to a few. I should advise Your Lordship to send for those letters, that they may not be hawked about more than they have been already. I would even recommend that should the affair be bruited about, and come to the ears of Italians, both Lecquinghen and Leguiçamo should be sent about their business, and obliged to quit the Imperial service. This would be a great boon for them, and at the same time a sort of satisfaction to this cardinal (Medici), who the very moment he was set free set out for Venice as hard as he could ride. Ganvaro (Gambara) returned from that town of Germany where I left him, for he dared not proceed on his journey.

Valanson and I could not pass to-day from this town [Vilaque], the people of the town would not allow it owing to the many bands [of robbers] who scour the country. To-morrow, God willing, we shall muster 200 horse and more, so that we might offer them battle if necessary. Once in Italy we shall make as much haste as possible, though I doubt whether the

1532.

precarious state of my health will bear any great strain. At any rate if necessary, and in order to counteract the bad effect which the blunder of Leckinghen and Leguiçamo must have produced at Rome, I will send an express to cardinal Siguença informing him of what has occurred.

Don Henrique de Toledo passed through to-day, he left the Mantua Road for the one we are following, &c.

Don Bartholome was of very great use to the Papal Legate in that dilemma (*baraja*); not only he kept him company, but as during his arrest they took away most of his servants and household, he had consequently to provide him food and bed besides good counsel. He well deserves that His Majesty should bear him in mind should the see of Cuenca become vacant by the death of its bishop.*—Vilaque, 15th October 1532.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

16 Oct. **1010.** Dr. Ortiz to the Emperor.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 858, f. 169.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 144.

God be praised for having granted victory to Your Majesty's arms!

The ambassador (Mai) has at last succeeded in getting the matrimonial cause of the queen of England sent to the Rota, as he himself no doubt will report. His Holiness has publicly announced and explained His Imperial Majesty's intended visit to Italy, and said that he himself purposes holding a conference with you.

Begs for instructions, for he fears this event will occasion new delays and that the principal cause may be retarded in consequence. Wishes in the meanwhile that the brief for which he (Ortiz) has applied so often should be sent, because after this present month His Holiness is sure to say that as the interview with the Emperor is to take place soon the whole thing might, and ought to, be delayed till then.—Rome, 16th October 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty the Emperor and King, our Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

16 Oct. **1011.** The Same to the High Commander.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 856, f. 168.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 145.

Congratulations for the victory gained against the Turks. His Holiness having publicly announced his desire and his intention to hold an interview with His Imperial Majesty, and not knowing whether it will be a short one or last many days, he (Ortiz) is anxious to receive instructions as to how he is to act. Has often applied, and will go on applying for the brief.—Rome, 16th October 1532.

* At this time Diego Ramirez de Fuenleal was bishop of Cuenca till his death in August 1536. The *Don Bartholome* might be Gattinara's nephew, Giovan Bartholomeo.

1532.

20–1 Oct. **1012.** CARDINAL SIGUENZA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 859, ff. 41-2.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 159.

Besides the secret malady with which His Holiness is generally affected he has lately been seized with fits of the gout. He has not given audiences for some time, but is now getting better.

The Pope sent for me, Loaysa, the other day and for Don Pedro [de la Cueva] and Miçer Mai also, and said that the Cardinal, his nephew (Ippolito), had written explaining the cause of his having left for Italy before you, and before the infantry which had mutinied, though he had received orders to remain behind; how he had afterwards met the count of San Segundo and joined him, &c. That in coming out of a place, whereat he had passed the night, he (the Cardinal) had been arrested; and that having asked his detainers to exhibit their mandate he had been told that they had none, only private instructions from Your Majesty. He was then told to choose among his household servants five or six to attend on his person upon which he (the Cardinal) inquired whether they did that for the sake of the count of San Segundo, because if that was the case he was ready to move to some other quarters. The officers agreed, and consequently all his servants were left with him. That next day Mercado arrived with a letter from Your Majesty and another one from the king of the Romans, asking for the 40,000 ducats which His Holiness had sent him by count Julio, and upon the Cardinal saying that he had them not with him, but that they might go to his lodgings, where they would find them stored in chests, Mercado went away. Soon after came another letter from Your Majesty ordering his complete release, which was accordingly done, he (the Cardinal) having ridden as far as Treviso, where he had remained without proceeding on his march, that he might there wait for Your Majesty's orders.

After the above statement, borrowed, as he said, from his nephew's letter, His Holiness very much affected (*con palabras de mucho sentimiento*) said to us: "I believe that I have given no cause whatever to the Emperor for such a treatment of a Legate of the Apostolic See and my nephew, and am only sorry at what people may say when they hear of this. I cannot think it was the Emperor's fault, but some thoughtlessness (*liviandad*) of my nephew, or some mistake of the Imperial ministers. Perhaps the Emperor was told that the Cardinal with the 40,000 ducats and with the mutineers intended taking the road to Florence.

Having then asked our advice, I (Loaysa) replied in the name of my colleagues, that not having yet heard from Your Majesty on this particular subject we could not express an opinion as to that, but that we were sure the case was not so grave as represented, or the reason alleged so slight. That if the Cardinal's account was the true one, his arrest had been

1532.

accomplished less as a disrespectful measure against His Reverence than for the purpose of securing the person of count San Segundo, besides which there was no offence in sending for the money, since His Holiness had written to announce its remittance, and that it was to be spent exactly as the Emperor wished.

Somewhat appeased by these reasons of mine the Pope made no more difficulties, and promised to write to the Cardinal not to move from Treviso, but wait there for Your Majesty's orders: "Only (he observed) it is very odd that before my nephew's letter came to hand the French ambassador said resolutely that the Emperor had ordered his arrest, which I cannot otherwise explain than by supposing that the one who resides at Venice has written to him."

The duke of Florence (Alessandro de' Medici) had, I am told, intended ere this to kiss Your Majesty's hands previous to your leaving Germany, but in consequence of the Cardinal's mishap he will put off his visit till a better opportunity, as he dares not quit Florence just now.

Miçer Mai is of opinion that the interview concerted between His Holiness and Your Majesty ought to be urgently pressed, so that there should be no excuse for delay, for it is rumoured that the Pope, owing to the bad state of his health, will not be able to depart so soon, and the orders for his journey have not yet been issued. The same ambassador is of opinion that there reigns so much coldness and indifference upon the subject that it would seem as if the coming of Your Majesty to Italy and journey to Spain was a thing against the taste of these Romans (*a pospelo*). In his (Mai's) opinion this is nothing but the fear that through Your Majesty's coming here His Holiness and the rest of the Italian potentates will have to declare for the defence of their country, and Your Majesty will leave everything prepared (*allanado*) for such a defence which seems to them a very hard thing. Evidently they are confused; because they say that it would not do for the ambassadors of the king of the Romans to conclude truce or peace with the Turk, and that rather than take the offensive it would be preferable to make an agreement with France.

A good portion of the 40,000 ducats which count Giulio [di Gambara] was bringing has been received at Bologna.* I am sure, however, that these people will delay payment as much as possible, in the daily expectation of the news of the Turk's retreat. For the same cause they are delaying as long as they can the expedition of the bulls for the "Quarta" and Cruzada."

Miçer Andrea del Burgo having asked in the king of the Romans' name for the help in money so long and so often promised for the defence of Hungary, Salviati said to him:

* "De los XL. m. ducados que trajo el conde Julio se han tomado en Boloña una buena parte de ellos."

1532.

"You must not imagine that the Pope is to give his money to whomsoever asks for it; in the first place, because he has none, and even if he had it is unjust that he alone should contribute to the defence of Hungary." "How alone?" said I, "do not the Emperor and king Ferdinand spend their own substance in it?"

For many days past I and the ambassador (Miçer Mai) have been urgently pressed to take some engagement (*tomar assiento*) with Juan Paulo de Cherri* before the French could secure his services, but it would appear that having inquired in whose pay he was to be, Salviati has declared in Your Majesty's and His Holiness'. I keep telling them that Juan Paulo being a man of the quality he is I could not presume to decide without consulting Your Majesty first.

Letters from France state that although the two kings [of England and France] had not seen each other yet the conferences would soon begin. King Henry had given to Mistress Anne an estate worth 5,000 ducats a year, which was by some considered a good sign, guessing that the King wants to marry her to one of his courtiers. I will urge the sentence though I have no hope of the affair being terminated this year.

Luigi Gonzaga is besieging Vicovaro. The Pope suspects the Colonese. I am trying all I can to calm his fears, and on the other hand persuade them not to give him (the Pope) further cause for resentment.† The other day a trumpeter came out of the place for the purpose, as it is believed, of parliamenting.—Rome, 20–21st October 1532.

Signed: "Fr. G[arcia] Card[lis] Segontinus."

Addressed: "To the Emperor and King."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

22 Oct. **1013.** CARDINAL IPPOLITO DE' MEDICI to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,309. f. 272. B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 146.

Sees by the Emperor's holograph letter, and the verbal message brought to him (Medici) by his chamberlain, the baron de Balanson, what his (the Emperor's) sentiments are towards him. It was no new thing for him (the Legate) to hear of the Emperor's benevolent intentions, as he has always given many evident proofs of his generosity and kindness, not only to him but to all people in general. To what has happened to him, being, as he is, the Emperor's most faithful servant, he (the Cardinal) need make no allusion; not only has he no complaint to make, but on the contrary, is exceedingly obliged and grateful, as it has afforded the Emperor an opportunity to write him a letter in his own hand, and make his excuses for what really was not worth it.

* Giovan Pagolo da Ceri.

† "Quel procura de conservarlo en su gracia y con ellos que no le den causa de enojo."

1532.

Recommends the case of count San Secondo.—Venice, 22nd October MDXXXI.*

Signed: "Hipp. Card. Medˢ."

Addressed: "Sacre Cæsᵉ et Cathᶜᵉ Mᵗⁱ."

Italian. Holograph. pp. 2.

31 Oct. **1014.** Don Pedro de la Cueva to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 854, f. 2. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 147.

I reached this capital (Rome) within the space of time fixed by Your Lordship, and yet found the people here very preoccupied with my tarrying, and making also all manner of conjectures as is the custom with these Italians. Went immediately upon my arrival to kiss His Holiness' foot, and answer any questions he might choose to address me. Though he (the Pope) was determined, as he once wrote to his Legate (cardinal de' Medici) to go down to Bologna to meet the Emperor, yet he said to me on this occasion that he wished to consult the cardinals assembled in Consistory as to the answer he was to give to our master's letter. As to himself, he said, he was ready, though not in good health, to call upon the Emperor, or wait for him here at Rome, as might be more convenient to His Imperial Majesty. However, as the Emperor's embarkation for Spain could not take place so soon as was anticipated, owing to the Imperial galleys being far away and so scattered, that they could not be easily collected, he, the Pope, thought that the best thing for the Emperor to do was to pass the winter at Rome and Naples, rather than remain in Lombardy. For this reason, after talking at length with the cardinal Siguenza (Loaysa), and with the Imperial ambassador (Miçer Mai), both of whom were present at the audience, the Pope declared that His Majesty's will should be done, but that he would nevertheless announce his intention in Consistory, and hear what the cardinals had to say thereupon.

On Wednesday the 30th, therefore, a Consistory was held, and although the majority of the cardinals, as we were afterwards told by Siguenza himself, voted that His Holiness should write a letter to the Emperor inviting him to come to Rome, yet when we called on him the same evening to hear the result of the meeting he said to us: "You know how the cardinals have voted; if the Emperor will not come here I am ready to go to Bologna, which after all seems to me the best plan. As to my going to Genoa it is out of the question for many reasons; neither can Piacenza — of which there is, I hear, some talk—be selected as the place of our meeting, for the Emperor can hardly expect me to pass through the territory of the duke of Ferrara."

And upon our asking him when he would be ready to depart, supposing the Emperor accepted Bologna, he answered: "Surely, on the 10th of November, for I have but few pre-

* Thus in Bergenroth's copy, but it is evidently a mistake for MDXXXII (1532).

1532.

parations to make, and will take with me as few cardinals and retainers as possible."

After all it seems to me as if His Holiness from the very beginning wished the interview to take place at Bologna. True he said once to Siguenza: "God be praised for having given us so Christian an Emperor! In old times popes and cardinals used to go to the end of the World after them for fear of their coming here; nowadays it is the cardinals themselves who invite him to Rome!" But no sooner was he (the Pope) informed of my coming and what my errand was than he decided for Bologna, and selected at once the cardinals who were to accompany him. These are Farnese and his two nephews, Ridolfi and Salviati, Cessi, and Cesarino, besides the three Spaniards who, he presumed, would have liked to go, eight in all, and therefore, it is quite clear to me that since he prepared for the journey, even before my arrival in Rome, he wished our Emperor not to come here, but meet him at Bologna or elsewhere.

Offers his opinion on the various conjectures formed by the Romans respecting the proposed interview, and mentions among others that of his being glad that the Emperor came to Rome that he might afterwards send him on to Naples, and take part in the war which Andrea Doria is now waging against the Turks, thus making him spend the money proceeding from those crusades which he is reported to have granted him; for the Romans say the Pope is awfully afraid of the kings of France and England coming down upon him, and complaining that he has indirectly supplied our Emperor with means, though as he (the Pope) can play with both hands, he will give as an excuse that "if he gave the money, he gave also the occasion to spend it in."

One of the first questions which His Holiness put to me when I first called on him was whether I knew how his nephew's arrest had happened. I laughed, and answered in jest, though I failed not to speak in earnest, and spoke of the immense grief which our Emperor must have received on hearing of the blunder which those two blockheads (Locquinghen and Leguiçamo) had committed without special order or mandate from him, and I offered to bring him the letter which you, the High Commander of Leon, had written to me on the subject: "I shall be glad to see it (replied His Holiness), for my nephew writes to me that a Spaniard, having the office of carver in his household, had seen with his own eyes the instructions sent to the two commissioners, and that certainly in those instructions orders were given for the Cardinal's arrest." My reply was that the commissioners and the carver, the carver and the commissioners lied if they meant to say that the instructions contained anything of the kind; and taking out of my pocket one of your despatches I read it to him from beginning to end, at which the Pope seemed satisfied, &c.

1532.

With regard to the English business His Holiness himself engaged me to speak. I have done so, and will do so as long as I remain here. The affair itself needs well to be stirred up for all agree that there is not sufficient activity shewn about it (*que la solicitud anda floja*).

Respecting the money promised to the king of the Romans I believe, and so does Andrea del Burgo, that some ground has been gained in the matter.

The commission concerning the prince of Sulmona has been faithfully executed. We have mentioned it to His Holiness, and to-morrow Miçer Mai and I intend speaking to the duchess of Camarino, who is now here at Rome.

The enclosed is from Escanyo,* who wishes as soon as possible for an answer.—Rome, the last day of October, at the 11 hours [Castillian] of the night [1532].

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious lord the High Commander of Leon, of the Supreme Council of His Imperial Majesty, and his secretary."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

31 Oct. **1015.** The SAME to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 854, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 151.

The same as the preceding with a few additions.—Rome, 31st October 1532.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

31 Oct. **1016.** MUXETULA to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 859, f. 101.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 152.

The Emperor's two letters of the 7th and 21st inst., the former of which was brought by the High Commander of Alcantara, came duly to hand.

[Relates at length the conversation which Don Pedro de la Cueva had with the Pope respecting the Emperor's announced visit and then adds:]

No advices have yet been received from France respecting the interview between the kings of that country and England, but all letters have said that it would soon take place. The English King had already crossed the Channel and was at Calais, the French at Boulogne: both caressed immensely the Papal nuncios near their persons saying that though His Holiness did not value them as they deserved, they would still act in every respect as obedient sons of the Church. And yet notwithstanding they would try not to be so ill-treated as they had been hitherto, nor would they tolerate that His Holiness should do more for others than for them. According to the said nuncios the two kings threatened much, and announce that the conferences will be principally on matters concerning the Pope and the obedience due to him. His Holiness has heard from all of us what we thought respecting this

* Most likely Ascanio Colonna.

1532.

matter, and what was most fitting for his honour and reputation.

The prudent, wise, and well shaped justification of Your Majesty respecting the Cardinal's arrest came very opportunely to dissipate a thousand rumours circulated by our enemies. Your letter and the message brought by Mr. de Balanson have completely persuaded His Holiness who to my certain knowledge had before the arrival of the High Commander of Alcantara (Don Pedro de la Cueva) written to his nephew (Ippolito) to return immediately to the Imperial Court, upbraiding him for having left it.

Some days ago the Pope had a relapse of his old disease the gout, combined with a secret malady from which he suffers at present, which confined him to his bed. He has now recovered, and is ready to start for Bologna as soon as Your Majesty's resolution becomes known.

I myself have been suffering so long from quartan ague that the physicians recommend me to pass this winter out of Rome and go, or rather be carried in a litter to Puzzuolo or Naples, my native country. As during His Holiness' visit to Bologna there cannot be much to do here at Rome, I humbly ask Your Majesty for a short leave of absence that I may recover my lost health.—Rome, 31st October 1532.

Signed: "Jo. Antº Muscetula."

Addressed: "Sacræ Cesæ Cathocæ Mti."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

31 Oct. **1017.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 859, ff. 41-2.
B M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 158 *b.*

His Holiness' resolution respecting the interview. Much prefers going to Bologna, for which place he intends starting on the 10th of next month.

Nothing is yet known about the interview of the two kings. He of England was already at Calais; both, it was reported, had held very threatening language to the Papal Nuncios.—Rome, 31st October 1532.

Indorsed: "Relacion de cartas de Roma de ultimo de Octubre. Respondidas en Mantua á 12 de Novº."

Spanish. Contemporary abstract. p. ½.

31 Oct. **1018.** CARDINAL SANTA CROCE to the SAME.

S. E. L. 849, f. 41.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 159.

Asks for leave to go to Spain.

Gives his opinion on the Emperor's journey. Thinks he ought to return home as soon as possible, and in case of his coming to Italy to visit both Rome and Naples.*—Rome, 31st October 1532.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

* On the margin: "To thank him for his letter. Respecting his leave of absence from his post at Rome, and permission he asks to go to Spain, to tell him that since His Holiness, according to his letter, must already have quitted Rome, and he himself must soon be at Bologna, we shall then and there discuss together this and other affairs." *Covos.*

1532.

31 Oct. **1019.** Cardinal Mendoza to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 849, f. 41.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 159.

Wishes to know whether the Emperor approves of his going to Bologna in the Pope's suite, he being one of the three Spanish cardinals designated to accompany him thither. —Naples, 31st October 1532.

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

31 Oct. **1020.** Ascanio Colonna to the Same.

S. E. L. 849, f. 42.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 159.

Not knowing whether the Emperor would be pleased, he has remained behind and not gone [to Bologna] to kiss his hands. Has said this to the High Commander of Alcantara [Don Pedro de la Cueva]. Begs that the answer to this be enclosed to the latter, that he (Ascanio) may know at once what is the Emperor's good pleasure,*—Rome, 31st October 1532.

Italian. Original abstract. pp. 1½.

31 Oct. **1021.** The High Commander of Alcantara [Don Pedro de la Cueva] to the Emperor.

S. E. L. 854, f. 3.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 151.

Has written to the High Commander of Leon (Covos), and transmitted the answer he got from His Holiness, and what passed at the last audience. As, moreover, both cardinal d'Osma and Miçer Mai write at length on the subject, he (Cueva) need not enter into more details.† Before the return of this messenger he will attend to other business which has been entrusted to him.—Rome, the last day of October 1532.

Signed: "Don Pedro de la Cueva."

Addressed: "To the most invincible Cæsar, the Emperor and King, our Sovereign Lord."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

6 Nov. **1022.** Queen Katharine to Covos.

S. E. L. 806, f. 36.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 163.

The good and benefit which God has conferred on Christendom, freeing it by the Emperor's hand from the enemy of our holy Faith, imposes upon us all the obligation of accomplishing good deeds, and as you yourself know that none can

* On the margin in secretary Idiaquez's hand: "Thanks to be returned, saying that His Majesty does not wish him to take the trouble of coming, but that if he does he shall be welcome."

† Immediately after is the following paragraph: "Dyré en lo que es mi profesion que fue que me allé a quynze millas de aqui en la muerte, el dia que arrive a esta corte, de dos puercos vien grandes magine (*sic*) el uno, que aun en presencia sere reprendido quanto mas en ausencia;" which, for want of one or more sentences, seems to me quite unintelligible. There can be no doubt that Don Pedro, on his way to Rome, attended a hunting party, and was present at the death of two tremendously big wild boars; but what is the meaning of imagine, ó imaginé el uno? for I shall certainly be reprehended in presence [of the Emperor?], much more now that I am absent.

1532.

be thought of more meritorious than urging His Holiness to put an end to this suit, which has already caused and will cause much injury to Christendom as long as it shall remain in suspense, I beg and entreat you not to forget me, but continue as you have done until now, promoting my interests with the Emperor. — From Vichefarfil (?), vi November [1532].

P.S.—I am in such anxiety and trouble at the present moment that I have no power to write with my own hand many things that I would otherwise say. I address you as one who is more needy than ever of the Emperor's help and assistance. Should this be wanting now that His Majesty is about to meet the Pope [at Bologna], and urge him to put an end to this affair of mine, I consider myself as entirely given up save by God only, who in His infinite mercy will dispose of me as seems good to Him.*

Signed: "Catharina."

Addressed: "To my particular friend the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Original. Partly holograph. pp. 2.

6 Nov. **1023.** HANNART to the EMPRESS.

Arch.Nat. S.1,483, No. 44.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 164.

Wrote on the 8th ult° from Paris, and sent the duplicate of my despatch from Ambuesa (Amboise) the 22nd of September, besides the copies of two letters written by the Governor, who during 25 days held Guns† against the Turks. Wrote also news of the Emperor, and the retreat of the Turk.

The Most Christian King prosecuted his journey towards Marseilles, where the interview is to be held. He went a little off the road hunting, and I followed the Court. In this way Abavila (Abbeville) was reached, which is a town 17 leagues distant from Boulogne, where the interview of the two kings is to take place. Here His Highness sent word to all the foreign ambassadors not to advance, but wait there until the interview had been held, on the plea that the king of England had said that he brought no ambassadors with him, and that he wished to do the same.

I remained therefore at Abbeville with the rest, but sent forward one of my confidential servants to report on what he could see or hear. Chapuys, the Imperial ambassador in England, sent another. From the reports of the two men put together and compared it would appear that the two kings met in the confines of the county of Boulogne-in-the

* "Porfalta de sosyego de coraçon no tengo poder para de my mano os escrivir todo lo que querria syno como persona que sy el remedio de Su Magestad agora me falta, quando estuviere con el papa, para dar fin á mi negocio, yo estoy desasyuçada (desaucyada ?) para que solo dios aga de my con su miserycordya lo que quysiere." This postcriptum is in the Queen's own hand.

† Guns or Koeszeg in Hungary, Guintz in Sandoval, *Hist. del Emp. Carlos V.* lib xx., § 7. The governor's name was Niccoliza. *Ad Guntium oppidulum retardati Turcæ* in Raynaldo, *Annales*, vol. xiii., p. 254.

1532.

fields, three leagues from Calais, on Monday the 21st, each with the retinue agreed beforehand, all in very good order and richly dressed and equipped. And they say that they embraced each other with brotherly affection, and with great cordiality and joy. Thence they went to Boulogne, and one league before were met by the Cardinal Legate, archbishop of Sens, grand chancellor of France (Antoine du Prat), with the Dauphin and two younger princes, to whom the king of England shewed much affection, and they to him great respect. For three consecutive days the kings caroused and banqueted splendidly in that town, and the Most Christian King presented to the king of England six large horses magnificently caparisoned in his colours and three sets of dresses, robes, and other very rich vestments.* The English gave him in return six hackneys, very good and costly attired, and a tapestry bed (*cama de campo*) of great value as they say, and they add that he made the princes a present of all the moneys which their father was bound to pay him in virtue of the treaty made for their liberation. Of this last gift, however, I have no certainty except that it is publicly said so. On those three days a secret council and conference was held at which three persons assisted on each side besides the two kings, namely, on the side of the Most Christian King, the Legate, the Grand Master and the Great Admiral of France; on that of the English, the duke of Suffolk, his brother-in-law, the duke of Norfolk, and a bishop who is his chancellor. It has been impossible to ascertain what passed at the conferences. From thence the two kings went to Calais where three more days were spent in banqueting and carousing, after which they parted.

Meanwhile, there at Abbeville on the 11th of October, I received a despatch from the Emperor informing me that the Turk was in full retreat to his own country, after having lost many men and part of his baggage, as well as reputation, and that considering the hasty and shameful retreat of the Infidel, and that the presence of His Imperial Majesty in Germany was no longer required, it had been resolved that his brother, the king of the Romans, with a good army should march upon Hungary and try to recover it, whilst he himself with part of his Spaniards and Germans would go to Italy, and embarking at Genoa this next winter visit his kingdoms of Spain, &c.

Having received order to communicate to the king of France the above intelligence, I applied for an audience, which was most graciously granted, and I told him my news. He said he was delighted to hear of the Turk's discomfiture which he only wished might have been much greater; that he wished the Emperor a prosperous journey and that if anything was required for his voyage, or if he intended to touch at any of the ports of his kingdom, he should be glad to know in time,

* "Y el Cristianisimo le presentó seys cavallos grandes guarnecidos ricamente de sus colores y tres pares de vestidos, ropas y sayos muy ricos."

1532.

that they might have time to prepare, and so forth. I thanked the King in the Emperor's name, and I hear he has sent a gentleman of his household to Proencia (Provence) to that effect.

The King told me that the conferences had been for the exclusive purpose of talking about the Turk. He had (he said) found the king of England so well disposed to do the best he could against the Infidel that no persuasion was needed on his part. Having heard, however, of his retreat it was resolved that whenever their co-operation was needed or their help required they would willingly furnish 80,000 or 100,000 men between them and personally lead them against the common enemy, provided free passage and provisions were allotted them. Should the king of England (he added) be unable to attend in person he (the Most Christain King) promised to march at the head of 30,000 Germans paid between the two. This is what the King told me had been the subject of the conferences, whether anything else was discussed there I have been unable to learn. Since then I have been told that upon the receipt of this news about the Turk the King resolved to send to Rome on a mission cardinals Tournon and Grammont, who are soon to leave this town.

The Queen (Eleanor) is in excellent health living with the King at a castle three leagues from this place, whence they occasionally come to this town as they did yesterday.

Bernardino de Albornoz, the Emperor's gentleman usher, being now here acting as my secretary, I have resolved to send him with this despatch.* He will leave this very day and I have no doubt that on his way to the Emperor's Court he will find some one to take charge of this despatch. A duplicate of it will go by the ordinary post.—Mians (Amiens) in Picardy, 6th November 1532.

Signed: "J. Hannart."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty the Empress, our Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

10 Nov. **1024.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 44.

Since the King's departure for Calais to hold his interview with the Most Christian King, of which I have not been allowed to be a witness, nothing has happened here worthy of special notice, Your Majesty being at present engaged in most important business. The man whom I sent to Calais and Boulogne has often written to me the news of those towns, but as I consider that Your Majesty's ambassador resident in France must have learned from that source, as well as from others equally authentic, and perhaps also better

* "Bernardino de Albornoz que por mandado del Empr vino comigo aqui á servir de la peñola."

1532.

informed, what is going on there, and the Viscount cannot have failed to apprize you of the whole, I will abstain from alluding to the subject in this my despatch, that I may on the King's return learn some particulars and report on the whole.

Your Majesty's letters of the 3rd and 11th ult° came to hand yesterday, together with that of credence to this king, which last I will not fail to present at his return (though still uncertain), as you have been pleased to direct, without forgetting at the same time to observe the King's manner and conduct when he comes to hear of the glorious news therein contained, for which all Christendom is bound to thank God, praying also for the ever continuous prosperity of your arms. That this is now being done all over Christendom I scarcely need mention, especially in this country, whose inhabitants seem to vie with each other in thanksgivings, and to surpass all nations in their alacrity and joy.

More than three weeks ago the duke of Norfolk wrote [from France] to Brian Tuke .the substance of the above news that he might inform thereof the Privy Council and governors of this country,* adding that Your Imperial Majesty had actually dismissed all your troops; but as no mention was made in the letter of those reserved for the conquest of Hungary the members of the Council declared the news faulty, and shewed some alarm. Brian Tuke, however, was able to destroy this bad impression, and, as he himself has informed me by one of his own clerks, succeeded in overcoming the ignorance and malice of some of the councillors, who affected not to believe that Your Majesty could possibly keep up the fleet commanded by the prince of Melphi unless there was some ulterior object in doing so, *and asserting that greater honour was due to that captain in the Turkish defeat than to yourself.*† But in the end the said Brian, who has always shewn himself most devoted to the Imperial service, having summarily placed before the councillors the true aspect of the case, all praised Your Majesty immensely. The same Brian, moreover, has assured me on his oath (*sacrement*) that in the last treaty of alliance sworn to at Windsor between England and France, no new clause was actually introduced; only some explanatory of certain obscure and vague articles in former treaties, and some sort of pledge (*asseurance*) that this present interview should be held, which, as he (Brian) tells me, has been principally designed for the Turkish affair, and incidentally also for the divorce.

As to instructing the Imperial ambassadors to withhold their participation from any new league to be concluded at the

* See above, No. 1003.

† "Que vostre maieste soubstint les fraiz de larmee que mainne (*sic*) le prince de Melphe [ains vouloient equiparer ou preferer leffect et honneur de ceste entreprinse du dit prince] a celuy de vostre maieste." Andrea Doria had by this time been created prince of Melfi.

1532.

interview,* I must say that this king has so efficiently provided for that contingent by keeping the said ambassadors far off, and by not communicating to them the causes and object of his journey, that in reality there was no need of commanding the said abstention, although I myself have not failed to inform them of what seemed to me most expedient for the preservation of the said amity and confederacy.

Respecting the conversation which the French ambassador had with me in the presence of the Venetian, of which I informed Your Majesty by my despatch [of the 14th ult°], I will observe that as La Pommeraye has at his earnest request obtained his recall from this embassy, to which on Jean Jocquin's refusal a certain Mr. de Montpesant has been appointed, there will be no occasion to put forward the objections and remarks commanded by Your Majesty, the more so that I am sure there is no real cause for repentance, for, although he (La Pommeraye) protested not to believe the news, I failed not to answer him in very harsh words, "parolles tres aygrez," chiefly because the other ambassador (the Venetian) was present—words which the Frenchman met with equanimity and great composure.†

Of the news contained in Your Majesty's letters, none came more apropos than the one of the mutiny of the Italian troops, for I am sure it will be the paragraph to which this king is sure to attach greater importance, those who delight in such bad tidings exaggerating their import, as is their wont.

The marchioness of Excet (Exeter) has sent me a letter without signature, but which must have been written either by her husband, the Marquis, or by the Grand Squire, in which it is said that the writer had heard from Gregory Casale's own lips, who had treated the affair with cardinals de Grandmont (Grammont) and Tournon, that both those dignitaries were about to start for Rome, and that their principal commission was to summon the Pope on behalf of the two kings at once to determine the divorce case in the manner that His Holiness, when in captivity, had promised to do, and send the process to be tried and sentenced here in England: otherwise both kings were determined to abrogate in their respective kingdoms all Papal authority, besides which this one (the English) will have the case determined by the prelates of his own kingdom. The said Gregory had further stated to the writer of the letter that he was almost sure from the many promises the Pope had made to him that no sentence would be pronounced in the said matter as long as Your

* "Au regard de tenir main de fere surseoir les ambassadeurs de nentendre a practiquer ne demenner ligue en le susdite assemblee."

† "Il ny aura lieu de remettre les dits propoz en avant, des quels suys seur nest a ceste heure a repentir, car oeres quil me protestat quil ne les croyoit point, si ne layssay ie luy dire de parolles tresaygrez pour estre present lautre, les queiles il beut (?) tout doulcement."

1532.

Majesty should stay in Germany; but that as soon as you were in Spain His Holiness would shew the king of England how much he desires to please him and give him satisfaction.

It is also said in the letter that this king is exceedingly glad at Your Majesty's departure for Spain, and, therefore, that it behoves you bearing all this in mind, to hasten the decision of the suit at Rome, upon which the writer says the delivery of the Queen from the purgatory she is now enduring, the welfare of this kingdom, and of the whole of Christendom entirely depend.

Secretary Paget, whom this king sent some time ago *to Germany*, as I had the honour of informing Your Majesty, returned to town eight days ago. He has called on several Lutheran doctors to persuade them to write in favour of this king, and of his divorce, also on the doctors of [the duke of] Saxony and of his son, and those of the landgrave [of Hesse]; but according to the report of the very man who accompanied him in his mission he has met with very little favour in any part, and has been treated rather with derision (*mocqueries*) than otherwise.

The man whom I sent to Calais writes that the duke of Norfolk had complained loudly to him of the assembly of troops on the frontiers [of Flanders]. He (the Duke said) had told me at the time that nothing should be treated of at the interview of the two kings likely to turn to Your Majesty's disadvantage, and therefore could not but wonder at the precautions taken. He also complained of certain articles which the governor of Gravelines had caused to be proposed; but I must say that having heard the answer and excuses of my man he seemed contented and satisfied.

Parliament, which in its session of last May was prorogued till the 4th inst., has been again prorogued till the 4th of February. It is generally believed that the term has been fixed so far on that the cardinals now going to Rome may have time to report on their commission, and according to circumstances arrange their affairs.

The English on the borders have during the last 10 days made several raids into Scotland, taken some spoil and burnt several villages and abbeys, at which the members of the Privy Council have shewn much displeasure, but of indemnity or restoration of cattle taken there is yet no talk.—London, 10th November 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

10 Nov. **1025.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 857, f. 8.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 169.

The matrimonial cause has again been committed to the Rota. On Monday the 4th inst. the King's mandate was to be produced, but notwithstanding two citations up to this day,

1532.

the 9th, nothing has been presented and the opposite party is labouring to prove that the sentence of the Consistory ought to be examined first.

With respect to the brief the Pope has decided that it shall bear the present date, but on no account does he wish that it should be made use of until he himself has conversed with the Emperor. He is no doubt afraid of the interview that is to take place between the kings of France and England, which in my opinion prevents him from doing many things he would otherwise have done. If he were to follow my advice and accede to my wishes, since it is resolved that he and Your Majesty are to hold an interview at Bologna, I would speak to him with the urgency that is needed (*con el rigor que convenia*), because from conversations we have held together I know he is afraid, not indeed of me, but of certain arguments I have occasionally placed before him and which he knows to be unanswerable.

Though Your Majesty, as I have been informed, approves of my conduct here, and of what I have said to His Holiness, yet I am now expressly commanded not to act or speak in the affair without first consulting the ambassador. Accordingly some days ago I called and begged him for the sake of God and of Your Majesty to procure me an audience from His Holiness that I might shew him the reason why he ought to put an end to this business. His answer was that he (Mai) knows very well the embarrasing situation in which the Pope finds himself, and will speak to him at the right moment. And although in this matter of the Papal briefs I myself have been the principal instigator and brought it to the point at which it now is, yet the ambassador maintains that I usurp his right, and that I ought not to talk of such matters to His Holiness. I have mentioned this to cardinal Siguença, who although he grants that the ambassador is in fault with regard to me yet says that it is better to let the matter stand until Your Majesty be fully informed thereof.

[Reports a long conversation he had with the Pope on the subject of the divorce, and then adds:]

After the above reasoning His Holiness could not do less than shew me the minute of the brief, which he said he was prepared to send when required. I failed not to inform the ambassador of this, but as I have said above, he does not approve of my mixing myself up with such affairs and speaking to the Pope about them, pretending that I encroach upon his authority and exceed the limits of my commission, so much so that I am almost determined to let him manage things by himself as he thinks best until by the grace of God he and I receive new instructions on this point.

I am much rejoiced at the arrival in Rome of the High Commander of Alcantara, Don Pedro de la Cueva, who is well aware how innocent I am of being concerned in the charge brought against me. He has promised to write to the

1532.

duke of Alburquerque that he may form a better idea of my person and services than he seems to have in consequence of the reports circulated about me. Far from my having promoted that business I had even dissuaded Dr. Anguiano from having anything to do with it. With the Admiral's affair and the brief sent to him by the Pope I had nothing to do, as Your Majesty well knows, &c.—Rome, 10th November 1532.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Catholic Majesty and Imperial, the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 5.

10 Nov. **1026.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the HIGH COMMANDER.

S. E. L. 806, f. 31.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 171.

Is glad to hear of the Emperor's speedy departure for Italy, and that he has decided to go to Spain before the end of the year. May God give you and my Lady, Doña Maria,* a happy and a pleasant journey. He (Chapuys) will not fail to write whenever he has to address the Emperor.

The Queen wished very much to send a special messenger with a letter she has written to the Emperor, imploring him that since he is to stay some time in Italy, and see His Holiness before he sets out for Spain, he will thoroughly convince him of the necessity of putting an end to the matrimonial cause; yet I have dissuaded her from doing this. In this confidence she writes the enclosed for you, though short, referring to me and to her letter to the Emperor.—London, 10th November 1532.

Signed: "Eustacio† Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious Lord, the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. p. 1.

11 Nov. **1027.** QUEEN KATHARINE to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Ing.* L. 806, f. 34.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 173.

After writing the letter which Your Majesty will receive, a friend of mine, and a very true one, sent me word that the King, my Lord, and he of France had agreed at this last interview to send two cardinals to Rome to treat with His Holiness. Sure as I am that Your Highness knows already through your ambassador here what may be the purpose of the said embassy, I will say no more on the subject, but will only refer to my former letters and to Chapuys' despatches.

* Covos was married to Doña Maria [Sarmiento] de Mendoza.

† Thus: the letter being written in Spanish Chapuys thought no doubt that he was bound to sign himself *Eustacio* instead of Eustace.

1532.

I again repeat my entreaties and beg that what I have so often alluded to in my letters should be put into execution; and since you must know by experience that the thunders of this land bear no lightning except to strike me, let Your Majesty for God's sake be pleased to encourage His Holiness, for already people here feel the want, and let none of the demands, which they, the two cardinals, will no doubt make, be attended to lest they should impede the good justice that I, this kingdom, and Your Majesty expect at His Holiness' hands.*

That these letters may be safe and arrive in time I send them by private messenger.—Arford Castel (Hertford Castle), 11th November 1532.

Signed: "Catherina."

12 Nov. **1028.** CAPTAIN THOUARD to MR. D'YVE.

Arch. d. Roy^me d. Belg., Doc. Hist., vol. v., f. 59. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 174.

Has not yet had an opportunity to report what passed at the interview of the two kings, but last night captain Matute arrived and brought the following information:

He says that the king of England has come to France for the purpose of marrying his Lady (*sa dame*) there, but that as the Emperor's luck would have it, the marriage, for some reason or other has been postponed.

The rest of the secret understanding, as far as he (Captain Matute) can learn, is reduced to this: they have agreed to demand conjointly from the Emperor a certain part and portion of the queen of France's dower, namely, Artois, Tournay, and part of Burgundy. They have sent to Rome two cardinals to ask for the tithe (*dismes*) which both kings have already begun to levy on their respective kingdoms, and should the Pope refuse it the king of England will at once proceed to levy it on the lands of the Clergy. This information captain Matute has from the King's solicitor and agent at Rome, an Italian of the name of Messire Jeronimo del Casar,† whom the Lady has, as it appears, injured and ill-treated, telling him in public that he was the only cause of the divorce not having been carried out at Rome, but that notwithstanding she would be married to the King towards the middle of September. The said solicitor is said to have answered the Lady that if the Pope has hitherto delayed pronouncing sentence it is merely out of dread of the Emperor. Hearing this the two kings resolved to send the cardinals to Rome to hasten the conclusion of this business, and it is believed that this affair of the tithe has been purposely brought forward by the king of England

* "Y pues sabe los truenos de esta tierra no echan rayos syno para eryr á my, por amor de dios tenga por bien de dar el esfuerzo ques razon a Su Sanctidad, que ya todo el mundo conosce auer necessidad dello y [de no] azer alguna cosa, [de lo] que ay representaran, no [sea que] empydan el byen que de Su Sanctidad y Vra Magd. este Reyno y yo esperamos."

† Prothonotary Casale.

1532.

as a sort of threat should the Pope refuse to comply with his wishes in that respect. It is, however, thought that the Emperor will cause sentence to be issued before the arrival of the cardinals at Rome. To prevent this the said Messire Jeronimo has been sent post haste [to Rome] that the Pope may be informed of the said message and threat, and not decide anything until the arrival of the cardinals.

Hears that the king of France, since he parted from his colleague of England, has sent one of the gentlemen of his chamber to ask for the letters and discharges of the present and gift which the said king of England intends making to his children, and that when the said letters and discharges are sent then the bastard son of this king (Henry Fitzroy) and the son of the duke of Norfolk, with a suite of 60 mounted gentlemen will be dispatched to France [as ambassadors] and remain there for greater security of the matters treated between them.*

It is moreover, reported that the Emperor's prosperity is a source of annoyance to them both, and that they intend doing him all the harm they can everywhere, and especially in Italy, before he quits it.

It would seem, therefore, as if under present circumstances it would be advisable to keep strict watch as in past times. Should my brother hear anything you will be apprized immediately.—12th November 1532.

French. pp. 2.

21 Nov. **1029.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 185.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 175.

On the 18th we departed from Rome. His Holiness has not changed his itinerary. He told me yesterday that in order to render provisions and hay cheaper at Bologna it would be desirable that the men-at-arms and light cavalry should not come in such numbers as they did the last time, for the horses he said would eat up all the hay on the road, and there would be a scarcity at Bologna.

I have not lost the opportunity of soliciting the Datary for the half fruits of Sicily, &c.

The English have appealed, as I wrote to Your Lordship, and His Holiness now refuses to admit the appeal. I considered myself sure on that point, when to my great astonishment I heard that the very day of the Pope's departure, when he had scarcely gone beyond the gates of Rome, they appealed again against the Pope's refusal (*de la denegacion de la apellacion*) and the result of it all is that they are again to appeal to His Holiness when Your Majesty is fairly out

* "J'entens que le roy de France a envoye devers le roy d'Angleterre ung sien gentilhomme depuis leur partement, pour avoir les lettres et quictances du present et mercede (*sic*) que le dit roy d'Angleterre fait a ses enffans; et si les dictes lettres et quictances se envoyent, on envoyera quant et quant le fils bastard du roy avec le fils de duc de Norphocq avec lx. chevaux, qui demoureront en France pour plus grant surete des choses par eulx traictees."

1532.

of Italy. These are things to drive a man out of his senses.* I never heard of such insolent and calumnious language as these English agents hold, nor of such toleration as the Pope has shewn throughout this affair. He says that ambassador Benet has excused himself, pretending that it is not his work but the excusator's. Replied that this was no doubt a stratagem of the English in order to gain time and wait the course of events. His Holiness assured me it was not.

Meanwhile, trusting in His Holiness' kindness, I am trying to make him return a fit answer to this preposterous appeal of the English ambassadors. Cannot say whether it will be necessary to cite the opposite party, or whether we ought to apply for dismissory letters (*refutatorios*) as the Datary says, though I would be contented if the Pope answered without so much ceremony.†

With regard to the brief of separation (*breve separatorio*) I have mentioned the thing twice to Blosius;‡ he said that Cuevas had certainly spoken to him in Rome of another such brief having been applied for; if so we are sure to get it at Bologna, but why it should not be expedited until our arrival at Bologna is more than I can tell.—Terni, 21st November 1532.

P.S.—The cardinals who come in His Holiness' suite are Matera,§ Santa Croce, Sancti Quatuor, Cesi, Ridolpho (Ridolfi) and Mantua. These are now journeying by this route; by the other road, that of Tuscany, go Siguença,‖ Burgos, Gaddi, and Cesarino, although this latter, they say, intends joining us soon.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the very illustrious and very magnificent the High Commander of Leon."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

26 Nov. **1030.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-of-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 45.

Since my last of the 10th this king has returned here after spending a few days at Dover and the neighbouring sea coast (*aux lisieres de mer*), for the purpose of having harbours constructed in the said town, or at least of creating a specious plea for asking money from his subjects for the said works, and covering the expenses of his journey.¶ He arrived the day

* "Son cosas estas que harian perder el sgríma a quien supiesse mas que yo."

† "Confiando de la bondad deste [señor] ando para procurar que responda, y no sé si es menester criar (*sic* citar?) la otra parte [o] si a instancia mia se havian de dar los apostolos [refutatorios] como dice el Dattario, bien que yo me contentaria en que me la diesse sin tanto solemnidad."

‡ One of the Pope's secretaries.

§ Francesco Palmeri, bishop of Matera.

‖ By cardinal Siguença Fr. Garcia de Loaysa is meant; he was formerly bishop of Osma, and was promoted to the see of Siguenza in 1531. Burgos is for Fr. Iñigo de Mendoza, and Gaddi for Nicolas bishop of Fermo.

¶ "Pour adviser la forme de fere havrez en icelle coste, ou au moins den fere le semblant, pour sur icelle couleur demander aydez a ses subjectz, et se rambourser de la coustange et frais de son voyage."

1532.

before yesterday at Heltham (Eltham, in Kent), seven miles from this city. Immediately after I dispatched one of my secretaries to ask for an audience, which was graciously granted for the next morning at 10 o'clock, with this singular courtesy, that after ordering the duke of Norfolk to inform me of the appointment, the King himself went to my secretary* and addressed him before the French ambassador and the courtiers there present, and said he would be glad to receive me on the appointed day and hour. Accordingly yesterday, the 25th, I went thither accompanied by the ambassador of Venice, who was also going for a permission to export wool in certain large galleys (*galleaces*) that are to come next year. Arrived at my lodgings [in Eltham] I found therein the dean of the chapel (Sampson) ready to conduct me to the King's presence. The first person I met was the earl of Wiltshire, who took me at once into the dining-hall, where I found the duke of Norfolk, who, though suffering from his usual complaint, had come to receive me. Having inquired from him what could be the cause of the delay of the cardinals and of Gregory [Casale] who, according to all accounts were stopping on the other side of Paris, I observed (with a view to draw him out) that presuming the object of the cardinals' joint mission to Rome to have been the tranquillity and repose of Christendom, I was exceedingly disappointed and annoyed at their long stay in France. My impression was (I added) that since the two Kings were now sending an embassy [to Rome] to acquaint the Pope with what had been resolved at the last meeting [of Calais], they could not do less than send persons equally commissioned to notify the same facts to Your Imperial Majesty, as honesty, friendship, and the common welfare of Christendom demanded. This (I said) I had no difficulty in believing, considering the great affection and love which the King, his master, bore Your Majesty, and considering also the many kind words which the king of France himself was known to have said in public at Calais respecting Your Majesty's reputation and great courage in this affair of the Turk and others.

Hearing this the Duke remained some time silent as if he knew not what to answer. He then began to speak about his illness, which, he said, had totally prevented him at Calais from attending to State business, and added that although many had wrongly suspected the meeting of the two kings to have been for the purpose of invading and wasting Flanders, there had been no talk whatever about such a thing, as he had assured me on previous occasions. "Would to God (he exclaimed) that other princes were as grateful for past favours as his own master was!" Upon which I replied that if he (the Duke) alluded to Your Majesty I begged leave to state that there was no ground at all for complaint, for certainly no

* Gabriel de Grammont and Mr. de Tournon.

1532.

prince in the World would do more than you to please the King, his master, provided the request was honourable and reasonable, as I myself had explained to the King and to him whenever there had been an opportunity. I would, moreover, ask him to place his hand on his heart, and then tell me in conscience how could Your Majesty honourably acquiesce in such things as those demanded of him respecting this matter of the divorce.

Hearing this the Duke, after sighing in his wonted fashion, suddenly changed the conversation, and began to inquire news of the Turk, and to remark that according to information received in England Your Majesty's army must be sadly in want of provisions. I answered him with a full account of your military successes, and also with the assurance that, God willing, the Infidel would soon be obliged to retreat into his own dominions. Upon which he replied: "All that is very well, but, in my opinion, it would have been far more desirable that the Emperor had provided the means of preventing the inroads of the Turk, who after all has caused some damage, and placed the rest of Christendom in danger and trouble. Had the Emperor at once made concessions respecting the kingdom of Hungary, which he and his brother [Ferdinand] wished to take away from the Vayvod [Zapolsky], the Turk would never have come, and there would have been no necessity for repulsing him." "Christian princes (he added) were not well advised in taking part for one or the other of the contending parties."

I replied to him how very unwise it would be that such a kingdom as that of Hungary should be entirely in the power and at the mercy of the Turk, for such would be the case were it in the hands of the Vayvod. This remark the Duke knew not how to answer, nor was there an opportunity, for as we were discussing the matter, dinner was announced, and I was asked to sit down at table, the Duke retiring to his own apartment much troubled with his liver complaint.*

The Duke's last remark, that Christian princes ought not to mix themselves up with the Hungarian question, makes me suspect that the two cardinals now going to Rome have charge to induce the Pope to favour the Vayvod, on the plea that it would be highly beneficial to Christendom if the Turk were thereby to desist from his attacks. In my opinion the said cardinals are probably instructed to tell His Holiness that he is in duty bound to do something for the said Vayvod, since he notoriously helped his election as well as his subsequent coronation by the Diet, as Mr. de la Pommeraye once said to me, whilst attempting to excuse the King, his master, for the assistance he had given in that quarter.

After dinner I was conducted to the King's presence. He was dressed in short robes ready to start for the chase in the

* "Ausy ny avoit yl lieu car jestoye sollicite daller a la table, et luy encoirez plus presse de son mal de foy [de se] retirer."

1532.

Park, and I must say that he received me more graciously and courteously than he had ever done. After presenting him Your Majesty's letter, which he did not peruse at the time, knowing it to be of credence, and being already aware of its contents, I related to him in full detail and without reserve Your Majesty's great successes against the Turk, for it seemed to me at the time as if he really were glad to hear of them. I told him of Your Majesty's resolution to return as soon as possible to Spain if nothing else occurred to prevent your departure. This I said purposely with a certain emphasis, that I might inspire him with confidence, and as a sort of return for the kind reception he had given me. The King's answer was that he rejoiced at Your Majesty's successes, and was very grateful at your letting him know of them through me. He had always thought that the Turk's undertaking on this present occasion was a most foolish one (*folle entreprinse*) inasmuch as conducting it as Solyman had done it was to be believed that although he might at first have defeated his opponents he would in the end be obliged by the bad weather to retreat without achieving anything of importance, and consequently go away to his own great shame and disappointment, as had been the case. By these words and others to the same purpose the King no doubt meant to intimate that the Infidel had only retreated this time to come again in full force and with a better plan of campaign; but on my remonstrating against that, and assuring him that the enemy after the defeat of his vanguard—which he gave orders should not be made public—had actually retreated in haste, the King owned that the honour of the victory really belonged to the Imperialists, and was entirely owing to their courage, not to the weather, as was said at first.

Respecting Your Majesty's return to Spain, the King observed that he considered it both reasonable and opportune, but he believed it could not take place so soon, first, on account of the season, which was so far advanced, and secondly, because Andrea Doria could not arrive at Genoa as soon as was anticipated. Nobody (he said) knew the whereabouts of that captain, nor what had become of him. The report of his having stormed Modon had turned out untrue. True he (Doria) had taken possession of Coron, but there was no question at all of keeping it.

The King further said that advices from Venice had come that Your Majesty had asked the Signory to chastise certain Imperial soldiers (*souldars*), who had mutinied and taken shelter in that city, and that the Signory had refused to comply with your wishes in that respect. The King seemed at first to surmise that it was shameful for Your Majesty to provide for the embarcation, and pay for the passage of such mutineers, who, on the contrary, deserved punishment on the spot; but having read to him by way of explanation a para-

1532.

graph of Your Majesty's letter to me in date of the 22nd he ended by praising your conduct in that affair.

He also told me that there had been a talk of the Pope going to Bologna to meet Your Majesty, but he firmly believed the interview could not take place, as His Holiness was so ill that he could not ride thither. *Saying which the King seemed to me rather more pleased at the prospect of Your Majesty's return to Spain than at that of the reported interview at Bologna.*

After this I waited some time to see whether he would touch on his late journey, and say something about the object and purpose of his interview with king Francis at Calais; but perceiving that he was unwilling to do so, I myself ventured to broach the subject, and remarked that God had been pleased to favour the meeting by sending such fine weather for it, and that this was no wonder to me since the object of the interview as publicly stated, was exclusively for His service and the good of Christendom. I thought, moreover, that Your Majesty, who desired nothing so much as the union and prosperity of all Christian princes, could not fail to be highly pleased with these tokens of friendship between two such kings, any discord or difference being enough to throw into confusion and trouble the rest of Christendom, as experience had shewn in former times, even at the time when Philip [the Fourth] of France and Richard [the First] of England lost the Holy Land through their dissensions. *I thought Your Majesty would be glad of my saying as much on this occasion were it for no other purpose than do away with this king's idea, as the French ambassador told me once, that Your Majesty could not be at all pleased with the interview.** The King's answer was that in reality no finer weather could have been wished for; the exclusive object of the meeting had been the welfare of Christendom. With regard to the friendship between the Most Christian King and himself, it was intimate and sincere, with every prospect of continuing so and even increasing without detriment to other princes, for certainly they did not intend attacking anyone, or infringing old treaties and stipulations. Both kings thought that Your Majesty on your side would not contravene or oppose such friendship and close alliance. The Most Christian King (he continued) was a most excellent prince and well inclined. He did not say more on this occasion on the virtues and qualities of his brother of France, but he wound up by again saying that he was very joyful at the news of Your Majesty's good health and prosperity, inasmuch as for a long time he had received none from his ambassadors, and that within a very few days he would answer Your Majesty's letter fully.

* "Et ce du playsir de vostre majeste me sembla convenir de dire puis que le cas estoit fait pour hoster le roy de lopinion que l'ambassadeur de France me dit une fois assauoir que votre maieste ne deuoit estre content de la dite assemblee."

1532.

Monsieur de Montpesat, the new ambassador of France, always follows the Court, and has been with the King until shortly before my arrival there, when he left to return here. *The Queen has been told that the more solicitous La Pommeraye* shewed himself for the divorce the more averse is this one, his successor, to it, so much so that these people beginning already to be aware of the fact, have not consequently granted him the privilege of dwelling at one of the King's houses which his predecessor in office had. If so I will not fail to visit him, and shew him such confidence as may best suit Your Majesty's service.—London, 26th November 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "Received at Bologna the 22nd of December."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 3.

29 Nov. **1031.** Miçer Miguel Mai to the Same.

S. E. L. 857, f. 182.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 177.

Yesterday evening the courier who left the Imperial Court on the 24th arrived. He has certainly been too long on the road, but is to be excused, because thinking that the Pope had taken the other route [to Bologna], he followed it, and when he discovered his mistake had to make quite a circuit to come here. Much noise and excitement was caused by his arrival, for people imagined at first that he brought orders for the Pope to return immediately to Rome.

He (Mai) called immediately on the Pope and re-assured him saying that the courier had been sent merely for the sake of procuring news of his health, and knowing how he was getting through his journey. The Pope was glad to hear of this; told him (Mai) that next Monday he expected to be out of these mountains and reach Sesena (Cesenna), where he intends passing the night, at Forli on Tuesday, and Wednesday at Faenza. If so he will pass Imola on Thursday, go perhaps as far as Castello Sant Pedro (Castel San Pietro), and on the ensuing Friday be at the gates of Bologna, where he will make his entry next day.

His Holiness was delighted at the news contained in the letter of Jean Hannart,* and said with a pleased and smiling countenance: "I really do think that for the Emperor's reputation it would be better not to punish Rincon for his misdeeds, for, after all, State affairs do not affect private individuals."†

Respecting what the said Hannart reports of an embassy which the Most Christian king of France wishes to send to the king of Scotland (James), promising to give him his own daughter in marriage, provided he engages to make peace and

* See above, Nos. 998 and 1025.

† "Que no le parescia que se debia seguir el castigo de Rincon por la reputation de Vra. Magd. y que las cosas de estado no legan (*sic*) á los individuos particulares."

1532.

alliance with them (the French and English), he (Mai) told His Holiness that these doings of the French were a sign of fear rather than intended as a threat. He agreed and remarked that it would be a great boon for Christendom at large if the French could be reasonable for once.*

News has reached us here of the death of the duke of Cleves, and that he of Lorheno (Lorraine)† claims his estate. Is of opinion that it ought to, and will in the end be incorporated with Flanders. Told His Holiness so, and added that most probably it would be a matter of serious thought for the French. He agreed with this, and remarked that it was a glorious thing for the Emperor to have been able so to increase his patrimonial dominions of Flanders. In saying this he (Mai) rather suspects that the Pope intended to remind him of the Traietto affair!

The news His Holiness has from England agrees perfectly with the Viscount's‡ account. The King wished to celebrate his marriage in the presence of the French king, but has since desisted from his purpose, owing to the recent intelligence of Your Majesty's victory over the Turk. It is moreover added that the cardinals who are coming to Rome bring the means of settling this English business, which, in his (Mai's) opinion, is equivalent to their gaining more time for their future plans, for that is what they aim at. Told the Pope so, and begged him to apply the remedy at once, since it was in his power to do so.

(*Cipher:*) The advices from England are that the people of that country are very much afraid of some riot or rebellion being stirred up in favour of the Queen. (*Common writing:*) He (Mai) must confess that he was greatly delighted to hear of this, for then it will be seen that far from the sentence producing scandal, as they (the Pope and his cardinals) said, it is the King's obstinacy and disobedience that is likely to produce rebellion and civil strife in that country. Seized the opportunity of again begging His Holiness to answer in a proper manner the last note (*scedula*) presented by the English; but although His Holiness made no difficulty and promised it at once it is to be feared that we shall not get it until we reach Bologna, for he has already, on three or four occasions during this journey, applied for it, and evidently the Pope does not feel disposed (*no está para ello*) to grant it now.

Said in his last despatch that the brief of separation (*el breve separatorio*) would not be made out until His Holiness reaches Bologna owing to these cardinals wishing, as they say, to recite therein all the letters of monition and briefs issued in this matter up to the present day. Has since entreated His Holiness, if he does not feel disposed to send it straight to the King, to leave this one which is ready (*concertado*), and that

* "Y que seria grand bien que pussiessen el seso en su lugar."
† Antoine, the duke from 1508 to 1544.
‡ Jean Hannart or Hannaërt was viscount of Lombeke.

1532.

if he dislike that, to give it us afterwards with the said enumeration. He has promised to do so. This has been done to gain time, and because His Holiness says he wishes, before the Queen proceeds to the publication of the brief, to send her another one by his Nuncio, which will not prevent there being another in store here. Should the King object to the presentation of the brief itself, or anywise refuse to comply with its injunctions, then in that case, with God's blessing, the one in the hands of the Emperor's ambassadors will be presented. For this reason, and that time may be gained, he (Mai) is trying to have the other brief made out and sent.

At this moment the Pope sends him word that the governor of Bologna writes that all his efforts to supply that city with provisions, and principally with barley and hay for the horses, have hitherto been unavailing. His Holiness, therefore, says: "I am about to propose three things: 1st, that the Emperor come with as small a retinue as possible; 2nd, that his horses be littered inside the gates, because if outside they are known to consume and waste more hay; and 3rdly, that the dukes of Ferrara and Milan may be requested to allow barley, hay, &c. to be exported from their respective estates."

Now as His Holiness said the other day—and he (Mai) recollects having written so to His Majesty—that it was far preferable to have the horses picketted outside than inside of Bologna, the Imperialists and he (Mai) among them were naturally led to inquire what could be the cause of such change. Has been told that as far as they, the Pope's purveyors, are concerned there is no change at all; for, say they, were the cavalry to be quartered in the Ferrarese or the Modenese the thing would be indifferent to them, but as they are to be in the Bolognese they fancy they will be better provided for inside the town.

Bulls of the half fruits (*medios frutos*) and the bishop of Çamora.—Quarta, &c.—Burgo (Borgo di San Donnino), 28th November 1532.

10 Dec. **1032.** Cardinal Siguença to the High Commander.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 1,457, f. 29. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 180.

Yesterday, Monday, a consistory of Cardinals was held, in which the reception of the Emperor, our master, was discussed. Two legates, Cesarino and Grimano, were chosen to go out two days' march and meet him on the road.

The Pope told us of the arrival of a Turkish ambassador at Venice to inform the Signory of his successful incursion, during which, he said, the Sultan, his master, had found no enemies to fight with. The Pope could not help smiling, knowing very well that the Turk was actually flying before our arms. After this the Venetian ambassador called, and shewed me the very letter which the Signory had written to him on the subject. The letter related, 1stly: that the Turk on the 14th of October last was already ten days' march from Constantinople, where a splendid reception was prepared for

1532.

him; 2ndly, that he had given orders for all his galleys to be disarmed; and 3rdly, that at the hour when the letter was being written a Turkish ambassador had arrived, but that the Signory had not yet given him audience.

Yesterday I dined with the Pope. Before and after dinner we talked about His Imperial Majesty, when many things were said by me calculated to cement more and more the friendship which he professes to you all. He said he was glad to hear that the king of France had offered to entertain our master, should he in his intended passage from Genoa to Barcelona be inclined to touch at any part of the coast of Provence; but remarked that his Nuncio had written to say that the principal cause of the son of the count of Tenda having been sent thither was to place that coast in a state of defence in case it should be attacked by the Imperial fleet. I do really believe this, and that the offers he has made are more for the purpose of covering those precautionary measures than otherwise.

The two cardinals, the Pope tells me, come for the matrimonial suit, and for the purpose of asking for judges out of Rome to decide and sentence the divorce case. They bring with them plenty of opinions subscribed by lawyers and canonists, and the Most Christian King has in the meantime suspended the convocation of the French Clergy until February next, that it may act as a kind of pressure (*torcedor*) on the Pope, and a warning that in this interview between him and our master [at Bologna] nothing is to be attempted against France or England. He also tells me that the king of England wishes these two French cardinals to come on this errand that he may the better authorize and establish what he calls his just cause, and give a share of the responsibility to the king of France; but His Holiness supposes that as both are the servants of the Most Christian King they may have other things to state in behalf of their master. In short they have arrived, and are already lodged at count Populi's* palace, which was the house which the Marichal† intended for me.

Should His Imperial Majesty wish me to go out incognito six, eight, or ten miles from this place, let Your Lordship send me word and I will do it with great pleasure, and then will return here to the Pope that he may prepare his reply.‡

I am lodging at St. Dominic. For my condition the apartment is good enough, but it is so small and so far from where His Holiness is, and our court is likely to reside, that the Spanish gentlemen, who have already arrived, are all very sorry that a more central residence has not been allotted to me, of which they accuse the Marichal, pretending that the

* No doubt count Peppoli (Ugo), about whom see vol. iii., part 2, pp. 542 and 769.

† By Marichal, from the French *mareschal des logis*, the quartermaster is meant.

‡ "Y tornaré primero al papa para que lleve mas fresco lo que dixere."

1532.

duke of Milan bribed him to give him the apartments which His Majesty had designated for me; but I cannot believe it, for the Marichal seems to me a perfect gentleman incapable of such a thing.—Bologna, Tuesday night.

Signed: "Fr[ater] G[arcia] C[lis] Seguntinus."

Addressed: "To the very magnificent the High Commander of Leon, secretary to His Imperial Majesty and of his Privy Council."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

16 Dec. **1033.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 227, No. 77.

Though since my last despatch in date of the 26th ult° nothing has occurred here worthy of mention I should all the same have written to Your Majesty were it for no other purpose but that of not incurring the fault of negligence. The want of a confidential messenger has, however, prevented me from fulfilling this part of my duty as an ambassador.

Having a few days ago received the letters which Your Majesty had caused to be written to me on the 27th, I immediately sent one of my secretaries to acquaint the duke of Norfolk with the intelligence therein contained, that he might apprize the King thereof, inasmuch as at this last audience I was distinctly told that not having heard for two months from his ambassadors at the Imperial Court he (the King) wished as soon as possible to hear tidings of Your Majesty, and at the same time learn whether the Venetians had or had not behaved loyally towards Your Majesty in the affair of the mutineers, and prepared ships for their passage; and if so, whether their compliance with your wishes was a token of their devotion and friendship, or rather a sign of fear, as he had been told. I must observe that the news I gave the King on that occasion *was, if I am rightly informed, anything but agreeable to him, especially that of prothonotary Gambara's mission to Rome to procure a meeting between the Pope and Your Majesty, of which he had already received intelligence, and which he is now about to send to Rome and to France, as I am informed, to counteract and defeat.*

Soon after the arrival here of Mr. de Montpezant,* the French ambassador, I called to welcome him. I was well received, and could very well see by his language that he was affectionately attached to Your Majesty, and wishing sincerely for the preservation of peace and mutual friendship. With regard to the business done at the interviews of Calais and Boulogne, Montpesant assured me that nothing had been discussed there except the means of resistance to, and repulsion of, the Turk, and that the cardinals who, as report went, had been sent to Rome merely for the affair of the divorce had

* Elsewhere *Monpezant*; but his real name seems to have been Antoine des Pres, sieur de Montpezat.

1532.

gone thither of their own will and accord, not as was then said by the command of the two kings, and at the expense of this one. As to their procuring the divorce (the ambassador added) it was to be presumed that being solicited by this king's ministers, as no doubt they would be, they could not fail to use all their influence.

Three days after my visit to the French ambassador he called on me, and after repeating the substance of the above conversation, added that he should be delighted to place before me for inspection the very treaty drawn up at the late interview, and that if I did him the honour of dining with him he would shew me the draft, and tell me all he knew about it. I accepted his invitation, and on his return from court, whither he went next day, I hastened to call at his lodgings for fear he should withdraw his offer. All my care was, however, in vain, for Montpesant, alleging as an excuse that he had company, and was bound to entertain his guests, never shewed me the draft, and put it off to another day, thus giving me to understand most clearly that if he had ever intended shewing me the draft he had now changed his mind.

But whatever the said ambassador may say to the contrary, certain it is that the Queen has been informed that this king has positively sent to the two cardinals bills of exchange to the amount of 9,000 *marcs* [*of silver*], *equal to* 30,000 *crs., to be spent in Rome; which fact, coupled with the circumstance that at this very moment this king is in closer relations with Parliament than he ever was, naturally makes the Queen suspect that at these last interviews this king must have boasted that he will soon carry out his undertaking.*

*A gentleman in great favour with the Lady, and also with the duke of Norfolk, said the other day to a person, who repeated it to me, that he knew the king of France to be so highly displeased at the treatment he had received in Spain that he was determined to make war on the Genoese; and as he could not otherwise infringe the existing treaties he thought that should you decide to help the said Genoese, it would give him a cause for breaking altogether with Your Majesty.**

About ten days ago the ambassador of France went to see the King at the Tower, where he had gone for the purpose of inspecting the works and repairs now being made there. The King shewed him on that occasion the treasure room, without, however, giving him a sight of its contents. Some days after the King himself went again with a small retinue, accompanied by the Lady, to whom he shewed the whole. On this *last occasion the French ambassador, who happened on that day to have received letters from France, went also to the*

* "Qu'il sçauoit bien que le roy de France sestoit tresfort dolu et mescontente du traictement que luy auoit este fait en Espaigne [que] de mouvoir guerre aux geneuois (*sic*) puis que dautre cause ne pouuoit sans enfraindre les traictez pensant que ce sera donner matiere de contreuenir aus dits traictez ueuillant vostre maieste assister aus dits genevois."

1532.

Tower, to communicate the news he had received, and upon his being asked what tidings from abroad? he replied: "Excellent, Sire," and he began to relate before all those present how Messire Andrea Doria had sent back two ships (*navieres*) filled with wounded, and how the count of Tende had been sent from Court to France.* After which the ambassador approached nearer, and told the King in secret what else he had to say. *This done all three (the King, Lady, and ambassador) went in to inspect the treasure, when, either in consequence of the good news* brought by the ambassador, or to please the Lady, the King presented the former with one of the finest gold cups therein stored,† *and when the ambassador returned to his lodgings he is known to have said to a personage who takes much interest in military affairs that it was high time for him to make his preparations, for he would no doubt have a good command and a very fine pay as long as the war lasted,* and *that he was ready to stake all he possessed that before May next the clash of armour and the noise of drums would be heard in France.*‡

I must, however, observe that the said ambassador himself has often told me that he would be glad for the sake of Your Majesty and of the queen of France, your sister, that you were already back in Spain, and therefore I fancy there may be some other reason besides the above-mentioned for the ambassador expressing himself in this manner.

The Papal Nuncio having just received letters from His Holiness in date of the 10th, commanding him again to exhort this king to send powers for some one at Rome to represent him in the divorce suit, and likewise to wash out (*purger*) any mistrust and scruples he might have on that score, sent the other day to Greenwich to ask an audience from the King. The answer was that he would have to wait until the King had returned to this city, and so the Nuncio did; but when the latter went to the Palace, as agreed, thinking he might speak to the King, he was introduced to a room where the duke of Norfolk was sitting, surrounded by all the Privy Councillors and several other courtiers. He was then told that having taken some pills for the gout the King was unable to receive him, and had, therefore, deputed those present to hear what he had to say. *Upon which the Nuncio delivered his message, which was, as I said before,*

* "Et que le conte de Tende auoit este despeche de la court pour aller en France." Claude de Savoie, son of René, the bastard of Savoie, killed at Pavia in 1525, was at this time governor of Provence. King Francis being then out of France, properly so called, the Count was no doubt dispatched thither to hasten the military preparations mentioned in other despatches.

† "Et apres furent veoir le tresor et la ou pour les nouvelles que le dit ambassadeur auoit referees, ou a contemplation de la dame le roy luy donna lune des belles couppes dorees que fut a la trouppe (?), et des que le dit ambassadeur fut de retour en son logis," &c.

‡ "Que avant le moys de may ilz feroient en France bruyre (*sic*) arnois et tembours."

1532.

again to exhort and try to persuade the King to do what was just and reasonable in that affair. Not one in the whole assembly failed to remonstrate and maintain that the Pope did wrong in thus refusing to have the cause tried in England, and that the King would never consent to send his powers to Rome. After which the Nuncio went away, the Duke having first promised that when the King should feel better, and be at leisure, he would not fail to send for him, which promise, however, has not yet been fulfilled. The truth is that the King had taken no medicine at all on that day; it was only an excuse of his, fearing lest the Nuncio should present him some brief or execution, or for the sake of gaining time to prepare an answer, and make the Pope understand that his Privy Council is more resolute even on these matters than he himself is.*

A fortnight ago a young man from those parts arrived here, who says he has served three years at Gravellingue (Gravelines). He is a painter by profession (*il se mesle de portraytture*), and as I have been informed this very morning, some of this king's gunners and engineers are after him trying by all possible means to obtain a plan of the fortifications of that town, and especially of its most secret defences (*secretz*); but I shall do my best to defeat their purpose.

There is here at present a pursuivant-at-arms of king Frederic of Denmark, about whose mission and business in this country I have lately made inquiries in various quarters. I have ascertained that he has come for the purpose of proving that 40 or 50 Englishmen who were slain in Iceland some time ago had done something to deserve that fate, and that it was entirely their fault, and therefore that this king had no reason to complain of the subjects of the other. The King, having heard the excuses of the Danish envoy, was satisfied with them, not so with the people of Hambourg, whither he has been thinking of sending a doctor-at-law and a herald for the investigation of the damage and loss sustained [by the English] and the compensation they may claim in consequence.

Since his return the King has caused all the garrisons on the borders of Scotland to be strengthened, for the truce has already expired, and many here think that there will be soon war on either side. Indeed a gentleman named Thomas Scot† has come from that country, sent by Mr. D'Arcy, who, as I am informed, waited this morning on the King and spoke so urgently, that the King, after listening to what he had to say, sat in Council for upwards of three hours, and the general report at court is that he brings news [from Scotland] likely to produce a rupture between the two countries. I

* "Et ny eut [ung] seul de toute la bende (*sic*) qui ne se print a debatre ou disputer que le pape faisoit tres mal de non remectre yci la cause, et que oncques le roy nenuoyeroit pouvoir."

† Thomas of Pitgorno, or Sir *William* Scott, of Balwery? Mr. D'Arcy is Sir Thomas Lord Darcy.

1532.

will omit no trouble or fatigue to ascertain what Sir Thomas' real mission is, that I may inform Your Majesty.—London, 16th December 1532.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received on the 15th of January [1533]."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

19 Dec. **1034.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. *Rom.* L. 857, f. 9.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 183.

Her Majesty's letter of the 19th ult° was duly received. October passed away and the king of England, disregarding the resolution taken in Consistory, sent no mandate whatever. I am told that when at the expiration of the term assigned the English excusator and the ambassadors saw that the proceedings would be resumed, they appealed against the decision of the cardinals, bringing forward all manner of protests and requisitions, until, as the ambassador (Mai) informs me, some days previous to His Holiness' departure from Rome, the above resolution was declared and confirmed by a papal decree. Owing, however, to the Pope's departure, which took place on the 18th instant, the sentence by contumacy (*contradittas*) was necessarily delayed; but I hope that whilst the Emperor is here, at Bologna,* and before he embarks at Genoa for Spain, he will prevail on His Holiness to pronounce a definitive one.

With regard to the brief itself, Your Majesty will see by my letter of the 10th, a duplicate of which is here enclosed, that I never rested until I saw it made out and sent to Rome, there to be published and notified through contumacy of the party, after which it will be forwarded to the towns of Flanders to be notified in the churches,† and also printed for greater publicity. Enclosed is a copy of the brief itself, and a Spanish translation, that its contents may be the better explained to Your Imperial Majesty.

I have received a letter from the queen of England, which is likewise enclosed,‡ it is the original in her own hand, and I beg and entreat that it may be kept with the others I have sent on former occasions until my return to Spain, for I intend keeping them all as relics, persuaded as I am that she (the Queen) will one of these days be canonized by the Church on account of her sanctity and virtues, and that miracles will be worked by her invocation.

The conferences between the kings of France and England have ended, and two cardinals, Agrimonte (Gabriel de Grammont) and Tornon (François de Tournon) are expected

* The Emperor arrived at Bologna on the 20th.

† "Para que se notifique en la iglesia, de contradictas y luego se embiará á los otros lugares donde se ha de notificar en Flandes."

‡ Probably that of the 14th of April, from Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, see p. 422, No. 931.

1532.

here. Nobody knows exactly what they come for, nor what passed at the conferences; but I dare say Your Majesty knows from other sources. God be praised for not permitting that the King's iniquitous marriage to that Anne (Boleyn) should take place, as people did prognosticate! that being perhaps the reason why His Holiness has again declared null any marriage which the King may hereafter be tempted to contract.* It is asserted that, according to a custom prevalent in England, whenever the King or Queen send to visit one another they present each other with rings and other jewels, and that the Queen always did so on such occasions. Some time before the King had sent word to her not to send him any more jewels, as he would certainly not accept them; but it appears that before his departure for the conferences at Calais he asked her for her jewels. At first the Queen refused, on the plea that as His Highness had said that he would have no more presents she could not well disobey his commands. The King insisted, and wrote a letter asking her for all her jewels and precious stones, every one of which the Queen sent him, saying that since such was His Highness' pleasure she was ready to obey his commands and, therefore, remitted them to him.

The ambassador (Mai) when consulted by me as to my coming here (to Bologna) said at first that I ought to remain at Rome and not follow the Pope's court except by express mandate from the Emperor, but upon my representing that I had nothing to do there as long as the Pope was absent, and the cause in suspense, he consented, or rather left it entirely to my discretion.—Bologna, 19th December 1532.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

19 Dec. **1035.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 857, f. 10.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 193.

Two days before the Pope left [for Bologna] the cardinal of Siguenza, being at the time with him, I was sent for and accordingly went in. Seeing the opportunity at hand, I begged His Holiness to let me read the minute of the brief, that I might see, before it was sent to England according to promise, how it was worded. His Holiness answered that he would; he had (he said) given orders to his secretary [Sanga] to shew the minute to me as soon as it was ready. Upon my replying, that notwithstanding His Holiness' express orders, that secretary had flatly refused to shew it, though often importuned by me, Sanga was sent for, and gravely reprimanded in my presence for not having exhibited to the ambassador (Mai) or to me the minute of the said brief, according to orders; though I must declare that as the said Sanga was going out of the room I distinctly heard him

* "Y gloria sea á Nr̃o Señor que no se atentó al [a] iniquidad que se avia divulgado, que el rey de Inglaterra querie casarse con aquella Ana, por lo qual en este breve su Santd. torna otra vez á *irritar* qualquier matrimonio que el rey de Inglaterra temerariamente atentase."

1532.

mutter between his teeth that it was no fault of his if the minute had not been communicated to us. I gave an account of all this to the ambassador (Mai), and next day I myself called on him with Sanga, and with the minute all ready. The ambassador (Mai) inspected it, and said it was all right. I myself had that very morning spoken with His Holiness, who had promised that the minute would be brought next day to the embassy. "That, I should think is enough (said Mai to me); after that you (Ortiz) ought to be satisfied, as I myself am with the result. But you must know that I have promised the Pope that no use shall be made of this brief until the Papal Nuncio in England has informed the King thereof."

Such was Miçer Mai's speech to me. Evidently that ambassador considered himself obliged to make such a promise, or else he would never have consented to it. I told him that I was exceedingly sorry to hear that he had taken such an engagement, which would naturally cause delay; for (I said) although the brief will be dated the 17th, which was the day the minute was shewn to us, it is quite plain to me that its delivery and execution will necessarily coincide with the Pope's and His Majesty's meeting at Bologna, by no means so favourable an opportunity as when the kings of France and England were holding their interview [at Calais]. There, in that town, and in the midst of the conferences ought the brief to have been put into the hands of the English king, that God's justice should be more patent.*

What the ambassador (Mai) may have accomplished in this matter during the Pope's journey I cannot tell, but it strikes me that if the brief has not been forwarded to England there is no reason to retain it here any longer.

Respecting the English excusator's case the ambassador told me before his departure [for Bologna] that the difficulty had been removed, and that the resolution taken in consistory had been confirmed by a decretal of His Holiness, as he himself has no doubt informed Your Majesty.

After the Pope's departure there was nothing more for me to do at Rome, yet in hopes of my being able to be useful to the queen of England I have come to this town of Bologna, though entirely without resources and having had to borrow money from friends.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Indorsed: "Copy of the letter which I (Pedro Ortiz) wrote to Her Majesty the Empress."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

* After a long discourse on the divorce case Ortiz adds the following: "El qual tiempo no es tan acomodado como aquel en el qual, mientras esta[ba]n juntos el Rey de Francia y el Rey de Inglaterra, era necesario que el Reyno de Dios alli resplandeciese en la explicacion de su justicia, intimandose este breve, pues el reyno de Sathanas con tan gran desverguença y iniquidad alli havie puesto su vandera con el pernicioso exemplo y escandalo de aquella mujer, que alli se llevo, en el qual todos los que lo ven y lo saben seran testigos de la condenacion de los que lo hazen y de los que lo consienten."

1532.

24 Dec. **1036.** RODRIGO NIÑO to the EMPEROR.

S. E. L. 1,310, ff. 42–44. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 188.

(*Cipher :*) Since the enclosed despatch was written Lorenzo Belojo has come and related to me the conversation he had with the Turkish ambassador,* who is now here. He had called twice on him, and on each occasion the ambassador had expressed a hope that peace might be brought about between his master, the Sultan, and Your Imperial Majesty. Belojo observed that he could not see how that object could be attained, for that Your Majesty could not make the first overtures, and as to sending ambassadors to Constantinople it was out of the question. The Turk replied that the Imperial ambassadors might very well go thither on some pretence or other, and then treat about peace, which was so desirable a thing for both nations. To this Belojo again objected, and said that Your Majesty's dignity and power were such that he doubted whether you would ever consent to anything of the sort, but suggested that since he (the ambassador) seemed so desirous of peace, he might treat of it through the mediation of this Signory, with whom he seems to be on such excellent terms. The ambassador's reply was : "I very much doubt whether the Signory will accept the charge, for generally speaking your Christian powers are at daggers drawn with each other, and always trying to cause destructive wars among themselves. The kings of France and England in particular, and the rest of the Christian princes, all wish to see the Emperor in trouble, and even this Signory, notwithstanding their apparent friendship, would like to see the power of the Empire greatly diminished. One of the principal reasons which my master, the Sultan, had for coming this last time to Hungary was the pressing solicitations of the king of France. I know that better than anyone else, because I have acted as interpreter in all the negotiations, and translated the papers brought by Rincon [to Constantinople] ; and besides I know that most of the princes and electors of Germany, out of hatred of the king of the Romans, have sent to offer their services to my master. This opportunity seems to me a very favourable one to make a durable peace, as otherwise I am almost sure (he said) that in the summer of 1534, and when the Emperor is in Spain, Christendom will be invaded both by sea and land."

To these arguments of the Turkish ambassador Lorenço Belojo replied in suitable terms, saying that it was for his master, the Sultan, to procure that peace he seemed to wish for, not for Your Majesty, who single handed and without the assistance of other Christian princes had repelled the invasion, inflicting such severe loss on him that he had actually been obliged to retreat into Turkey. He should not place any confidence in Your Majesty's probable absence from Italy, because you

* "Haueva prima [Solimano] spedito á Venetia Ibraim Bei suo ambasciatore a ragguagliare dei successi delle sue armi in Vngheria, e di hauere confermata nel trono la fluttuante fortuna del Re Giovanni amico della republica." Vianoli, *Historia Veneta*, II., p. 151.

1532.

could at any time come back from Spain in five days with a powerful fleet, and meet him.

When Belojo related this conversation to me I approved of the manner in which he had met the ambassador's overtures, and told him that since the Turk owned that he had acted as an interpreter for Rincon, and translated also the letters of the German princes, he might perhaps get out of him some valuable information on the subject. Belojo promised that he would, and we may perhaps in this way ascertain what king Francis and that traitor Rincon have been about all this time.

My own idea, seeing the ambassador's great desire for peace, is that the Sultan did evacuate Hungary with much greater loss in men than was reported at the time, perhaps as much as one third of his army; that he is mightily afraid of Your Majesty's power, and that he considers himself hoaxed by the Most Christian King, and will place no confidence in him for the future.

Belojo tells me that he is determined to go and tell the members of the Council of the "Dieci" all that has been said by this Turkish ambassador, and what he himself has answered, because should it come one of these days to their knowledge that such a conversation has taken place, and he (Belojo) has not informed them thereof, he is almost sure to suffer through it. He tells me that a message has lately been sent to the said Turkish ambassador informing him that it is time for him to go away, and that the Turk is delaying his departure on the plea that the weather is unfavourable for sailing. Indeed, being again urged three days ago to prepare for his journey he begged and entreated to be allowed to remain here in Venice all this winter, as he says he wishes to gain a thorough knowledge of Christian politics,* and hear what will come out of this interview between Your Majesty and the Pope, of the mission of these French cardinals, &c. In short, Belojo tells me that he is quite astonished at the deep knowledge this said Turk has of Christian affairs in general, though I rather suspect that by thus tarrying at Venice he may have some other object in view than learning our manners, and that perhaps he is expecting some answer from France. As to his general information, I have no doubt he possesses it in no small degree, for speaking, as he does, Venetian fluently, all those who wish to converse with him have easy access to his residence, without being hindered by the guard which the Signory has allotted him, whilst those of his suit, mostly Italian renegadoes, go about the city perfectly free.

The Signory has already chosen the ambassadors† who are to go to Constantinople to congratulate on the Sultan's safe return to the capital of his dominions. They are also about

* "Para entender muy de raiz los cosas de la Christiandad."

† Tomaso Mocenigo and Francesco Barbaro, this last in the room of the Bailo Pietro Zeno, who had asked for his recall. See Vianoli, *loc. laud.* p. 150.

1532.

to appoint a bailli in the room of the one who is there, and who has asked for leave to return.—Venice, 24th December 1532.

Signed: "Rodrigo Niño."

Addressed: "S. C. C. M."

Spanish. Original entirely in cipher. pp. 9.

— **1037.** LOPE HURTADO, Imperial ambassador in Portugal, to the SAME.

S. E. Port. L. 369, f. 194.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 204.

On the 29th ult° the king of Portugal (João) made to Dom Estevão D'Almeyda and to me [Lope Hurtado] the following answer respecting the queen of England's case. The Emperor (he said) had informed him through me that the king of Enlgand intended to divorce from his Queen, and requested that both should meet somewhere to advise the best means of preventing that, and send trusty persons to England who might conjointly counsel and help in the affair.* He (the King) had answered His Imperial Majesty how much he regretted the circumstance, and that he would willingly choose proper persons to send to England, but although in compliance with the Emperor's wishes he (the King) had appointed such ambassadors and informed His Imperial Majesty thereof, he had not heard anything more on the subject.

As to the suit itself, he (the King) did not know if the Empress as a woman wished to appear in it or not, for whenever there was a question pending between women of low station in life, wished always to know before it commenced whether it was their custom [in Portugal] to ascertain first what the difference was about, and if this was the case between persons of low birth with greater reason ought it to be between princes.† He would send Dom Pedro Mascarenhas to speak to His Majesty on this subject, that he might hear from his own lips what had been done respecting the king of England.

He had likewise ordered his ambassador at Rome to speak with His Holiness, and beg he should act in this case as befitted a thing of such quality and importance and which so nearly concerned him, and likewise to let him know in what stage the suit was. When informed of all these particulars he (the King) would see what could be done to assist the Queen, his aunt, as he was bound to do.

* "Dixonos que el Emperador nuestro señor por mi le avia hecho saber lo que la Reina de Ynglaterra le avia escrito, lo quel Rey, su marido, queria hazer con ella, pidiendole que huviese por bien que los dos se juntasen para embiar personas a Ynglaterra y quel havia respondido á su M^t lo que le pesava," &c.

† "Quel pleito no sabia [él] si la Emperatriz, nuestra señora, como muger asistia en él, y que quando avia cosa entre personas vajas (*sic*) que fuesse de diferencia, siempre querrian saber antes de ponerse en ella la causa por que la movian, que si esto era entre las otras personas, mejor se deviera hazer entre principes."

1532.

This message Dom Estevan might take to His Majesty and at the same time announce that his lawyers had examined the Queen's case and found her right clearly established. If the Emperor wished to see what the opinion of his lawyers was, he (the King) would willingly forward a copy, &c.

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— **1038.** GRANVELLE to the SAME.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 88. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 207.

This morning the memoranda drawn by the Count Palatine (Frederic) were put into the King's hands.* After that I called on the Papal Legate, whom I found in company with the archbishop Brundusin (Aleander bishop of Brindisi). I shewed to them the paper on the Council which Your Majesty and both your privy councillors had previously seen. They found it correct and to their liking; it will be translated into German, and presented to the Diet to-morrow morning.

I have also declared to the said Archbishop and Legate the points on which the Lutherans at Nüremberg still insist, and both have agreed with me that the thing is well worth being consulted at Rome, inasmuch as it is to be feared the Estates will not hear of any such conditions as those proposed.

Your Majesty's councillors have been consulted and their opinion is that the pretensions of the Lutherans ought to be put down in writing, and then sent to the Estates to deliberate upon them all in conformity with the memorandum given to the Legate and Nuncio.

The Privy Council has likewise deliberated on the appointment of fit persons to go to the Swiss.

Indorsed: "Memorandum for the Emperor's approval at Ratisbon, drawn in the small village close to that city (*en el lugarejo*).

French. Original. pp. 2.

— **1039.** DELIBERATIONS of the PRIVY COUNCIL.

S. E. *Aleman.* L. 636, f. 88. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 205.

Andrea Doria and the fleet under his command.

Grants of land to Monbardon and Chalayn in the marquisate of Corata. They cannot take place as the lands are already in the possession of Baubry (Waury). Neither can the other be taken from Mr. de Pelu (Peloux), who has already come to complain.

Pechin Pelu and Montfort.—Princes of Salerno and Bisignano.

The king of the Romans and the 100,000 ducats which he expects to receive from the Pope.

Prothonotary Caracciolo writes from Milan that the five Catholic cantons are already beginning to stir against the Lutheran ones, and that he believes the thing will go on.

* The King here alluded to is Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, king of Bohemia and Hungary, then at Ratisbon with his brother, the Emperor.

1532.

Meanwhile the Lutheran preachers are everywhere spreading the rumour that the king of France will assist them to maintain their Faith, and he (Caracciolo) would urge the departure of the Verulano (bishop of Veroli). It would be advisable to think what is to be done with the person appointed to go instead of him from hence.

Letters to sign respecting the business of the count of Urueña.

Spanish. Original draft. pp. 14.

— **1040.** The HIGH COMMANDER COVOS to the EMPEROR.

S. E. *Ale.* L. 636, f. 95.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 209.

Rodrigo Enriquez and his mission to Monaco.*

Enclosed are the answers to the marquis del Gasto (Vasto) and Hernando (Gonzaga). Both complain that they have no money to pay their men, and that they will never be able to be in Germany for the time they are wanted. The former says that one month's pay is not enough for the infantry under his orders, and Gonzaga asserts that even two will not do for the cavalry. As to Antonio de Leyva he writes that the men under his command will certainly not march unless they receive three months' pay beforehand. Even then he does not believe they will be in Germany before three months are over.

The ambassadors from Lorraine leave to-morrow, well satisfied with Your Majesty's resolution. The archdeacon of Toux (Toul),† who is one of them, wished to see Your Majesty and speak about a sum of 15,000 ducats, which, he says, his master, the Duke, lent to Mr. de Bourbon at the time that the latter was in Your Majesty's service. I told him, however, that this was not the opportune moment to treat of such things and he accordingly desisted.

Spanish and French. Original. pp. 2.

1533.

3 Jan. **1041.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 1.

Having received three days ago Your Majesty's letter of the 7th November, with two postcripts, one of the 16th and another of the 6th December, I immediately apprized the Queen with

* This despatch, if it be really one, as the endorsement in the handwriting of one of the clerks under Covos describes it, bears no date, and is calendared in Bergenroth's collection after December 1532. But I have already observed (see Introductions to parts 1 and 2,) that generally speaking all papers and letters bearing no date have been placed by the executors of that editor at the end of the year to which they were supposed to belong. In the present case I think that this memorandum, evidently addressed like the preceding and following, Nos. 1039 and 1041, by secretary Covos to the Emperor, of business to be transacted, and letters to be signed by him respecting Genoa and Italy, must have been drawn some time before the period at which both the marquis del Vasto, in command of the Imperial army, and Ferrante Gonzaga, the general of the cavalry, left for Germany, and when the Emperor was still at Ratisbon, *i.e.*, in May or June 1532.

† "Larchidiacre de Toux (*sic*), quest lung des ambassadeurs," says the original minute, for it must be observed that the second paragraph of this memorandum is in French, having probably been drawn by Grandvelle, or some other Imperial minister, not a Spaniard, like those of No. 1038 and 1039.

1533.

the good tidings therein contained, especially those relating personally to Your Majesty, which were really the most pleasing New Year's gift she could receive under present circumstances, as she herself will thankfully acknowledge to Your Majesty by the first opportunity.

With regard to the late interview of these two kings I have obtained no positive information yet beyond that which I gave Your Majesty at the time, and since then in my despatches of the 26th November and 16th December last; and as by the tenour of my said despatches Your Majesty will see what use I have made of the letter and instructions under date of the 7th, I need not trouble Your Majesty with further details.

The Scottish ambassador, a gentleman of the Chamber and Council of his master, the King, and a man of wit, ability, and courage, perceiving, nay seeing quite clearly, that these people are only temporizing and using fair words, that they may keep king James and the Scots in suspense and prevent their arming in the hope of a speedy peace, whilst the English themselves are getting ready, has suddenly left this court, much dissatisfied, not only at his not having obtained the peace for which he came, or the reparation and satisfaction he asked for, but because this king, when the ambassador first came caused a letter to be written to him in his name, promising and assuring that no armed Englishman should on any account cross the borders. And yet it appears that the earl of Nortumbellan (Northumberland), captain-general of the frontier, the earl of Douglas, and his brother crossed on the very same day by three different passes, slaying, plundering, and burning everything they came to, carrying away cattle and many prisoners; and when the said ambassador complained of this unjustifiable breach of the peace between the two kingdoms he was told that all this had been done before the King's orders had reached that frontier. This excuse the ambassador would not accept; he refused to remain any longer at Court, and started about eight days ago. They say that when he went to take leave the King held very strong language to him, and threatened much, and that the ambassador answered coolly that he had not come here for the purpose of debating (*pour estriuer*) or contradicting the King's words, but referring only to facts. It was evident that it was not any sense of duty, but reliance on his own power and riches, as well as on the new French alliance, and that of Douglas and his party, that had prompted the King to swerve from the path of amity and good neighbourhood.* Still he must know that if the Scots were not rich in money they had a stout heart to defend their own. They had, moreover, given no occasion or cause to France to break through such a perfect and sincere

* "Et quil estoit bien a veoir clerement que non point le deuoir, ains la confidence de son auoir et richesse [et] de la nouvelle alliance de France et aussi du comte Douglas et sa partialite le desuoyoient du droit chemin damitie et voysinance."

1533.

friendship as had hitherto existed between the two countries to look out for another of shorter date, and which after all could only be considered in the light of a reconciliation. Even if it were so, and supposing the French would favour the English, he hoped that his countrymen would make a stout defence.

In this way did the Scottish ambassador leave court, which makes all people here believe that war is as good as declared between the two countries. Indeed, I have since heard from a very good source that this king is bent upon it, since there is so good an opportunity at hand now that the French are offering not to take part one way or other. The excuse alleged by the King being that he wishes the earl of Douglas to be again at the head of the government in Scotland, that he may thereby create new dissensions in that country, so that should he carry out his mad project of a new marriage he may have nothing to fear on that side.

As I dared not visit the ambassador at his house, or send one of my secretaries to him, I addressed him a verbal message through a countryman of his, a physician residing in this city, (from whom I heard most of what I have related above), purporting that I was sorry not to be able to frequent his society and treat him as Your Majesty's friendship for his master, the King, and the new brotherhood established between you two in consequence of the Order [of the Golden Fleece] demanded. This message of mine the ambassador took in very good part, tendering his services and offering to come and visit me, which, of course, I declined for fear of accident. The physician assured me that in the ambassador's opinion France would not assist the King, his master, or take his part, but (said he) "That is of no consequence, for most times French assistance has been more injurious to us than profitable."

The English troops on the borders of Scotland who have made these last forays (*courreries*) exceed 15,000 in number, and the expense must be very great, for I have been told by one who has seen the account of the Treasury, that this king immediately after his return from Calais remitted 100,000 crs., and that within the last week he has sent 40,000 more.

The King has just now sent to Denmark and also to Hamburgh as his ambassador a doctor of no very great rank (*ung docteur de petite qualité*), for no other purpose, as I am informed, than to treat of the affair which brought here the Danish agent, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty.

The Queen has lately received intelligence that the King shews repentance at the separation, in consequence of which she fancies that God has perhaps touched his heart, and that he is about to acknowledge his error; but in my opinion she is very much mistaken, for the repentance, if there be any signs of it, proceeds less from knowledge of his sinful conduct than from fear of the infamy and evil rumours current among the people in consequence of this new marriage, and

1533.

*principally from a wish to save the expense of keeping so many establishments, which expense he is continually complaining of, and has ever since his return [from Calais] tried to curtail in every possible way, having already begun to reduce his household.** It might also happen that the said *repentance had its origin in another quarter,* lest the Pope, during Your Majesty's next *stay at Bologna, should be induced to pronounce sentence against him, or at least issue some brief commanding him to return to his queen. Indeed, I hear from one of his Privy Councillors that the King is very much afraid that one of these days a sentence will come from Rome, and he is already thinking, as I am told, of parryiny the blow by means of another contradictory decision emanating from his Parliament, or at least of having the effects of the sentence suspended, and appealing to a General Council, which may never take place.* That he (the King) considers his case at Rome as irretrievably lost, *appears sufficiently from the fact of his having persistently refused of late to grant the Papal Nuncio an audience,* as I duly informed Your Majesty in my despatch of the 30th of January though he promised to send soon for him.†

The Queen's chaplain,‡ who, as I wrote in a former despatch, had been long confined to prison for having preached and written in her favour, has been released during these last festivals [of the Epiphany], on condition, however, of his not writing or preaching again until a fortnight after Easter. *Thus the priest has actually been set free, but the rings and jewels which the Queen lent the King for his journey to Calais still remain in bond, and God knows when they will be given back.*§—London, 3rd January 153[3].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 4.

19 Jan. **1042.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 271.
B.M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 215.

Her Majesty's letter of the 5th inst. has been duly received. He (Ortiz) forwarded by the last post to Flanders the copy of the declaratory brief, there to be printed and affixed at the usual places. No answer has yet come from thence.

* "La royne a este aduertie ces iours que le roy se repentoit ces iours de lauoir ainsi esloingnee de luy, coniecturant par ce que dieu eust inspire le dit roy de cognoistre son erreur; mais certes a mon aduis elle est bien loing de compte, car la dite repentance ne procede de zeele (*sic*) ains par linfamie et bruyt quil sent corir par le peuple, mais principalment pour la coustange quil pourte de tenir tant de maisons, de quoy il se plaint continuellement, et na tasche depuis son retour que de regarder moyens pour retrancher et restraindre la despense, ce quil a desia commence en son train."

† "Et a ce que ma dit home (*sic*) de son conseil il se doubte fort dauoir en bref sentence contraire, et si a desia pense autre remede assauoir den fere donner une autre par ses estatz ou a tout le moings pour suspendre leffect de la dite sentence [et] en appeller au concille quil ne se celebera (*sic*) iames. Et quil soit vrai quil tienne le cas de Rome pour despere il la assez desmontre dernieremant non vuillant donner audience au nonce comme escripvis dernierement a vostre maieste bien quil eust dit quil lenvoyeroit querre yl nen a este depuys question."

‡ Master Thomas Abell.

§ "Le prestre est delivre, mais les bagues et ioyaulx que la royne presta au roy pour son voiage de la veue [a Calais] son encoires prisonniers, ne sçay quant elles se deliureront."

1533.

May God graciously inspire the king of England to acknowledge the error into which the Enemy of Mankind has led him, and honourably amend his past conduct; otherwise the natural consequence will be that his disobedience to the Papal injunctions and his infidelity to God once proved, he will be deprived of his kingdom, his subjects absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and the execution of the sentence committed to His Imperial Majesty. This being done all those in England who fear God will rise in arms, and the King will be punished as he deserves, this present brief operating as a formal sentence against him if His Holiness will only act as he is bound to do in similar cases. May God be pleased to convert the King first, that he may repent from his sins, and such evils be avoided!

With regard to the prosecution of the main cause he (Ortiz) can only say that he has incessantly requested the Emperor, and the members of his Privy Council, to order, as Your Majesty and the Council of Castille have frequently recommended, that a report of the whole case be carefully drawn up and sent to the Rota, that this ecclesiastical tribunal may at once pronounce sentence by contumacy (*contradittas*). There being nobody here at Rome to answer for the opposite party, the sentence cannot be longer delayed; nor can it be said that the verdict is given out of favour, especially as it ought to have been given so long ago. This he (Ortiz) has continually been asking for, but since nothing has been done notwithstanding his most humble entreaties, there must be reasons among the Emperor's Privy Council which he respects for not urging it. He (Ortiz) cannot but regret the time that has been lost; he is extremely sorry at past delays (*dilaciones*), and particularly so for those that are likely to come in future, now that the Emperor has actually departed on his way home;* not to say anything of his pain and regret at the sufferings of the queen of England who keeps writing to him (Ortiz) to urge the prosecution of her case just as Your Majesty commands him to do, but it is no fault of his; he cannot do more.

Is anxiously expecting the letters and "cedula" which the Council of Castille have lately issued in his favour. If they came by the last post, as there was reason to expect, under cover to his brother, secretary Ortiz, they have not yet been delivered to him.—Bologna, 19th January 1533.

Signed: "El Dr. Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

27–29 Jan. **1043.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228. No. 6.

Your Majesty's letters of the 27th ult°, announcing your arrival and very imposing reception at Bologna,† the ceremonies there observed between our Holy Father and Your Majesty

* The Emperor did not leave Bologna for Mantua until the 28th of February according to Vandeness.

† The Emperor arrived at Bologna on the 20th of December 1532.

1533.

on Christmas Eve, as well as the return [to Genoa] of the prince of Melphi [Andrea Doria] after his successful expedition [to Levant] came duly to hand. All of which glorious news I failed not to communicate yesterday to the duke of Norfolk, that he might himself acquaint the King, who is still in the country (*questoit sur les champs*) with them. Whereupon the Duke, when I told him the news, shewed himself by his words and appearance to be very glad at such intelligence, and very grateful also at my readiness in imparting it, for he thanked me personally for my courtesy and good offices and assured me that the King would be likewise delighted to hear the same from my lips. This I told him I would certainly do as soon as the King returned to town, for such were Your Majesty's commands, there being nothing you had so much at heart as to keep on good terms of friendship and close relationship (*l'integrite de voysinance et parentage*) with him, adding that such was your confidence in the King, his master, that you thought he would not conceal from you his most secret affairs. On this account, and to shew to the Duke your good wishes in that respect I told him that I knew by letters from your Imperial Court that you had been much pleased to see that besides the usual English ambassadors in Italy there were two cardinals sent (as common report says) at the express request of his master, and that you had consequently refrained from treating affairs of importance with His Holiness until the arrival of the said cardinals. *This I said to the Duke in confirmation of my former declaration, and also that I might indirectly draw his attention to the fact that no foreign ambassadors* had been allowed to take part in the Calais conferences. There was still another cause, for the *French ambassador has given these people to understand that Your Majesty would have been glad that your business with the Pope had terminated before the arrival of the said cardinals but that His Holiness had not consented to it.*

The Duke, after commending the said act and Your Majesty's good intentions, signified to me that the two cardinals had already arrived at Bologna with a numerous train of followers, and had been most admirably received and entertained. He spoke at length of the number and gorgeousness of their retainers, wondering how in so short a time they had been able to assemble such a suite, considering that it had been decided between the two kings at the Calais interview that they should only have 24 mounted servants between the two. Hearing this I tried in various ways to ascertain from the Duke what was the object of the cardinals' mission, but all in vain; he excused himself, as he had done at other times, by his want of health, which, he said, had prevented him from attending the conferences. Yet he assured me that he could have wished most ardently that Your Majesty had been at the time at St. Omer, or in some other town of the neighbourhood, for had such been the case nothing would have been done without Your Majesty's intervention. And upon my remarking that

1533.

it seemed as if the King, his master, and he of France, did not wish for many witnesses of the interview, since they had absolutely forbidden the attendance of foreign ambassadors, the Duke replied that the interview not being intended for the transaction of political business, but merely for the purpose of enjoyment and pleasure (*bonna chiere*), it was thought that there was no necessity for ambassadors, and that it would have been unkind to trouble them for a mere nothing. He owned, however, that had Your Majesty been in the neighbourhood of Calais, and able to attend the meeting, several important matters might have been brought under discussion.

In order to draw out the Duke more on the subject, I observed that perhaps the said cardinals had charge of promoting at Rome that very object which the two kings would have liked to discuss with Your Majesty, and that the matter itself being feasible the ability of the ambassadors might supply the deficiency which he so much lamented of Your Majesty's presence at the interview. Upon which the Duke most heartily besought God that it might be as I said, remarking after a pause that though the cardinals were both honest and belonged to king Francis' Privy Council, they were altogether ignorant of the ins and outs of political affairs, since the whole management of [foreign] business was in the hands of the chancellor (Du Prat), of the grand master (Montmorency), and of the admiral (Brion), every one of whom he praised much, and *especially the last, who, he said, was a straightforward and honourable man. Of the Grand Master he made no such commendations, for he seemed not to like him as much as the other two.**

After this, having inquired from the Duke about the state of affairs in Scotland, he said to me that the king of that country certainly wished for peace, and was incessantly suing for it, but the terms proposed were such as the King, his master, could not possibly accept, since they wounded his honour. At Calais, the Most Christian king of France had several times solicited his master to make peace with Scotland, until begged to desist.† "The king of Scotland (he added) is daily writing the most courteous and affectionate letters to my master, but his deeds do not tally with his words, for the Scotch are generally very proud, and the King's councillors are both young and rash." The Duke then told me their names one by one, and said that in his opinion they would endanger the kingdom through their bad advice, and that if war lasted till midsummer the Scotch were sure to get such a blow as would put down their pride, and would effectually bridle them for the future.‡ He (the Duke)

* "Et surtout ladmiral pour estre ung home vrayement franc et tout entier; le grand maistre a ce quil sembloit par ses propoz estoit celluy quil goustoit le moings des trois."

† "Jusques a ce que le roy [le] pria sen despourter."

‡ "Que si la guerre duroit iusques a my este que lesdits escossoys auroint une senglet (?) que leur feroit rabattre de leur orgueyl, et seroint brides de sorte quilz ne rueroint pour l'advenir."

1533.

was very sorry for it, inasmuch as the king of Scotland was the nephew of his master, and also on account of the friendship and affectionate esteem he entertained for many honest Scotchmen, with whom he was in correspondence, and who, notwithstanding the war, had lately sent him as a present eight Scotch daggers (*pugnards*), which he shewed me, and of which he gave me four at my departure. The Duke further said that fond as he had been of war in former times he was now equally averse from it. He wished for peace not only with Scotland but with everybody else, and would willingly sacrifice one of his hands to ensure such a friendly and close alliance with Your Majesty as there had been in former times. And upon my replying to him that it was not, nor would it be Your Majesty's fault if such alliance could not be fairly established, the Duke observed: "If that be the case I see no other obstacle in the way than the Pope, *who for fear of the Emperor, or because he wants to exalt and promote his own relatives, has not yet done his duty in this divorce case, since the favours and caresses which he from time to time bestows on your master proceed less from affection and good-will than from fear of his power.*"*

Having then asked the Duke whether it was true, as reported, that the King had lately sent some one to Germany for the purpose of inducing Philip Melanton (Melancthon), Symon Gryneus, and several other Lutherans to visit this country, he answered that he knew nothing of such matters, as the King would naturally conceal them from him, knowing how he hated those of that sect. True it was that about six months ago the King himself had shewn him a letter from some German prince, closely related to him by marriage, stating that the said Philip Melancthon wished very much to come and reside in this kingdom, and begging the King's favour and protection, adding that Melancthon might, if well treated in England, return to the Catholic Faith, which would be a great boon for religion.† *He (the Duke) had been of opinion that on no account ought Melanchthon to be allowed to enter this country, for jealousy, heresy, and frenzy were incurable evils.*

It might be that after all the King, for the above-mentioned causes, did not actually communicate with the Duke respecting this mission to Germany, *but I know as a fact that by the King's express commands secretary Paget, who last year went to visit this same Melanchthon, and other Lutheran doctors, has now written to them to come to England. For what purpose I cannot guess; some say that it is to counsel and act against the Queen, others to devise means for the reform of the Clergy in this kingdom, that the latter may be effectually deprived of all the temporal property they possess.*

* "Et que ne failloit imputer les beau beau que le pape fait a vostre maieste a bonne volonte ainsi (ains) tant seullement a crainte."

† "Que le dit melanton auoit grande enuye de se venir retirer par deça en son royaulme et quil le prioit le vouloir recuillir, accepter et traicter, et que ce faisant il seroit cause de gros bien."

1533.

The Duke said no more about the Roman business than what I have related above, *nor did he shew the least knowledge of the brief which has lately been executed at Rome, as the King himself has been informed.* At the end of our conversation, however, the topic of a close union and alliance between Your Majesty and his master was again resumed, to which I pertinently responded, pointing out the great and many advantages to be derived therefrom. This I did as fully as I could do at the time that I might more forcibly call his attention to his master's unjustifiable behaviour, and represent how hard it was that for the sake of a personal affection (I did not say which) those advantages he spoke of should be abandoned to the great scandal* of the Christian religion and contempt of Papal authority. I said more, I told him that such a union and alliance once made there could remain no suspicion or motive of dissension among the princes of Christendom, except perhaps the affair of the Vayvod still unsettled, which, after all, was not one of great consequence. *His reply was that with regard to the affection to which I had alluded he had nothing to say. He was not the judge of his master's actions; he knew not whether the King was right or wrong, but followed entirely the opinion of the English doctors* [*in Theology*] *since he was quite ignorant of such matters, nor had he ever read books on the the subject, however pressing the King's solicitations to that effect.* "Respecting the Vayvod (he said) I cannot decide whether his pretensions will or will not be an embarrassment for the Christian princes. I rather think they will;" by which words the Duke no doubt meant that there would be grumbling on the part of France, for after a pause of a few minutes he added on after thought: "*I think after all that France will act in this affair of the Vayvod as we ourselves have done; for our part I can assure you that he will get no help or aid from this country, but we cannot be responsible for others.*"

After this the Duke took me by the hand and led me into his cabinet (*sa riere chambre*) where he shewed me certain books and other things. As I went away he gave me half the daggers presented to him from Scotland, and not satisfied with accompanying me to the door of the hall, he insisted, notwithstanding all my entreaties, upon seeing me to the stairs, where I embarked to return home. On my departure, besides many compliments and gracious offers, the Duke again begged me to make use of him in any manner that might be agreeable or, as he said, of service to me personally. Though effusions of this kind are not very important, yet as they are not common with the Duke, and he shews certain signs of affection to Your Majesty, I have considered it necessary to inform you thereof.

* "Ce que je fis pour avoer occasion luy remonstrer plus clerement le peu de rayson quil y avoit pour une telle chose dont yl se trayttoit et pour une affection (ie ne vouloye dire quelle) que lon deust postpouser telles commoditez oultre le scandalle," &c.

1533.

Doctor Cremmer (Cranmer) had not been a week here on his return from the embassy to Your Majesty when to the great astonishment of everyone he was appointed by the King to the archbishopric of Canterbury, the first and most substantial benefice in all England, since its holder becomes Primate and [Papal] Legate over all the kingdom. One of the causes why the said appointment has taken the people so much by surprise is that formerly it was not the custom for the King to fill up the vacancies before the expiration of the year within which the vacancy actually occurred, whereas the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury has not been vacant four months. *There is still another reason which makes people wonder. That the expedition of the bulls may not be delayed the King has advanced out of his own pocket the sums required for that, which circumstance makes people suspect that such haste in the filling up of the see, and expedition of the bulls is chiefly owing to the King's wish that the Doctor may one of these days, as archbishop and legate of this kingdom, sanction the divorce, and authorize in this Parliament the new marriage. Indeed there is a rumour afloat that Dr. Crammer, who is considered to be a Lutheran, has renounced the whole of his temporalities in favour of this king, which would be a fair way of compelling the rest of the English Clergy to do the same.*

Notwithstanding the statute made by the King at the last Parliament, forbidding in future the payment of more than one tenth of the usual annats to Rome, the King has given orders that those [of Canterbury] should be paid in full, *which makes many people think that there is some secret intelligence between the Pope and this king. I know very well that the King boasts of having gained the Pope to his side, or at leasts talks of having done so to the gentlemen of his Privy Chamber. Only two days ago he said to one of them that the Pope had plainly declared to Your Majesty* [*at Bologna*] *that for the sake of your honour, and the love he professed to you, he had hitherto refrained from referring here* (*de par deça*) *the trial and sentence of the divorce suit, but that he could no longer refuse or defer the execution of justice. I cannot say whether he says this much to please the Lady, or because his ambassadors at Rome feed him with such hopes* (*dragees*), but the fact is that he is continually saying that the Pope and he have secretly agreed, a thing which is far from being probable.

With regard to the brief enjoining him to separate from the Lady, as Miçer Mai and Dr. Ortiz have announced, this must be said, that since the brief is not precise enough, or reaggravatory of the first, which was granted at Bologna, I am greatly afraid that it will have no effect at all on these people who will be under the impression that the Pope will secretly decree a relaxation of this as he is known to have done with the other. Besides which, as the proceedings are at

1533.

an end, and the suit itself in a condition to be referred for sentence, what the Pope is now doing is merely to please Your Majesty and keep him in good humour; for if he could pronounce sentence in the case it stands to reason that he could also issue, and has preferred issuing the said brief, inasmuch as he can the latter revoke at pleasure, whereas the sentence he cannot, that being the only cause of his tarrying, that he may always keep a hold both over Your Majesty and this king, who will keep saying, as he has on other occasions, that if he was in the wrong at a time when such close friendship existed between the Pope and Your Majesty he would have been condemned 100 times over, but that notwithstanding his clear right and the justice of his cause, the affection the Pope bears Your Majesty, or the dread he has of your power, is the sole cause of his doing things against his will. I think, therefore, that unless sentence is soon pronounced in the case, which will be the only sure means of doing away at once with the King's presumption and hopes, *the brief itself will be of no use at all.*

After writing the above I received Your Majesty's letter of the 5th inst., and this very morning *the Papal Nuncio and myself have held a conference respecting the affair in question, and the best means to be employed to treat with the individual who was the first to take the affair in hand. No trouble or diligence shall be spared for the success of the undertaking. I have not yet been able to ascertain the name of the personage who was the first to bring this matter before the Nuncio;** but hope to be able to inform Your Majesty by the first courier, since the hasty departure of this present one compels me to omit all details.—London, the 27th of January 153[3.]

Since writing the above, the courier having delayed his departure until this hour, *I am able to add that the Nuncio has actually seen this man, whose name has not yet been revealed to me, and has held a conference with him. The Nuncio tells me that from the very beginning his interlocutor changed the tenour of his proposition,* demanding that not only the cognizance of the cause, but the definitive [sentence] also should be removed from Rome. At the end, however, he adhered to his primitive plan (*a ses premieres brisees*), *agreeing that the definitive sentence might remain in the hands of the Pope, though he asked for a term of eight days to consult over the matter and give a final resolution, which delay, in my opinion, is for no other purpose than to wait for news of the two cardinals, and hear what they have achieved at Rome. The man in question does not consider Cambray a neutral city but an Imperial one, and wishes the revise of the trial to take place at some other city nearer the dominions of the king of France,*

* "Le nonce et moy avons communique ensemble, et a este aduise le moyen quil viendroit (*sic*, tiendroit?) pour rendre le matiere avec celluy quil (qui lui) mit les afferes en avant, et ne restera a bonne volonte et diligence que le tout [ne] voyse bien. Je nay peu sauoir le personage qua dresse cest affere avec le Nonce."

1533.

whom they describe as neutral and impartial in the matter. They want also neutral judges, and I fancy that they will not accept as such any but Frenchmen. Nothing has yet been said of the condition *of obedience and compliance with the Papal brief,* which seemed to me indispensable before the *acceptance of the terms and definitive answer.* As it is only a few minutes ago that the above intelligence was brought to me *I have not yet had time to acquaint the Queen* with this proposition, but will not fail to do so to-morrow morning. On the 29th in haste.—"Eustace Chapuys."

It is to be feared that the overtures made by these people are only for the purpose of gaining time to parry the blow of the sentence which they see us asking for with urgency, and perceive to be imminent. The King and the relatives of the Lady no doubt think that their only chance lies in gaining time and continuing to live as hitherto, but it appears to me that in the proposition itself there lurk two great dangers: one is that if the King wishes to calumniate (*calumpnier*) he can easily spin out the affair endlessly, and therefore it would be advisable to fix a reasonable period of time within which the commissaries must deliver their opinion, since the trial is one which requires no further allegation or proof on either side. The other inconvenience to be avoided is that the judges might perchance wish to annul the evidence of witnesses in favour of the Queen, which would be an almost irreparable loss to her, and to meet this it would be necessary to make express reserve of the said evidence.*—The 29th *ut supra.*

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. 27th and 29th January 1533. Received the 21st of February."

French. Holograph partly in cipher. pp. 9.

7 Feb. **1044.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 270.
B. M. *Add.* 28,586, f. 217.

Your Imperial Majesty's letter of the 20th of January was duly received. Nothing new to advise respecting the matrimonial cause of England, as we are waiting to hear what effect the Papal brief has had upon the King. The only new fact which has been ascertained is that there exists a greater degree of affinity between the King and this Anne Boleyn, his mistress, than even between him and his own legitimate wife; for it appears that he once had connexion with her sister, whereas his Queen, as is well known, remained a virgin after her marriage with prince Arthur. And yet, strange to say, it has now been proved that in order to marry this Anne he sent some time ago to ask for a dispensation! Among other

* "Lautre inconvenient seroit que les deputez vouldroient par avanture anuller le examen des tesmoings fait en faveur de la royne, que luy seroit domage presque irreparable, et pour ce en fauldroit fere reserve expresse."

1533.

things which His Holiness very wisely said to cavalier Casale,* the English ambassador, in answer to his application for such dispensation, pretending that in suing for a divorce from his Queen, his master had listened only to his conscience, was this: "How is it, then, that your master, the King, before the sentence was pronounced, and even before he had married this Anne, lived openly with her; and how can he conscientiously deny the validity of a former Papal dispensation when he presumes to ask for a similar one to marry this Anne notwithstanding his connexion with her sister?"

It is also reported that M^me^ D'Alanson (Alençon) highly disapproves of the King's conduct in this affair, and of his attempting to marry this Anne, nay that she has made the king of France come round to her opinion on the subject, and also that at the late conferences of Calais king Francis reproached Henry for his conduct, &c. . . . . .

. . . .

Indorsed: "Paragraphs of a letter from Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.—Bologna, 7th February 1533."

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 2.

— Feb. **1045.** REPORT from Rome on the Matrimonial Cause of England.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 148.

Four briefs have been obtained against the king of England. By the first the Pope alone, and by the second His Holiness and the cardinals command the king of England not to marry another woman until the divorce case be sentenced. During the meantime to treat his legitimate wife, the Queen, with conjugal affection, &c., all this under pain of excommunication and interdict of all his kindred, and other penalties specified in the said briefs to be incurred "ipso jure" by the King himself, or whomsoever should dare to contravene this edict, he and all others being declared, in case of disobedience, as positively excommunicated, and the interdict being ordained. And whereas since the expediting of the above two briefs the king of England has publicly sent away from his Royal palace and court, and actually separated from, the Queen, his legitimate wife, and has moreover publicly conversed (*tuvo publica conversacion*) with Anne [Boleyn], he (the King) and all his Privy Councillors are evidently excommunicated. Now since it is affirmed that the King has publicly contracted matrimony with the said Anne, it is evident that he has incurred all the ecclesiastical censures and penalties fulminated against him. Since the King does what is expressly forbidden to him

* "Salvo que es esta la verdad: Que el S^mo^ Rey de Inglaterra tiene mas firme grado de afinidad con esta ana, su manceba, por aver antes mal usado de una hermana suya, que no lo tenie (*sic*, tiene) con la S^ma^ Reyna; la qual quedó donzella de arcturo su hermano. Y para poderse casar con esta Ana es esta cierta verdad que [h]a tiempo que envió á demandar dispensacion á su S^t^ para poderse casar con ella, y que su s^d^ le dixo al Casal," &c.

1533.

it would not be amiss to take lawful action against him, namely, to have the two said briefs published in Flanders and in all the towns bordering upon France, and at other places, that the English nation and all others may be apprized of the fact that king Henry is excommunicated and the whole of his kingdom placed under interdict. When the English ambassadors here [at Rome] did all they could to have the said briefs revoked His Holiness would not grant this, but commissioned cardinals de Monte and Campeggio, and Simoneta, the bishop of Pesaro, and Paolo Capisucci, the commissary of the cause, and the Datary to examine the briefs, and report whether they were well founded or not. At this time the English had no cognizance of another brief (the third), which the Pope sent to his Nuncio in England, but only of the fourth, which was sent from Bologna to Flanders, there to be notified. But as this last brief (the fourth) recapitulates the whole of the third, which, as above stated, was forwarded to London for the Papal Nuncio (Baron del Borgo) to present to the King, as he actually did, it naturally follows, as the informers cannot fail to report that all these briefs are in due form, and must have effect, although the last of them and fourth in order establishes some doubt in what affects the said Anne.

This matrimonial cause being of such importance, though it may be inferred upon the tenour of the said briefs that the king of England has actually incurred excommunication —without any further declaration from His Holiness;* yet it is doubtful whether the cardinals and ecclesiastics above named, to whom the Pope has committed the examination of the said briefs, will decide that the last of them, embodying also the third, be published without a further and last warning from His Holiness. Should they say that it cannot—as it is to be feared they will—then in that case a new delay must be expected. That is the reason why nothing is being done until His Imperial Majesty and his Privy Council are consulted thereupon, and fresh instructions are sent. With regard to the main cause every effort is being made for its prosecution and decision. Should the Emperor decide that without further notice being given to His Holiness the king of England should be declared excommunicated and his kingdom placed under interdict, a transcript of the first brief, dated the 7th of March 1530—which ambassador Mai took away with him, and is not to be found here, any more than the notifications made at the time—should be made in the form described in the annexed sheet, and then published.†

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 3.

* "Sin dezir nada a su santidad" says the text, but the preposition *a* which changes materially the sense, must in my opinion be suppressed.

† On the margins of this report is the following note in the handwriting of Granvelle: "Several transcripts should be made of the first brief, dated the 7th of March 1530, all of them subscribed and attested by a notary, and sealed with the seal of some ecclesiastical judge or prelate. Wherever the publication is to

1533.

— Feb. **1046.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS.

S. E. L. 854, f. 130.
B. M. *Add.* 28,584, f. 146.

. . . . . .

We may add that when the Pope heard of the Turk's defeat he sent one of the auditors of the Rota to persuade us that this was the moment for following up our success and marching against Constantinople. Our answer has been that We were not prepared for so mighty an undertaking, which required money and provisions of all kinds, and that before attacking the Turk in his own dominions it was wise to defend those Spanish kingdoms of ours against the attacks of Barbarossa (Baba Arox). The Auditor has returned to Rome with our answer, and our intention is to undertake only that which may be feasible for the defence of Christendom, the security and protection of our own kingdoms, having regard to time and circumstances as well as to the extent of our resources, bearing, moreover, in mind other public affairs and the scanty assistance received from His Holiness, and the want of security, or rather the danger to be guarded against from the kings of France and England and others owing to their iniquitous practices. Doing in this that which is convenient, and visiting our kingdoms of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, as it is our duty to do, it is our intention to return to Spain as soon as possible.

With regard to the peace of Europe We think that there is no danger of its being troubled for the present year. If there be any it can only proceed from some secret understanding between His Holiness and the king of France, or perhaps too from adherence, reconciliation, or dissimulation of the Pope with the king of England in consequence of the passionate indignation which His Holiness is shewing against the two dukes of Urbino, father and son, and the duchesses of Camarino, mother and daughter. The Pope once shewed his discontent at our refusing to assist him in his quarrels with the said dukes and duchesses, pretending that as a vassal of the Church for the kingdom of Naples We were bound to help him with our arms. With this requisition of the Papal Nuncio We of course refused to comply, and the consequence was that the Pope was heard to say that if We did not assist him as We were bound to do, he would look out for assistance elsewhere, meaning no doubt in France. Matters being in this state, after due representations addressed to the Papal Nuncio and to His Holiness through our ambassador in Rome [Miçer Mai], We sent to request that the sentence

---

be made, one copy of it to be given to the curate of the parish, that he may during the offices read the brief, and say how the king of England, owing to his having sent away his Queen, and taken Anne [Boleyn] for his wife, and all his Privy Councillors or other persons who have abetted and helped him in his undertaking, or otherwise compromised themselves, are excommunicated and his kingdom placed under interdict, a sentence which all parties are bound to keep and observe under pain of lesser excommunication. In this manner the publication shall be made wherever it is deemed necessary."

1533.

in either case should be suspended (*durante esta empresa*), promising in the meantime to think over some amicable settlement of all differences, although declaring that should the king of France on that excuse or any other set foot in Italy and promote war, We could do no less than interfere, since We are bound by the treaty of Bologna to see to the preservation of peace in Italy. It is, therefore, to be expected that His Holiness will attend to the reasons given in a memorandum We have put into the hands of his Nuncio, and will not, whilst We are at Naples, undertake anything in that way, &c.

With regard to the king of France, though his intentions are bad, so much so that if he could do us more harm, and had the means, he would willingly seize the opportunity, yet as far as We can see he will abstain from war this present year not only on account of the powerful fleet that We have collected, but because he himself has neither money nor men, and cannot procure soldiers from Germany or Switzerland, without whom he cannot possibly achieve anything. Besides which those princes and electors on whom the said king counted to promote dissension and create new troubles in Germany have, by the industry and exertions of our Grand Steward, whom we sent to that country, been so influenced, that instead of lending assistance to king Francis they are likely to turn their arms against him.

Respecting the king of England he is so pertinacious in his errors, and has taken up such a position against the Church by the usurpation of its goods and rights that it is not likely that a reconciliation can take place between him and the Pope, so that both king Francis and king Henry will have great difficulty in escaping from mutual suspicion unless he of France promises to abet and defend the English king in his errors, which is by no means probable if the former intends to negotiate and treat with the Pope, and unless again both Pope and King forget their respective offices, their duties as Christians, and what they owe to their high position. However this may be, it may reasonably be doubted whether the king of England will ever wage open war against us, for he has to fear a rebellion of his own subjects such as that which has already commenced in Ireland headed by the count de Xildreah (the earl of Kildare).

Owing to the above reasons I am inclined to believe that there will be no war during the present year, and yet as the king of France might attempt something in Flanders or Italy, or attack us on the frontiers of Navarre and Catalonia, We have left instructions with our brother, the king of the Romans, and with our sister, the dowager queen of Hungary, as to what they are to do in case of an invasion, and it is for you to be on the alert lest the frontiers of our Spanish dominions should be assailed by the enemy. For this purpose you will, in union with the Council of Castille, take such precautionary measures as you may see fit, and order at once a levy of

1533.

10,000 men, who, under the command of the Constable of Castille (Velasco) and of the duque of Alburquerque (D. Beltran de la Cueva), may look to the defence of those kingdoms. Orders have also been sent to Don Frances de Beamonte, who commands at Perpiñan, to be on the alert and inform you whether the attacks of the French are directed through the Roussillon against Catalonia, for it might be that since their last attack upon Navarre was unsuccessful they might now wish to try their chance in Catalonia.

Some time after our departure [from Brussels] We had a letter from the queen of France (Eleonor), which was forwarded through our ambassador in that country, stating that king Francis claims to marry his eldest son the king of France to the infanta of Portugal (Maria), daughter of the said queen [Eleonor], and requesting us to see to it in observance of the treaty made at Madrid between ourselves and the said king of France. Our answer through our ambassador has been in general terms that We shall do everything in our power for the observance of the treaty in all its parts, and particularly to please the queen of France, our sister; but We cannot help remarking that although it was then agreed that the said marriage should be effected by proxy whenever the Infanta had attained her seventh year, never since that time has the king of France called for the fulfilment of that article; nor was the marriage mentioned in the treaty of Cambray though at that time the Infanta was in her seventh year, besides which the King has since proposed other alliances for the Dauphin.*

Spanish. Contemporary copy. pp. 6.

9 Feb. **1047.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 11.

My despatch of the 29th ult° in answer to Your Majesty's letter of the 17th December and partly to that of the 5th January, gave a full and detailed account of all occurrences in this country, and principally of the *proposals lately tendered to the Papal Nuncio by these people.* Since then though the said Nuncio, as I then informed Your Majesty, was promised a definitive answer in a week after, yet on the very same day that my despatch of the 29th was dated and closed he called on the duke of Norfolk, as he had done many times before the receipt of the Papal letters. The Nuncio had a long talk with the Duke, the substance of which, however, *though we met soon after*, he never told me. The day after, early in the morning, *the said Nuncio went by water to* Grunuyetz (Greenwich), where he spent almost the whole of the day in consultation with the King privately and then

* This letter of the Emperor to the Empress Isabella is wrongly placed among papers of 1531. See *Catalogue of Spanish MSS.*, vol. ii., p. 601. There can be no doubt, however, from the nature of its contents that it was written about this time.

1533.

with the Privy Councillors, going backwards and forwards *from one to the others.* Being informed of all this by one of the *Queen's friends about the court,* I called immediately on the *Nuncio* that I might, if possible, unravel the mystery. But not only did not the Nuncio declare on this occasion what had been the subject of his conversation, as has been his wont at other times, but he absolutely denied to me *having spoken to the King or to his Councillors.* What the Nuncio's reasons could be for thus denying to me what was an actual fact I cannot pretend to say; but upon my observing that since a day had been fixed for the answer, and that as *the nature of these people was such that they drew back in proportion as they were pressed to advance, he ought to take care not to shew impatience, lest by pushing on the matter too briskly he should injure his master's interests and our own, he answered me rather irrelevantly* that he was a poor gentleman living on a salary paid for his services, and could not do otherwise.* I cannot exactly understand the meaning of these words. *Did he mean that by acting in this way he could, whatever the issue of this business might be, get some sort of reward from these people,* who, as he himself informs me, did make him about a year ago most wonderful offers *if he would anywise favour the divorce!*

Though this answer of the Nuncio, such as it was, has no importance whatever in the present state of things, yet I have thought fit to inform Your Majesty thereof in pursuance of orders contained in the Imperial letter of the 5th ult°.† In short all I could get out of the Nuncio in this instance was that *he had gone to Greenwich for the purpose of meeting the man who had promised an answer at the end of a week,* and as he (the Nuncio) has to my certain knowledge visited the duke of Norfolk several times in the meanwhile, and besides used such dissimulation when interrogated by me on the subject, it strikes me that he (the Nuncio) himself has been the promoter of the said practices (*practiques*). Yesterday morning the King sent for him [to Greenwich] to give him verbally the promised answer, and likewise to convey him to the solemn opening of his House of Parliament, whither the King himself went by water, taking the Nuncio in his own barge close to his person. On which occasion the King, after praising and commending the Nuncio's good offices, and thanking him for his good-will and affectionate care of his personal affairs, excused himself for not returning the promised answer to the overtures that had been made. It was not mistrust that prevented him from telling his mind on the subject; he considered it superfluous and a mere loss of time, inasmuch as the whole matter ought after all to be

* "Disant quil estoit povre gentilhomme vivant de son service [et] quil luy convenoit ausy (ainsy ?) fere."

† "De la quelle reponse, oerez quelle ne soit de moment ne emportance ay bien voulu advertyr vostre maieste."

1533.

discussed with the Pope through his ambassadors [in Italy], to whom he would in a couple of days send his instructions respecting the said matter and all its bearings. And though the Nuncio represented that the affair admitted of no delay, and that unless the said power and instructions were couched in due form, His Holiness would be absolutely obliged, without waiting for further powers, to pronounce sentence in the case and therefore asked urgently for an answer, and also that in case of the proposition being accepted the Queen should be allowed to send to Rome powers equal to his, the King would on no account grant his request. Upon which the Nuncio began to explain to him how the terms of the proposal once accepted, it was absolutely necessary that he (the King) should take back his Queen, and treat her more cordially, but he interrupted him by saying: "That is an article upon which I have already declared my intention to you; I will do nothing of the sort, and for this reason: her obstinacy, disobedience, and extreme rigour towards me have been such that a reconciliation is quite impossible." Hearing which the Nuncio stopped short and said no more on the subject; nor did he (as I had told him to do) insist on the conditions specified in Your Majesty's letter to me. This step the Nuncio omitted not so much on account of his having received no instructions *from Rome* to that effect, but principally because he has always considered it impossible to induce this king to abandon the Lady, for he cannot be one hour without her, and for fear of incurring the King's displeasure and offending her and her parents.

The King went yesterday for the second time to the House [of Parliament] and sat on a throne with the Nuncio on his right hand and the French ambassador on the left. Next were all the Lords dressed in scarlet robes, and then came the Commons dressed also in scarlet, who introduced to the King a lawyer who had been elected Speaker (*Parlamenteur*) in the room of the late one (Thomas More), now promoted to the office of High Chancellor. The King confirmed the election, and there on the spot conferred on him the Order of knighthood. Nothing more was done on that day, nor has there been any motion ever since the 3rd, when Parliament was opened.

The session at an end the King returned to his barge accompanied to the very stairs by the said Nuncio and ambassador, who were left in charge of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who took them back to the House, shewed them the building in all its parts, and gave them a dinner to which many Privy Councillors and others were invited. No business that I hear of was then transacted by the said Nuncio and ambassador, *but in the afternoon the former called to tell me the conversation he had had with the King whilst on the barge. In my opinion the Nuncio has thus been summoned to the opening of Parliament for some mysterious purpose.*

1533.

Perhaps the King wants to make the Clergy believe that he is on good terms with the Pope and wishes to intimidate those prelates who are opposed to his views, or to remove from the people's minds the bad effects of a Papal excommunication, or again to sow mistrust and discord between Your Majesty and the Queen your aunt.

However that may be, whenever *the Nuncio* and I have conversed together on the matter of these proposals I have done my best, and endeavoured as cautiously as I could to ascertain from him what good or advantage, public as well as private, could in his opinion be derived from the acceptance of the terms which he himself has brought forward. After a good deal of talking on the subject the Nuncio has invariably agreed with me *that the only sure means of obviating that difficulty, as well as removing all scruples between princes, was a speedy sentence on the part of His Holiness, and that he has written a thousand letters to Rome, but has never received an answer.* This avowal, which I believe to be sincere, the Nuncio would hardly have made a fortnight before, for since that time he has often declared to me that the only way of detaching this king from the friendship of France consisted in the prompt decision of this affair; for that friendship only depended upon the help and assistance which the King pretends and expects to have from that country in the present case. I failed not to remind the Nuncio of these sentiments as expressed to me on various occasions; for far from dissenting from him in this respect I agreed with him altogether, colouring the pursuit of the said affair on my ignorance of the disposition of affairs between Your Majesty and His Holiness.

One of the things that makes me suspect, as intimated above, that the Nuncio himself has been the author of this proposition, is that, as I have informed Your Majesty long ago, *he has from the very beginning laboured very hard to find out the means for getting this cause tried elsewhere than at Rome, always declaring and telling the King that the Pope was more anxious than himself to get rid of the business, and that there was nothing in this world he would not do to throw off the burden imposed on him, which sentiments on the part of His Holiness, abundantly circulated by the Nuncio, may have induced this king persistently to ask for the reference of the cause* [*to this country*], *under the impression that sooner or later he would gain his end and make the Pope accede to his wishes somehow.*

Having, however, my doubts, that owing to the condition imposed the proposed arrangement would never come to effect, I thought at first that I would not speak *to the Queen* about it, for fear of creating alarm without necessity and perhaps exciting her suspicions; yet at the Nuncio's solicitation and *knowing also that the Queen had had some hint of the affair* (*auoit senti quelque fumiere*), *I determined to let her*

1533.

know the details thereof, giving her at the same time hopes of success, of which, however, she has no need, for there is no creature in this world more apt to shew confidence and place trust in the good issue of matters that have to pass through Your Majesty's hands.

Yet I must say that when the Queen heard the details of the affair *she was thunderstruck, and began to complain bitterly of His Holiness, who had thus left her to languish for upwards of three years and a half, and who instead of pronouncing sentence in her case had actually devised a new plan to prolong still further her miserable state, and to make her* die of grief, under the stigma of having been the King's concubine, *which would consequently entail upon her daughter, the offspring of that union, utter desolation and wretchedness.* As to suppose (she said) that through such means as those proposed the affair could be arranged, and her own sufferings mitigated, that is entirely out of the question, *for as long as the King has any hope left he will never cease plotting against Your Majesty, against the Pope, and against her,* doing all the harm he can. To avoid such complication of evils, were her own particular interest consulted, she would not hesitate to say, *saving Your Majesty's best advice that the proposition ought at once to be rejected, even in the event of this king's promising to obey strictly the Papal injunctions;* knowing, as she does know, that whatever promises the King may make with respect to her he will treat her worse than he does now, and shortly after recall the Lady.

Such is the Queen's idea of the arrangement proposed, it must not be carried into effect (she says) even if the King should promise in the meantime to observe faithfully the prescriptions of the Papal brief. She, therefore, begs and entreats Your Majesty *to solicit and urge the decision of her cause, taking upon herself the responsibility of the measure and assuring Your Imperial Majesty, as one who knows better than anyone else the character and condition of the King, that far from war or scandal resulting therefrom, it will be a boon for Your Majesty and for herself, and there will be no difficulty in getting him to obey, as he is bound to do, the Papal injunctions. Even if he did disobey, which the Queen refuses to believe possible, she might live and die comparatively happy, knowing that the justice of her cause had been formally declared by the Pope; and her conscience and honour would be satisfied with the thought that the Princess, her daughter, had not lost her right to the succession.*

As I have written to Your Majesty in a previous despatch, it is very doubtful whether the object of the above overtures, from whichever quarter they may proceed, the King or the Pope, is not purely an evasion and a stratagem to gain time, and get him more in their favour, waiting for an opportunity of asking and obtaining an absolute dispensation, without legal proceedings, for the King to marry again, as they pretend was once

1533.

the case with Louis XI. and with Ladislas, the king of Hungary, who repudiated his queen [Isabella], of Naples. I firmly believe that if this king once succeeds in gaining his point of not appearing at Rome, which after all is the most outrageous thing ever dreamt of, he will be still less ashamed to use the dispensation as of absolute power without further process, since he proclaims his right as evident and says that should His Holiness refuse the said dispensation and think that he can laugh at him, and lead him wherever he pleases, he will find him more hostile and untractable than he expects. I cannot say in what way His Holiness flatters himself that he shall be able to lead the King and separate him from France, considering the things he has done, and continues to do, against the authority of the Church, unless there has been some collusion between the two, of which we are not aware. Indeed I believe that this king having already seized and turned to his own profit much ecclesiastical property will be encouraged to follow the path of usurpation, the more so that he is just now rather over-ruled by avarice, which circumstance, and the class of people by whom he is surrounded, renders it highly improbable that out of respect for the Holy See he will treat the Clergy of his dominions better than he has done until now.* It is the Lady and her father, both of whom are staunch Lutherans, who drive the King this way. The Pope, therefore, must give up all idea of turning this king's will to his own advantage as long as the Lady and the members of the Privy Council have the upper hand, unless indeed the Pope consent to grant the above-mentioned dispensation. That is why, as already stated, the only remedy lies in the sentence, which, as the Queen herself affirms, the King will never dare dispute out of fear of his own subjects, who besides their good-will and affection towards Your Majesty and the Queen, are mostly good Catholics and terribly afraid of Papal excommunication and interdict. This would oblige the King to obey the sentence, and I am not sure whether in the event of a popular rising the Lady herself, who is generally hated, would escape unscathed (*eschapperoit vie et baghes saulves*). But unless the Pope provide a remedy, and that immediately, he

* All this paragraph, which is mostly written in cipher, is rather obscure. Most likely the deciphering clerks, not always true to their work, omitted or misinterpreted words, by which omission or misinterpretation the sense is rendered somewhat ambiguous. It stands thus in the original: "[Et croys fermement que si ce roy a une fois gaigne ce point quo de nestre tenu de comparoir a Rome, quest la chose plus exorbitante de raison que lon sauroit dire, quil aura encoires moins de h nte de fere la dite dispensacion absolue de puissance sans proces, puisquil se donne a entendre avoir son droit si evident] et [que], non veuilliant a luy octroyer [sa sanctite au lieu que icelle pense iouyr de luy et se conduire, icelle le trouuera plus brave et ennemy]. Je ne sçay sur quelles errez (*sic*) sa dite sanctite [se promect de pouvoir conduire ce roy et le desunir de la france veu ce quil a fait par cideuant, et tousiours continue de fere contre lauctorete de lesglise, si ny a eu quelque collusion entre eulx deux, et croy que le dit seigneur roy ayant desia taste et mis en compte plusieurs commoditez et proffitz des choses ecclesiastiques, actendu aussy quil est maintenant ung peu sur lauarice et les gens quil a [alentour ?], il soit for difficile quil ne traicte mal ses ecclesiastiques sans respect du siege apostolique."

1533.

will inevitably lose little by little his authority in this country in the way that I have pointed out above, and all his censures will remain unheeded. Besides, the sentence, if pronounced, could not come at a more opportune moment than now, when these people are at war with the Scotch, for if by force of the ecclesiastical interdict the English should also be forbidden to trade with the Low Countries and Spain there would be between the King and his Council such contention (*garboille*) and recrimination as never was before.

The above considerations and thoughts I would have kept to myself had I not known by experience Your Majesty's superior wisdom and perfect knowledge of political affairs, and had not *the Queen herself ordered me to put them down in writing,* as I have done, humbly begging to be excused if I have dared to state my opinion.

That the above premises are true, namely, that this king is now soliciting the remittal of the cause to some place out of Rome and London for the sole purpose of gaining time and dragging it on endlessly (*le rendre immortel*) appears quite evident from the fact that as long as the trial was here in the hands of the two cardinals (Wolsey and Campeggio), this king took no trouble in producing witnesses or papers in his behalf, but on the contrary urged as much as possible for the sentence; whereas nowadays that everything is ready at Rome for the final determination of the case, he alleges, among other reasons, that he wants certain witnesses to be examined in England as to the fact that the Queen *eust ete cognue* by his brother. To obtain which there was no need of such pressure as the King has urged, and is urging, for *the gentlemen of the Rota would easily have granted permission* (*demissoire*) *for having the witnesses examined in England.*

With regard to the declaration made by the Pope to Your Majesty, *that should this king appear at Rome he still might, and ought to be heard, notwithstanding former proceedings by contumacy, and that it would be necessary then to grant further delays according to the exigencies* of the case, there is nothing to object, I find it both reasonable and natural; but on the other hand, there is another very important point on which hangs the whole affair and which the King understands perfectly well, which is, that were he suddenly to offer to appear [at Rome] and demand concessions in advance before being heard, he must nevertheless obey the injunction of the Papal brief, which is the key to the whole business.

Besides her vehement suspicions that this sudden filling up of the archbishopric of Canterbury by the King is due to no other cause than his wish to attempt something against her, the Queen has lately had a further proof of the same; for within the last few days the King has twice boasted before his courtiers that should the Pope refuse to grant him what he is about to ask through Dr. Bonnart (Bonner), who is only to take his departure to-morrow, he would immediately upon the

1533.

expedition of the bulls [of Canterbury], let people know what he was about, and what he himself intended doing. She has also been told that four days ago one of the principal members of the Privy Council had assembled a number of doctors, churchmen as well as lawyers, and had proposed to them in the King's name that the opinion of all divines and canonists was that if the Queen had been "cognue" by prince Arthur, her second marriage was null and void, and, therefore, that in order to prove the above connexion the King had, besides the presumption of right, searched for and found a document, which he shewed them, wherein it was asserted by the Catholic king [Ferdinand], and by the King's father [Henry VII.] that queen Katharine had been "cognue" by Arthur. And that the paper having been read, and minutely examined by the whole of the Assembly, they all agreed that the King, by the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury, legate of England, ought to carry out his undertaking at once. Which, being heard by the Queen, who also knows the King's great joy at the Nuncio's first overtures, she has been ever since in the greatest perplexity and doubt, so much so that she sent me yesterday three messengers, one after the other, and two more to day, begging me to dispatch this present courier in haste, and requesting in the most earnest manner that since she herself in her state of alarm and anxious care could not write to Your Majesty on the subject I should myself do it in her name, this being, as I said before, the reason of my venturing to write in greater detail.

In conclusion my advice is that *His Holiness ought to delay the expedition of the bulls* [*of Canterbury*] *until the sentence is actually pronounced, or nearly so.* An excuse might easily be found for such a step, or else a clause introduced in the bulls themselves, or in the form of the oath to be exacted from the Archbishop, forbidding him to mix himself up with the divorce case. I have already spoken about this to the Nuncio, who says he has already written, and will write again to His Holiness. Indeed were the Pope to know the reputation the said archbishop (Crammer) has here of belonging heart and soul to the Lutheran sect, he would not be so hasty in confirming him and expediting his bulls. I hear from a very authentic source that he has taken into his service two priests who have preached sermons against the Queen, though only out of gratitude to the father of the Lady, without whose interference they would have been sent to the stake a year ago, as I had the honour to inform Your Majesty in one of my despatches.

With regard to Scottish affairs there is nothing new to report since my last save that this king keeps remitting money to his people on the borders. Ten days ago he sent them 50,000 crs. He has likewise ordered four ships to be armed and fitted out to send to that quarter and attack any merchant vessels that may come across, and prevent all traffic.

1533.

The King, moreover, never talked so much or so openly as he does now of carrying his marriage into execution; so does the Lady [Anne], for she said the other day to a priest who wished to enter her service as chaplain that he must have patience for a short time until she had actually married the King. She still keeps in her possession the Queen's rings and jewels, and there is no talk for the present of her restoring them to their legitimate owner.

The term of a month marked in the Papal brief has almost expired, and yet there are no signs of his obeying it; whoever wishes to make him come to the point must needs have recourse to the sentence. In my opinion there is no other road. If in the meanwhile His Holiness could but be persuaded to fulminate a complete excommunication against the Lady, in case she refused to leave court, the King would have less occasion to complain than if the excommunication was decreed against him; the people of England might then wreak their vengeance upon her, remonstrate with the King, and make the interdict follow her wherever she went.—9th February 1533.

French. Holograph mostly in cipher. pp. 12.

15 Feb. **1048.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 13.

The same day that my man left to go to Your Majesty this king by way of great friendship, shew[ed] of trust, and privacy expressly summoned the Papal Nuncio to attend the meeting of the knights and deputies of the Commons, as he had previously attended that of the prelates and grandmasters of this kingdom. The meeting will likewise be attended by the two ambassadors from France, namely, the sieur de Montpesat, who only two days ago took his *congé* of the King to return to France with a fine present, and the sieur de la Tinteville, his successor, who has just arrived.

At first the Nuncio, as he himself told me afterwards, did not like to obey the summons (*semonce*) for fear of some attempt to discuss in his presence matters touching the authority and prerogatives of the Holy Apostolic See, as has been done on former occasions. Having, however, as he says, on that very day received letters from His Holiness bidding him to try and see whether he could persuade this king to co-operate for the common and general union of Christendom, he thought that he could not well go to Court and deliver his charge, if he refused to attend the meeting of the Commons, especially when the duke of Norfolk himself had assured him that no measure in any way relating to His Holiness should be discussed in his presence.

On this condition the Papal Nuncio attended the meeting, wherein a motion was presented against thieves and robbers, and against their enjoying Church immunity except in certain places. The Nuncio did not remain long at the meeting, at

1533.

the end of which came the two ambassadors of France, who, together with himself, the duke of Norfolk, and other members of the Privy Council, sat down afterwards to a most sumptuous banquet at the treasurer of the household Feusullien (Fitzwilliam). After dinner the Nuncio, who thought he might have audience from the King, was put off till the next day; the new ambassador from France was to be heard first, *and most likely it was desirable also that the Pope's Nuncio should be seen often at court for the purpose of making people believe that the King was on the best possible terms with his master. Indeed there is no mystery about this, for the Duke himself told him without reserve that the object of the King's summons was that people might see what intimate friendship and good understanding existed between His Holiness and the King, his master,* a presumption, which, as I have informed Your Majesty in a former despatch, this king and his ministers wish to spread and propagate among the people.

In this manner do they pretend gaining to their side the Commons as well as those prelates who in the first instance stood up for the authority of the Pope not only in the Queen's business, but in all other matters connected with the Holy See. For the above reason the said prelates, as the good bishop of Rochester (Fisher) informs me, will not dare to say anything unless encouraged by the Nuncio; this the Nuncio has promised to do and it will prove a most effective remedy against the said presumption of good understanding, respecting which, as I have many a time written to Your Majesty, they have always tried to keep people in the dark, and *shut the mouths of the said prelates who stand up for the Pope.*

The day after the appointment that was made the Nuncio asked the King, as commanded, to help in the union of Christendom, and failed not to represent most forcibly to him how valuable his co-operation would be. To which argument the King, after declaring that he was only a small prince, with power, and a kingdom in a remote corner of the earth, away from the rest of Christendom, deliberately replied that on this point as on many others he would send his definitive answer to His Holiness through Dr. Bonart (Bonner). I do not think, however, that the Doctor will take any resolution, or indeed any good thing with him, for, as I have been told, neither the duke [of Norfolk], nor the bishop of Winchester has had a hand in the instructions whereof he is the bearer, but only Crembel (Cromwell) and the archbishop of Canterbury (Crammer).

Doctor Bonart (Bonner) whose departure for Rome has long been announced, left only yesterday. One of the causes of his protracted stay here, as far as I can gather, is that he may take with him a paper and consultation which has been lately drawn up for the purpose of proving as they pretend by irrefutable testimony "que la Royne avoit este cognue par le roy Artus," which paper the King has caused to be authenti-

1533.

cated, and an attested copy made of it, and sent to Rome, having expressly ordered that one of the prelates, the bishop Dabole, who holds for the Queen, should append his signature and seal to it, which has been done, the whole being taken by the said Doctor.

The said instrument, of which I have sent a copy to Mons. de Grandvelle, is in my opinion of no consequence, and proves nothing; yet the Queen is in great state of tribulation, saying that all people will accuse her of having taken a false oath before cardinal Campeggio.

The Lady said eight days ago, whilst dining in her own apartments, that she was as sure as she was of her own death that she should be very soon married to the King; and her father [the earl of Wiltshire] said the day *before yesterday to the earl of Rotalant (Rutland) that the King was determined no longer to be so considerate as he had been (plus destre tant respectif) but to marry his daughter at once, and that the marriage having once taken place by the authority and sanction of Parliament it would be much easier to conciliate the opponents than at present.* And upon the earl of Wiltshire asking him, Rutland, whether when the motion was brought forward in Parliament he, who was one of the King's blood, would vote for him or oppose the measure, he answered that the matter was wholly of a spiritual nature and could not be decided by Parliament. Upon which the Lady's father got into a passion as though Rutland had uttered a blasphemy, and began to taunt him in very gross language, so much so that he at last promised to vote whatever the King wanted, and sent me a message to say how matters stood, and that I was not to expect that any member of Parliament would dare offer any opposition.

I must add that the said earl of Wiltshire has never declared himself up to this moment; on the contrary, he has hitherto, as the duke of Norfolk has frequently told me, tried to dissuade the King rather than otherwise from the marriage. Which circumstance, coupled with others still more significative, such as the appointment of the new Chancellor,* which the King has just made, and the permission to three bishops who hold for the Queen to retire to their dioceses, and appoint procurators approved by the King to represent them in Parliament, &c., has thrown the Queen in the greatest state of tribulation and anxiety, and she has particularly asked me to acquaint Your Majesty with her fears.

The King's ministers are not only trying to conceal (*occulter*) the execution of the brief, threatening with great penalties all those who should dare speak about it, but some of them still go on saying in public, as I have been told, that both the Pope and Your Majesty consented to it, which after all is nothing but a stratagem to get, as I have pointed out

* Cromwell.

1533.

above, the unanimous consent of Parliament. To obviate the difficulty of procuring as soon as required, a sentence from Rome it would be necessary to apply instantly for a brief of excommunication (*reaggravatoire*) and general interdict, in virtue of which Your Majesty might reasonably and without any breach of friendship and consideration forbid all intercourse of trade between your subjects and the English. This being done the affair could not be concealed, and that would be the true and efficient means for bringing the King to reason and getting to the end of this affair, as I have had the honour of telling Your Majesty.

With regard to Scotland, it would seem as if the want of zeal (*froideur*) in equipping and arming their four ships, as announced in my last despatch, of the 9th inst., would be rather indicative that war was not popular with these people. Neither are there symptoms for the present of the duke of Norfolk or any other general of note being appointed to the command of the forces, which is a sign, as most people think, that they are waiting for the return of the gentleman whom the king of France sent the other day to Scotland to negotiate a truce or make peace on terms honourable for this country. Should the Frenchman's mission turn out well I have no doubt that these people will accept peace, for in the first place they are afraid of the king of Denmark (Frederic), helping the Scotch, and then they are not quite sure as to what effect the excommunication and general interdict may have on their men whilst the war lasts. My firm conviction is that *had not the King been almost sure that the party of the earl of Douglas could never prevail in Scotland without his help he would never have engaged in this war which has already cost him a very large sum of money without any profit to himself.* But I have been told that neither the King nor the Earl must rely too much on the party, for it is said they are disgusted and angry with the Earl on account of his cruelties in the last forays, the men under his orders slaying every man and burning every house on their passage.

The four war ships will leave for the coast of Scotland in three days, laden with ordnance and ammunition for the places and castles on the English frontier. Some, however, presume that the said ships are intended to cruize in those seas so as to prevent the Scotch from getting provisions or ammunition of war from the Low Countries or France, or being otherwise helped by some other maritime power. They are, I am told, particularly afraid of their receiving ordnance and arms from Flanders, with which, according to a rumour generally current here, Your Majesty has already supplied them abundantly.—London, 15th February 153[3].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. 15th February. Received on the 15th of March at Milan."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

French. Holograph. pp. 5.

1533.

19 Feb. **1049.** Rodrigo Niño to the Same.

S. E. Guerra L. 4. B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 219.

Since I wrote to Your Majesty on the 9th, nothing worthy of notice has occurred in this city, except that last night a brigantine arrived from Constantinople with letters from the ambassador this Republic has there. To-day the Doge has sent me word by one of his secretaries that the letters are of the 25th ult°, and that the ambassador of the king of the Romans had arrived on the 10th, and that on the 12th he visited Abrayn Bassa (Ibrahim Pasha), and was two and a half hours with him; that on the 13th he had audience of the Grand Turk, which lasted full a quarter of an hour, and after that went to dine with the bashas. That the Polish ambassador is still in Constantinople, because they refused to have anything to do with him until this one of the king of the Romans arrived. Nobody knew yet what the mission of this latter was. The exiled Tartar prince, whom the Grand Turk wishes to place in the room of the other prince in the Great Sea had not yet started on his expedition. Fifty galleys were getting ready with which to retake Coron. The Bashá who was besieging that place had written to say that he would wait for the arrival of the galleys before he attempted to storm the place.

This information, as sent by the Doge to me, agrees on most points with that derived from private letters as well as from Government officials here, although for the last eight days an ordinance has been promulgated forbidding under pain of death any members of the Council of Pregay to disclose or reveal any of the affairs treated of in that Assembly, saying that Your Majesty had been informed of all the speeches that had been made or opinions expressed with relation to affairs proposed by the Pope or by Your Majesty. I apprehend that in consequence of the above-mentioned ordinance things will remain more secret than hitherto, but still whatever laws they may make I trust that I shall always be able to ascertain what they are about, for those who enter those councils are so numerous that it will be almost impossible to keep entire secresy.

About three days ago the Signory received letters dated the 14th inst. from their ambassador at Your Majesty's court, purporting (*cipher:*) that you were much pleased at the manner in which the proposals made by Your Majesty and His Holiness had been received by them. That Your Majesty's departure for Spain would not take place so soon owing to the arrival of cardinals Tarbes and Tournon, who had set on foot certain negotiations. And, lastly, that some days previous Your Majesty and His Holiness the Pope had disagreed and had certain differences together respecting the intended marriage of the Pope's niece to the duke of Orleans; but that in the end Your Majesty had consented to it.

This is the news circulated by the friends of France; but I suspect that these rumours are only spread for the purpose of persuading this Republic not to enter into the league, and

1533.

especially not to fulfil the articles respecting Milan. To whoever speaks to me on these matters I say that I know nothing about differences having occurred between Your Majesty and His Holiness; on the contrary, that your mutual affection was greater than ever, and that if you had not yet left Italy it was because you wished to remain in His Holiness' company until the time for your embarcation, in April, had arrived.

Since I last wrote to Your Majesty Rincon and the French ambassador have gone to the College-hall. The former has given out that he only went for the purpose of making his excuses for not having visited them since he arrived, having been prevented by illness. I hear, moreover, that he said to a friend of his that he had received letters from the king of France commanding him to remain in this city until new orders, as he wanted his services here. Although it might well be that Rincon said so on purpose to facilitate his departure from hence, for he is still as much afraid [of us] as he was.—Venice, 19th February 1533.

Signed: "R[odrigo] Niño."

Spanish. Original partly in cipher. pp. 5.

22 Feb. **1050.** Dr. Ortiz to the Empress.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 272.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 222.

Letters from Flanders of the 24th ult° have this moment come to hand, announcing that the Papal brief had been duly received there, and that it will be notified in due course. His Imperial Majesty has now sent orders that if the notification has not already taken place it should be made immediately.

Eustace Chapuis, the Imperial ambassador in England, writes that on Christmas Eve Master Abel and another doctor, who were prisoners in the Tower of London for the same cause, were set at liberty on condition of not preaching at all, or writing until a fortnight after Easter.*

The said ambassador writes that the truce between the kings of England and Scotland expired on St. Andrew's Day, and that consequently the English had entered that country by three different passes, and done much harm, laying the country waste, setting villages on fire, and taking considerable spoil; they had also made more than 300 prisoners. Upon which the Scottish ambassador residing in England, had returned home after receiving from the King a most insolent answer to his representations, from which people conclude that there will be soon a desperate war between the two nations. May God be pleased to avert altogether such a calamity, or make it otherwise profitable [for the success of the English matrimonial cause]!†

As I have in my preceding despatches fully reported on the state of affairs here, nothing remains for me to say except

* "Y les mandaron que no prediquen ni escriban hasta quince dias despues de pascua."

† "Plega á nuestro señor impedirla ó sacar de ella el fructo que mas conviene."

1533.

that I sincerely hope this business will be soon brought to a most satisfactory end, and that the count of Cifuentes* will soon arrive and take charge of this embassy.

Since the above was written letters from England, of the 9th inst. have come to hand, advising that the Papal brief had been duly notified in Flanders, and that the King has given the archbishopric of Canterbury to a chaplain of that Anne. As the dignity is so high in the Church many disapproved of it, and were very angry with the King in consequence.

The last courier left so suddenly that he could not take the Emperor's letter in favour and commendation of Fray Francisco Ortiz, my brother. It goes by this present one, and I cannot but remind Your Majesty that both he and myself expect consolation in our troubles, and mercy at your hands. —Rome, 22nd February 1533.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, Catholic Majesty of the Empress and Queen, our Lady."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 2.

22 Feb. **1051.** The SAME to the SAME.

S. E. L. 1,457, f. 272.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 222.

The Emperor is now sending orders to Flanders that if the brief has not yet been notified, this should be done immediately.

According to the Imperial ambassador in England (Eustace Chapuys) on Christmas Eve (*la vispera de Navidad*) Master Abell, the Queen's chaplain,† and another doctor were taken out of the Tower [of London], where both had been prisoners for some time on the charge of having preached against the divorce, and in favour of the Queen. They were both set free on their engaging not to preach or write until a fortnight after Easter (*despues de Pasqua*).

The same ambassador says that a war between England and Scotland is inevitable, for immediately after the expiration of the truce, on St. Andrew's Day, the English had penetrated into the latter country by three different passes on the borders; had burnt and sacked many villages, and taken upwards of 300 prisoners, &c. May God be pleased to stop the effusion of blood among Christians, or make it otherwise profitable to the queen of England, whose interest cannot fail to be safeguarded in the hands of the newly appointed ambassador to this court of Rome, count of Cifuentes (D. Fernando de Silva), whose arrival is expected every day.

Since the above was written letters from the said Eustace Chapuys, in date of the 9th inst. have been received here, advising that the brief had actually been notified in Flanders,

* Don Fernando de Sylva, appointed ambassador in the room of Miçer Miguel Mai.

† See Chapuy's despatch of the 3d January., No. 1041., p. 578.

1533.

and that the King had conferred the archbishopric of Canterbury upon a chaplain of the Lady in question (*aquetla Ana*). His name, I believe, is Carambo (Cranmer). He has been of late in great favour with the King, has helped considerably to the divorce case, and is expected to do still more towards it. He (Chapuys) adds that Canterbury being an archiepiscopal see and a great dignity in the Church, some people have disapproved of the nomination, and feel rather indignant against the King.*

Begs again to recommend the affair of his brother, Fr. Francisco Ortiz. The Emperor's letters for the Commander† and secretary [Juan Vasquez] could not go by the last post. —Bologna, 22nd February 1533.

Signed: "El Doctor Ortiz."

Addressed: "To the Empress."

Spanish. Holograph. pp. 3.

1 Mar. **1052.** The EMPEROR to the EMPRESS ISABELLA.

S. E. L. 26, f. 179.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 224.

Since my letter of the 11th the messenger you dispatched on the 4th arrived. I am sorry for the loss of Cazaza [in Africa]‡ and approve entirely of the orders given to the duke of Medina Sidonia [D. Juan Perez de Guzman], and to the marquises of Mondejar and Comares to take steps for its recovery.§ As the place belonged formerly to the Duke, we consider it unnecessary to recommend its recovery as soon as possible from the hands of the Infidel. He (the Duke) ought to attend to it at the head of his vassals. Oran and Marsalquibir ought to be further strengthened.

With regard to Algiers, I have nothing to add to my letter by the last post.

Half fruits and Crusade.—Brief for the matrimonial cause of the count of Urueña (*sic*).

As my journey back to Spain will soon take place, the reorgnization of my body guard ought to be suspended until

* As may be seen this letter is almost a duplicate of that which the Doctor wrote to the Emperor on the same day, No. 1050, p. 602, with the only addition of the paragraph relating to Cranmer. It contains, however, some additional matter, which I have suppressed as entirely referring to Ortiz's own personal affairs and to the legal proceedings against his brother Francisco, still detained in the convent of his order at Seville.

† This commander can hardly be Covos, who held such dignity in the order of Santiago, nor Don Pedro de la Cueva, who was High Commander of Alcantara, for the first named was with the Emperor in Germany, and the second had not yet returned to Spain. Juan Vasquez [de Molina], at this time a clerk of Covos, and who succeeded him in the secretaryship of State, must be the person alluded to. He appears to have been also commander of Guadalcanal in the Order of Santiago, lord of Payo and Elizeda, and Alferez Mayor or standard bearer to the city of Ubeda.

‡ The taking of Cazaza by the African moors took place in January 1533 not in 1534 as stated by Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion de Africa*, vol. II., fol. 156 v°.

§ Of the two marquises here named, the former (Mondejar) can be no other than Don Iñigo Hurtado de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, and first marquis of Mondejar; the latter's name was Don Luis Fernandez de Cordoba.

1533.

my arrival; but if you think that the men ought to be paid up you had better see that it is done without prejudice to a third (*sin perjuicio de tercero*).

My business with His Holiness is at an end for the present; the league for the defence of Italy has been effected, provision for the General Council, and matters appertaining to the Faith has likewise been made, and every other affair settled very much to the satisfaction of His Holiness and ourselves. So that after taking affectionate leave of the Pope I left Bologna on the 26th of February, and came here [to Modena], whence it is my intention to proceed to Genoa. I shall stop a few days at Milan until my fleet be conveniently fitted out and supplied with provisions, a rather difficult task at present owing to the sterility of the country round that city, though I must say that orders have been issued for the prompt and efficient provision of the same. I hope, therefore, that on the 1st of April or thereabouts I shall be able to set sail from Genoa.

The expenses I have been obliged to incur of late have been very considerable, and therefore I have been obliged to draw upon that treasury 100,000 ducats, which I have borrowed from Ansaldo Grimaldo.—Modena, 1st March 1533.

Signed: "Yo el Rey."

Countersigned: "Covos."

Spanish. Original. pp. 3.

23 Feb. **1053.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 288. No. 14.

The Queen perceiving the King's obstinacy to increase every day, and the disorderly symptoms of a second marriage to grow in equal proportion, is again compelled to apply for help, assistance and favour to Your Majesty, on whom her last hopes are fixed.

Ever since my despatch of the 15th ult° *the King has been continually urging the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, and several other doctors, Italian as well as English, to sign their names to a letter which he has had written at his fancy, and which as Your Majesty has no doubt been informed by Monsieur de Grandvelle, to whom I have forwarded a copy, is a very strange document. They say that the archbishop of York and the bishop of Winchester have not yet consented to append their signatures, but that the elect of Canterbury has made no difficulty or scruple whatever and has on the contrary urged it upon his colleagues as if the affair concerned him principally.* Indeed, if what a worthy man has told me this very morning be true, a great danger is imminent.* My informer, who was going straight to the

* "Et sil est vray, sire, ce qu' aujordhuy ma dit ung bien (?) homme de bien que sen alloit tout expressement en advertir la royne le dit archeuesque de cantarbery a donne bonnes seuretes (?) de maintenir sans variacion loppinion du roy en ce divorce, car yl a espose (*sic*) le roy avec la dame en presence tant seullement des pere, mere, et deux favouries de la dite dame et dung prestre du dit archeuesque."

1533.

Queen to acquaint her with the fact, assures me that the archbishop [of Canterbury] has actually pledged his most solemn word to adhere entirely to the King's opinion in this matter of the divorce, so much so that he has actually married the King to the Lady [Anne] in the presence only of her father, mother, brother, and two intimate female friends of the Lady herself, besides a priest of the diocese of Canterbury. If so, the King could not do better to secure the archbishop's co-operation and prevent his changing opinion hereafter, when once constituted into the archiepiscopal dignity, as that of York and another bishop [Campeggio] did a few years ago. Indeed, there is every reason to presume that either the said archbishop elect of Canterbury has actually married the parties or promised to marry them for certain considerations which I have already represented to Your Majesty, and especially because ever since his (Cranmer's) election he does not hesitate to say openly that he is ready to maintain with his life that the King can take the Lady for his wife.*

The rumour is afloat, and increases every day, that in order to achieve his marriage the King is only waiting for the bulls of the said elect to come [from Rome], and that the more to authorize the case he has commanded those who have charge of convoking provincial synods, whilst the see is vacant, to assemble them for the 17th of next month.

No measure of importance has yet been proposed in this present Parliament! Indeed, it would seem as if they were purposely waiting until the arrival of the said bulls. It is also rumoured that the King is about to ask the House for a grant of money for the expenses of the Scottish war, and the construction of harbours and ports on the sea coast. The better to colour this design the king of France has sent him an engineering architect, who was introduced to him by the new French ambassador on Sunday last. As it happened to be a feast day, and his first appearance at Court since the departure of his predecessor, Mr. de Montpesat, the new French ambassador, he was admirably well received, the two dukes [of Norfolk and Suffolk] wearing on the occasion their grand collars of the Order of Saint Esprit, owing, as I have been told, to the said ambassador having brought them the robes of ceremony peculiar to that Order. On his return from Court the ambassador passed near my lodgings with the intention of visiting me, but finding that I had company and that it was late, he went away and called the day after and remained a long while with me. I could not learn any particulars from him respecting the affairs of France or of this country, nor what was his mission at this court, nor did I like to press him too much, it being the first time I had met him.

* "Si ainsi est le roy ne le pouoit mieulx brider pour le garder de changer oppinion apres quil seroit en dignite, comme firent larcheuesque d'York et un autre. Il y a[cause] vray semblable pour croyre ou que le dit esleu de Canterbury ait fait les dits esposailes, ou quil ait promis les fere pour aucunes consideracions quay cy devant escript a vostre maieste et veu que dois quil a este esleu il ose bien dire ouvertement quil veult soubstenir a peyne du sang que le roy peut prendre la dame a sa femme."

1533.

Enough, however, was said to convince me that he will not hit quite so hard as La Pommeraye, or Jehan Jocquin, when Your Majesty's affairs come to be discussed, or your name mentioned, for he evidently shewed a desire to do all he could in order to preserve friendship between Your Majesty and the King, his master.

All people say and write that Melancthon is here in the King's palace, where he has already stayed eight days, but the whole thing is kept so secret that whatever my inquiries I have found no one able to tell me what his business here really is. I know very well that the King, as I had the honour to write to Your Majesty, did send expressly for the said Melancthon, and, as I calculate, exclusively for the Queen's business, which he (Melancthon) favours on account, as far as I can conjecture, of this king intending not only to do away with all the constitutions, synodal as well as others, of the English clergy, but also to curtail and invalidate the Papal ones. The better to guide and conduct the affair he persuaded the prelates last year, as much by promises as by threats, that he would in the end compel them to do so, and subscribe to anything that might be decided by 40 deputies, one half of whom would be appointed by him and the other by the said prelates, he (the King) being at the head of all. For which reformation or rather disformation of the Clergy, which he pretends carrying out in his dominions, the King it would seem has found no fitter person than this said Melancthon, whom he wants no doubt to consult also as to the best means of annoying the Pope since hitherto all his boastings have proved ineffective.

It is still rumoured that the King intends creating a yeomanry, of which I lately wrote to Your Majesty, *to be paid entirely out of the funds of the Clergy. He has already begun to pluck the feathers of the latter, and has just presented to his Chancellor a house in Wasmestre (Westminster), and besides that, as I have been told, more than* 1,000 *ducats annual pension on the revenues of the said abbey.*

Respecting the Scotch business there is no news; the four vessels sent to that coast with artillery and ammunition of all kinds sailed yesterday from this river having 400 men on board and provisions for four months.

Yesterday the King sent for an English merchant, who had just arrived from Flanders, where he usually resides, and inquired most minutely of him how and when the brief had been executed in Flanders, and what was said there respecting his marriage; also about the resources of the country and condition of the inhabitants, if they were rich, obedient, and attached to Your Majesty; whether the country was strong or easily assailed, on all which points the merchant in question answered in a sense so opposed to the King's desire, that he was thunderstruck, and did nothing but heave and sigh all the time.—London, 23rd February 153[3].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Original mostly in cipher. pp. 5.

1533.

7 Mar. **1054.** Miçer Mai to the High Commander.

S. E. L. 860, f. 37.
B. M. *Add.* 28,585, f. 229.

I wrote to the Emperor on the 5th an account of my interview with the cardinals. What follows is for Your Lordship's private information.

I called on cardinal de Agramont (Grammont), who is still very weak from the results of his late illness. As Tournon is staying in the neighbourhood, we both called, and although I said to him (Tournon) that I came merely to visit him, as I had been prevented by press of business from doing so before, we began to discuss politics. Both the cardinals told me that since their arrival in Rome they had heard rumours of war at which they were very much surprised, as they could not possibly guess whence the said rumours sprang. It was also reported that the kings of France and England were to hold another interview, which (they said) was the greatest falsehood that could be imagined, and that since Your Majesty had both in England and in France such competent and able ambassadors no credit should be given to reports coming from other sources.

My answer was: "You may be sure that the Emperor, my master, attaches no faith to such reports, for he looks upon the Most Christian King as his true confederate and brother, and knows besides that it would not be his interest to act thus." They (the cardinals) themselves (I observed), and such of the Romans as enjoy credit among them, were the propagators of such alarming news, and made the people believe in them.* It was for them to put a stop to such rumours, &c." Their excuse was that they had not invented the report; people continually came to question them concerning the object of their mission, and to offer their services, &c. I replied that they ought not to take any notice of what these Romans said. Such was their habit; they had done the same when the duke of Albany came here as ambassador; they kept going to him and coming to me with all manner of tales. If the first time they called on such an errand they (the cardinals) had done what I myself did on that occasion, which was to receive them coldly and not answer their questions, they would not have returned a second time.

The cardinals further said that whenever one of Your Majesty's servants happened to go through France it was the custom for the King to invite them to his table and for the courtiers to entertain and feast them. When they came to Italy they thought they would be entertained in a like manner, and invited to attend Your Majesty's walks and hunting parties, and yet not only had they not met with the same reception as the Imperial ambassadors had in France, but even many who would otherwise have called on them excused themselves by saying that they were afraid of incurring your displeasure if they were seen entering their lodgings. Such

* "Y tambien porque conosce que no le conviene, pero que por parte dellos y de los que entre ellos tienen algun credito se publican tanto estas cosas que no es mucho que los unos y los otros que no lo saben piensen esto."

1533.

mistrust (added the cardinals) was very unfair, and produced generally bad effects. My answer was: "Have you to complain of the Emperor personally?" "No" (said they). "Well then, never mind what badly intentioned people do or say."

Another subject of complaint was that they had not been spoken to or consulted in the matter of the cardinals' hats. Though they were thus made to appear as belonging to the opposition they wished (they said) by all means to be useful. My answer was that His Majesty had been informed that they (the French) had asked for a good number of hats for ecclesiastics and others of their nation, and that the reason for their applying for so many at the same time was no other than to prevent the nomination of the three proposed by the Emperor. "If the report be true (I said) the Emperor, my master, had very good reason to be offended, since he at least never interfered with or objected to those recommended by the Most Christian king of France. Cardinal Grammont interrupted me and said: "And yet cardinal d'Osma voted against the nomination of Monaco that he might the better oppose that of Toulouse." "If d'Osma (said I) has done such a thing, he has acted entirely on his own account, and not by the Emperor's orders. You are aware that I myself strongly recommended Thoulouse* in obedience to queen Eleanor's orders. The Emperor wrote to me to favour his election, and speak to the cardinals one by one. I commenced my task, but seeing the difficulties raised by the dean (Farnese), and by Cornaro I desisted; it was no fault of mine if the vote was unsuccessful."

Not satisfied with my answer the cardinals went on to complain of cardinal Siguença, who, they said, told them in plain words that "the Emperor cared not for their votes." I told them that I could not believe it; they must have misunderstood him, &c. They owned, however, that they had worked and spoken in favour of the Auditor of the Chamber (Ghinucci), because they said they had precise orders from the King, their master, to treat that affair as if it were his own. Hearing which I could not help saying to them: "Methinks you might have accepted a more honourable commission for yourselves, and less grievous to your master's conscience than the one you allude to;" to which, having perfectly well understood my meaning, they replied: "If you mean the matrimonial cause of England we have not opened our mouths on that subject. Our king does not wish to meddle at all with it, but wants full justice to be done. He has already prevented, and intends to prevent as far as he can, the king of England from marrying the other woman." On this last point they laid great stress, but as I do not believe one word of what they say I put an end to our conversation by saying: "If your king does that, and you help him in his exertions the honour and conscience of your master will be saved." I thought I ought

* Jean d'Orleans. See above, p. 289.

1533.

to say this much to them considering that at the beginning of our conference I found them *rebotados y medio quexosos.**— Rome, 7th March 1533.

Signed: "Mai."

Addressed: "To the Sacred, Imperial, and Catholic Majesty."

Spanish. Original. pp. 5.

8 Mar. **1055.** EUSTACE CHAPUYS to the EMPEROR.

K. u. K. Haus-Hof-u.-Staats Arch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 17.

My despatch of the 23rd ult° contained all the news up to that date. Since then, on the 24th, Your Majesty's letter of the 28th January came to hand. On the same day the sieur de Langez (Langeais) arrived from France in haste, besides a French gentleman, named Beauvoir,† coming from Scotland. Both were well received and entertained as usual by the King, who invited them to dine next day at his table, together with the French ambassador in ordinary. This happened to be in Carnival time.‡ The Lady [Anne] was present, occupying the same place and seat as the Queen in former times; the duke of Norfolk and other great lords also attended, with the single exception of the duke of Suffolk, who was not present, though expressly invited to come with the badge of the Saint Esprit (*avec l'ordre de France*).

The said Langez and Beauvoir have only stayed four days, during which they have communicated daily either with the King himself or with the members of his Privy Council, though not very seriously (*non poinct fort grievement*) as it would appear, for the hasty dispatch of their business must be owing either to the said Langez not having brought affairs of any importance, or because the English wish to conclude peace with Scotland as soon as possible. Whatever the cause may be, I am pretty sure that one of the principal objects of Langez' mission is to settle with these people the line of conduct to be followed in the matter of the General Council, the celebration of which both kings want to prevent, if they can, by all possible means.§ I am the more persuaded that Langez has brought such a mission, that the other day, talking with him of other matters, he suddenly said to me that Your Majesty had at last obtained what you most

* "Como me entendieron que lo decia por lo de la causa matrimonial de los Reyes de Inglaterra se justificaron, diciendo que no habian hablado en ella, y que su rey no queria entremeterse en esto sino que se haga la justicia, y que él [su rey) ha desviado ya, y es por desviar todo lo que de hecho se temia, que no casase con la otra. En este articulo se me justificaron mucho, y como no les creo, les dixe condicionalmente que si lo hiciesen harian lo que deben á la honra y conscientia de su rey. Conozco que ha sido bien passar [por] todo esto con ellos porque á lo verdad les (*sic*) hallé muy rebotados (*sic*) y medio quexosos."

† The transcripts from Vienna have *Beauvoix* in every case, but *Beauvoir* being the name of a town and noble family of France, I have adopted this last reading.

‡ "Que fust le jour de caremprenant."

§ "Sil y sçavoient trouver moyen et tordre chenille."

1533.

desired, namely, the convocation of the said Council, and that the Pope, after all that Your Majesty had made him suffer by imprisonment, and in various other ways, could not possibly refuse you anything you wished for, or commanded. And upon my urging upon him the real sorrow felt by Your Majesty on account of the Pope's captivity, and how soon, when informed of it, you had sent orders for his release, he gave me to understand that the Pope's delivery had been accomplished previously on the payment of a ransom which, he owned, had been much more moderate than His Holiness really deserved. This observation of the French ambassador I could not let pass, and after representing to him the reverence and obedience with which Your Majesty had always treated His Holiness, notwithstanding which the latter had done much more for the King, his master, than for Your Majesty, considering also the necessity of the said Council, to which His Holiness should have agreed without requisition of anyone, the ambassador ended by retracting everything *he had said.*

The said sieur de Langez then remarked to me that the King, his master, had answered the Pope that he thought the celebration of the Council both reasonable and necessary, and that he agreed to it on two conditions, namely: that the place appointed for the meeting should be commodious, propitious, and secure for all those who chose to take part in it, and that in case of its being held in Italy, he, the King, should be allowed to take with him a number of troops equal to that of Your Majesty. The second condition was that no question should be introduced or discussed at the Council except those exclusively belonging to the Faith, without entering into particulars as to any private quarrels of the parties themselves, though he himself had more right than any other prince in Christendom to bring his grievances forward, considering the number of things that had been taken from him.*

Langez did not declare to me the pith of the said condition; true, he had no opportunity to do so, for Brian, who had come to conduct him and the other ambassadors to Court, disliking, as I suspect, our private conversation, came to interrupt us every moment (*cop sur cop*). For this reason I made no further inquiries on the occasion, believing that the ambassador would soon give me another opportunity according to promise, which, however, he has not fulfilled. I suspect that the condition he alluded to, and would not disclose, is that no demand shall be made or listened to respecting the restitution of Burgundy, or the wrongs which his master pretends to have received from the Genoese, or again that which he dreads quite as much, which is the question of reinstating the Empire in the temporal power, which the Pope holds at

* "Non obstant qu'il ny eust prince ne potentatz en Christienté que se trouve plus interessé que luy ne quaye plus d'occasion dinster a la repetition et recoubrement des choses que luy ont estez tollues, occupeez et usurpez."

1533.

present,* and which would increase beyond measure Your Majesty's power.

After the above conversation, Langez made some attempt to justify himself, and excuse his own doings at Paris and elsewhere in favour of this matter of the divorce, pretending that he had not worked so earnestly for this king as most people believed, and as to him he did not wish for the divorce more than I did. At the end he said that when in Germany last year he had met and conversed with ministers of Your Majesty, who seemed not at all inclined to the preservation of peace and amity between you and his master, inasmuch as they openly said and spread about that the King, his master, was the principal cause of the Turkish invasion. That was, he added, a calumny, and Your Majesty ought to punish severely the authors of such a slanderous accusation. And upon my attempting to justify you, saying that you could not possibly have allowed such rumours to circulate, he replied to me that Your Majesty had at the diet of Ratisbonne pronounced words not much to the honour of the King, his master. Having asked him what the words could be, he said to me that Your Majesty had publicly stated at the Diet that king Francis, upon being asked to co-operate against the Turk, had answered flatly that *he could not, and would not, risk his men and money in such an enterprize,* and though he (Langez) contradicted the assertion that words to that effect had been introduced in the written answer given by the King to Mr. de Balançon, yet he owned that the rest of the letter said substantially the same thing, but maintained that on no account ought the passage in question to have been read at that assembly. And upon my remarking that there was no reason for Your Majesty to take so much trouble as to read the whole of the letter, and that if it were true, as he pretended, that the first overtures on that affair had come from Your Majesty you would surely have referred to his master's letter, and, if necessary, published it for the benefit of those concerned.†

Such was the ambassador's haste in going to Court that I had no time or leisure to interrogate the gentleman lately from Scotland (Beauvoir) as to his business in that country; but having inquired from Mr. de Langez whether his colleague's mission had been successful, and if peace or truce had been concluded between England and Scotland, he answered me coolly that he was ignorant of what his colleague had done in the latter country, or even if he had gone thither for that purpose, but this he could say that the English and Scotch ought to remain at peace with each other. I made yesterday

* "Ou des querelles quil pretend avoer sur gennes, ou encoires, quest ce quil craint austant, quil ne sagisse de reintegrer l'empire en la temporalite que le pape tient, doubtant que pour ce vostre maieste ne se agrandisse par trop."

† "Et que si ainsy estoit quil disoit que vostre maieste eust entamme le propoz que du surplus icelle se seroit rappourtee au surplus de lescript le faisant publier entre ceuls qui seroit de besoing."

1533.

the same inquiry of the duke of Norfolk, who told me that the French gentleman had gone to Scotland on business of the Most Christian King, and also that Mr. de Langez (Langeais) at his audience with this king had spoken of the Council in precisely the same terms that he did to me. The Duke could not give me any more particulars owing to the presence in the room of the duke of Suffolk and earl of Wiltshire, and also because he was in a hurry to go to the King, who had already sent him three messages. I hope when the occasion comes of speaking to him that I shall be able to learn more particulars about Langez' charge.

Respecting the mission of the other Frenchman, the Papal Nuncio, who is in Scotland, writes to his nephew (*son neueue*) and to the Nuncio residing at this court, that the Frenchman had spoken to king James in these or similar terms. The king of France, his master, had heard that ever since the king of Scotland had accepted the Golden Fleece his friendship and regard for France had considerably decreased, and that he no longer entertained that amity and affection which his predecessors on the throne had shewn for France, and which had been so much to their advantage. No cause, he thought, had been given for such friendship either to diminish or become extinct, as seemed probable; still less for such an act of contempt (*temia en mesprison*) as having the Royal arms of France lowered, and those of the Empire put in their place. It was for the purpose of ascertaining the truth of such rumours, and likewise to know what the King's intentions were, that he (Beauvoir) had been sent to Scotland. Also to tell the King in the most formal and positive manner that his master had not given up the idea of a marriage between him and his daughter. To this speech king James answered in the most gracious terms, professing to entertain for France the same affection and regard as before. In accepting the Order [of the Golden Fleece], which Your Majesty had kindly conferred upon him, he thought he had done a right thing (*une conforme oeuvre*), and one of which he should never have to repent, and then went on saying many praises of Your Majesty.

The Nuncio's letter contains no more particulars about this, but we shall soon hear his own verbal report, for he will be back in about eight or ten days, *in order to return to Rome*. He also says in his letter that the Scots are making wonderful preparations for war, and that if the English attempt to invade their country they will meet with a stout defence. Not that the Scots are averse to peace; on the contrary, they wish for it, but on the terms which the King originally proposed, and which the English consider somewhat humiliating and undesirable, as I had occasion to write to Your Majesty in my despatch of the 27th of January. The letter, however, says that in the adjustment of the said peace, if it should ever be negotiated, it is to be feared the settlement of the damage and interests on each side will be a great drawback towards its being effected.

1533.

I must, moreover, observe in reference to this subject, that sometime ago the French gentleman (Mr. Beauvoir) was here [in London] intending to go to Scotland, but that having communicated to this king the nature of his charge, he was not allowed to proceed on his journey, and had to go back to France, whence he went to Scotland by sea. One might conclude from this that there exists some difference of opinion between England and France as to the manner of settling the Scotch business. Only two days ago the English Admiral said to me that the French were not sincere, and that they secretly favoured the Scots.

On the 23rd ult° the Papal Nuncio here received from Rome the brief which His Holiness sent him concerning the convocation of the Council for St. Mathias' Day. The Nuncio went to Court to present the said brief, but as it happened to be on the day when the Lady had invited the King to dine in her apartments he could not get an audience, though the duke [of Norfolk] was deputed to hear what he had to say on the subject. The Nuncio explained to him fully what his mission was, and put the brief into his hands. He has since asked many a time to see the King, and speak to him on the subject so as to get an answer, *but after having been put off from day to day he was told yesterday that the King was too much engaged to see anyone, and besides that there was no need at all of an answer, since one was being prepared for the English ambassador at Rome to put into His Holiness' hands.*

On the same day of St. Mathias the Lady treated the King to a banquet in her apartments, beautifully ornamented with splendid tapestry hangings, and the finest of buffets covered with gold plate. The Lady herself sat on the King's right hand, whilst the Dowager Duchess [of Norfolk] was lower down on the left, at the end of a cross table joining that of the King, where the Chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, and several other lords and ladies sat. During the dinner the King was so much engaged in play and conversation with the ladies that he scarcely talked to the rest of the company, or if he did no one could hear what he said, save once that he addressed the duchess of Norfolk,* and asked her if she did not think that Madame, the marchioness, had a fine dowry and a rich marriage portion, which incident and others that I could relate will shew Your Majesty how obstinate this king is in his purpose, for since the execution of the Papal brief he has behaved much worse than before, not only in this respect, but also in his treatment of the Queen, whom he has lately caused to be hastily removed 40 miles from this city, without granting her the eight days she asked for to set her

* "Durante le disne le roy fut tant occupe en jeux et devises quil ne tint pas grant propoz [que] fussent entendus, entre les quels fut quil dita la ducesse de Norphore si madame la marquise navoit point grand dot, et rich mariaige veu que tout ce quelle veoit et la reste de la vasselle dont ilz avoient este serui [s] apartenoit a la dite dame."

1533.

affairs in order (*pour donner ordre a ses besoingnes*); nor can it be expected that he will act otherwise towards her until he hears of a sentence having been pronounced in his favour, as I have already informed Your Majesty.

A fortnight ago, a German born at Basle, aged 30 or thereabouts, but speaking fluently Spanish, Italian, and French, and who, I am told, served in the late Italian wars, arrived in this city. He calls himself the servant of the duke of Saxony and of the landgrave [of Hesse], and says that he has come here in the name of those princes to offer his services and raise a number of men in case war should be made [in Germany]. He has been very well received by this king, and is to get an answer in a couple of days. I hear that Cremvel (Cromwell) is the man appointed to treat with him, not the Duke, which circumstance makes me believe that he has been sent here by Melanchton himself rather than by the above-mentioned princes.—London, 8th March 153[3].

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

French. Holograph. pp. 8.

15 Mar. **1056.** The SAME to the SAME.

K. u. K. Haus Hof-u.-StaatsArch. Wien. *Rep. P. Fasc.*, c. 228, No. 18.

Since my last despatch, dated the 8th inst., the King has had a chaplain, and the Lady also one of hers, to preach before them that all the time he had lived with his Queen he had been in adultery and sin, and that all his good subjects ought to pray God to forgive him such an offence, and enlighten him so as to take soon another wife. "This measure," the preacher added, "the members of the Privy Council ought to urge and strongly recommend, and if allowable compel the King to adopt, without taking heed of the censures and other measures decreed by the Pope, who in matters like this, in which he was evidently acting against the commands of God and against all reason, ought not to be obeyed. No wonder then (the preacher went on to say) if the King being so situated, were to take a wife of low rank, provided the virtues and secret merits of the person thus chosen should counterbalance her position, as happened in the cases of kings Saul and David.* Which words the preacher uttered with such passion and vehemence that the Queen's servants were greatly shocked, and that she herself, when she came to hear of them, wrote the letter herein enclosed, again imploring Your Majesty's help and favour lest this and other alarming appearances should indeed be a sign of her case being irretrievably lost.

My secretary brought me the day before yesterday the letter which Your Majesty was pleased to write me on the

* "Disant dauantage que ne se failloit esbeyr sil vouloit prendre femme de bas estat le permettant ainsi pour vertu et secretz merites du personnage, comme iadis estoit aduenu au roy Saul et Dauid."

1533.

3rd inst. It came very opportunely for me to repair to Court, and there make inquiries respecting the affairs of Scotland, and also about the German, of whom I wrote last to Your Majesty, as well as concerning the mission of the seigneur de Rocheffort, who left this city post haste *two days ago for the purpose*, as some say, of visiting the king of France, and persuading him to take this affair of the Scots in hand; for it appears that these people are heartily sick of war, and that they find no nobleman or gentleman willing to take the command of the expedition. Indeed the earl of Wiltshire owned to me this very morning that the King, his master, wished for peace with Scotland, and would easily make it if requested, owing to king James being his own nephew, and because war with Scotland was a very expensive and dangerous occupation for the English, who had nothing to gain by it. The Scots had lately taken prisoners seven or eight of their officers *in an encounter*. The Earl said only seven or eight, but the truth is, as the rumour goes, that no less than 25 were taken prisoners on that occasion, *all men of quality and rank in the army*. Among other circumstances, all leading to conjecture *that the said Rocheffort has gone* [*to France*] *for the above said object, one is that two days before his departure the King held a* Council, at which the brother of the *earl of Douglas, and another Scotch captain, just come from the borders of Scotland, were present*. Others think that Mr. de Rocheffort has gone to France to ascertain whether king Francis would like to visit England now, as he promised at Boulogne. Which conjecture is based not only upon the fact that both in that town and here, after the King's return, it was publicly said that Francis would come over; but because this king has lately ordered *all his game parks to be put in order, and all licences for hunting revoked, which is a sign that he intends entertaining his guests and giving them good sport*. To ascertain whether this be true or not, I did this very morning when I called upon the King, dexterously make the conversation fall on the reported journey of king Francis to Compienne (Compiegne), which in fact is but coming closer to this country; but the King adroitly avoided the conversation, saying that it was only one of Francis' ordinary pleasure excursions which he usually made at this time of the year. Hearing this I began to praise and extol the last assembly at Boulogne, and the causes that had brought it on, but all in vain, the King would not bite. True it escaped him to say that the meeting at Calais had been principally planned for the sake of amusement and enjoyment, and the better to shew the friendship and great trust the two kings placed on each other. I believe he said this because I told him that I had seen the clumsily shaped treaty concluded at that place, which after all was but a poor issue for such a boasted meeting. I ended by telling him that no doubt they had had such pastime and pleasure together *that I should not wonder if they renewed*

1533.

the interview. His answer was: "That may well be, for so great is our mutual trust, that we can at any time visit one another without any previous ceremony, and almost without notice." This the King said in such a cold and indifferent manner *that I am almost inclined to believe no such project as king Francis' visit to this country really exists* at this moment, and yet it seems to me as if this king really wished for it that the Frenchman may be present at his marriage.

As above stated I waited this morning on the King, with whom I spent two good hours walking and conversing with him in his garden; but as it would take me too much time to relate all that was then said, and as besides I should not like to trouble Your Majesty with too minute a detail of our long conversation, I shall merely mention here the points of some importance. Having spoken to him about the Italian league, of which I knew he had had previous information, and asked him whether he was likely to view it in a better light considering the quarter it came from, and said that I thought that he himself being the prince who had hitherto shewn himself the most disposed to mediate between Christian princes, and to conciliate their differences, would rejoice at the news*—especially as the said league was merely a defensive one at which no prince could take umbrage or shew resentment—the King replied in a somewhat displeased tone, and after a short pause: that the league I spoke of was not general; that the Venetians and the duke of Ferrara (Alfonso d'Este) had not joined it, as he had been informed by his own ambassador and others. And though I contradicted him, and said I was positively sure that the contrary was the case, and that both Venice and Ferrara had signed the agreement, I did not insist thereon, but changed the topic of our conversation and entered upon another subject which I imagined would be more agreeable to him, namely, Your Majesty's departure from Bologna, at which he seemed so pleased that he began immediately to question me and asked four times running about your sudden journey to Spain, what had been the cause of it, &c., observing at the same time that Your Majesty's protracted negotiations with His Holiness, and your too great humility towards the Holy See had exasperated Germany; which country (he said) was in a troubled and disorderly state, so much so that the people wondered how you could quit it without applying a remedy to the state of things there. And upon my explaining to him *the reason of Your Majesty's sudden departure from the Pope* I asked him *"What else could the Emperor, my master, do for the peace and tranquillity of Germany?" He answered me: "I do not consider myself wise enough to state an opinion, or*

* "Luy disant que bien quil en fust dallieurs aduerty sil le prendoit yl (si le prendroit il ?) de meilleur part du couste dont yl venoit, et que pensoye que pour estre le prince que cestoit tosiours par cy deuant monstre le mediateur et conciliateur de la paix entre les princes chrestiens, yl trouveroit les dites nouvelles bonnes."

1533.

tender advice on such matters." "Yet," said I, "Your Highness has been well acquainted with the state of that country ever since the time that there was a question of electing you king of the Romans." This I said to him with a view to flatter his vanity, and urge him on, but he only replied, "Without me your master would never have been elected Emperor." Then he added, "Germany is discontented at not seeing the prospect of a Council, general or provincial, such as has been promised, settled. The Pope will never consent to a general one, whatever briefs he may have issued on the subject." And upon my repeating to him the very words which Langes (Langeay) said once to me concerning the good disposition of his master, the King, towards the convocation of the Council, he began to laugh and said, "Matters are not so far advanced as you imagine, for the Pope fearing the great injury (*la lourde bastonnade*) that he may receive on that score will take good care not to convoke the Council."

After this the conversation fell on the great cause of complaint *which Your Majesty has against him in this mighty affair* [*of the divorce*], the King alleging in his favour the very reasons so often brought forward, which reasons I tried to oppose as courteously and yet as pertinently as was in my power, adding that not only *the Queen herself, but his own subjects, and indeed the world at large,* could not conceive why, after so many years, *and having been twice in Italy with the Pope, Your Majesty had not yet prevailed upon him to bring that wretched affair to an end.* His reply was that on Your Majesty speaking those very words, or the like of them, *to a great personage* (*and I fancy he meant the Pope himself*), *the answer was that neither the Queen nor yourself had a right to complain of the delay, for the case once tried the Queen would be condemned for certain.* My answer was: "If such be the case Your Highness need in nowise object *to a sentence being pronounced, especially if you are sure of its being favourable. Had justice and reason been on Your Highness' side* I do not hesitate to say that *the Emperor, my master, would have liked to see this affair* settled long ago, for had the sentence been given against the Queen, her nephew would have placed her near the Empress, his wife, who would have been most happy to have such a virtuous and holy princess by her side." This much I said to him, knowing the great fear he has that this new marriage once effected the Queen should quietly retire to Your Majesty's dominions. I continued: "That would be besides a great boon for the Emperor and his Spanish subjects, for should he again be obliged to return to Germany or Italy he might take the Empress with him, *leaving behind* such a princess as queen Katharine to govern Spain during his absence, she being so much loved by all Spaniards that according to information received from that country the sentiments of the people towards her are little short of adoration; so much so, that were the Emperor to require and

1533.

ask aid from his subjects Spaniards of all ranks would willingly sacrifice their fortune, their wives and children, in behalf of the Queen. This I said to the King in view of the danger there is of his proceeding to extremities, and also to contradict the assertion he once made me, that in Spain no one cared a fig for the Queen.

These last words had some effect on the King's mind, for after reflecting some time he again *began to argue the affair, maintaining that the Spanish prelates who had written to the Pope in the Queen's favour* had not sufficiently looked to their honour and reputation [as men of learning], for they opposed a constitution made at the synod of Toledo, five years ago, which having been celebrated within that archiepiscopal see, ought to have been respected by them. Should the Pope refuse to send back the cause to England, where it formerly was, he would no doubt do him great injury, but he (the King) would find a remedy for that too. The Pope might still do greater injury by refusing to admit his excusator, not only to him, but to Your Majesty and all other princes who might hereafter be summoned to appear at Rome personally, and obey the Pope's capricious and unwarrantable injunctions. He wished that his excusator had been already dismissed by interlocutory, for then in that case a nice noise would have been heard on the side of the king of France and of himself, who would solemnly protest against the measure, and so tie the Pope's hands that he could no longer undertake *anything against them.* I cannot say whether this threat of the King referred only to this affair, or to others also. I remonstrated with him as much as I could, and tried to prove that the case could not well be tried and sentenced in England, were it for no other reason than the doubt that might hereafter be raised if it was not tried at Rome; but all my arguments were unavailing; he was as obstinate as ever, saying that he knew very well what he was about, and pretty sure that following the line of conduct he had traced out for himself, the treaties lately made should not be broken, for his brother of France and himself had sworn to observe them faithfully, and that if anyone should attack them they would defend themselves.

I replied to him that as far as Your Majesty was concerned, you were as far from provoking a war, or doing anything that might be offensive, as Lycurgus was in establishing a law or penalty against parricides, considering it impossible that he should ever give you occasion for it.* The King's answer was that many a time opportunities grew at the will of those who wished for a rupture, and that he thought that besides the causes specified in the treaty there would be no occasion for rupture. Perceiving, however, that the King's intention was to shew that his divorce and second marriage

* "Je luy dis quil se pouvoit tenir tout asseure de vostre maieste quavoit ausy peu pense luy vouloer mouoer guerre ne fascherie que ligurgus (*sic*) avoit de mettre peyne et punition aux parricides, tenant pour impossible quil en voulust donner aucune occasion a vostre dite maieste."

1533.

would not be a sufficient cause for a war between the two nations, I told him that there were many reasons and considerations expressly comprised in the treaties, such as that of the parties not causing injury or dishonour to each other, or otherwise doing unreasonable or unjustifiable acts. Upon which the King remarked: "If so, I shall myself have plenty of ground for complaining of the rupture, for the Emperor has done me great injury by inciting the Pope against me, and requesting him to issue a brief; for not only has he, as you say, asked for justice, but he actually wants that justice to be done in his own way and according to his own caprice." This remark I could not let pass, and therefore made such a quick, though respectful, repartee as obliged the King to soften his words considerably.

After this he (the King) *began to say a thousand things in disparagement of the Pope, and among the rest how vainglorious he was to have his feet kissed* [*by princes*], *and what authority and power he unduly assumed over the Empire, and also over the rest of the kingdoms in Christendom, creating and deposing emperors at will. He had* (*he continued*) *lately made the acquisition of a book, which he believed to have been stolen from the Papal library, wherein it is maintained that all kings in Christendom are only feudatories of the Pope, even to the king of France, and the dukes of Bavaria also.* As to himself, he was about to apply a remedy to the Pope's inordinate ambition and repair the errors of *king Henry the Second and Jehan* (*king John*), *who in a moment of need had been tricked into making England and Ireland tributaries of the Holy See.** He was also thinking of uniting to the Crown the lands which the Clergy of his dominions held thereof, which lands and property his predecessors on the throne could not alienate to his prejudice. This he was bound to do by the very oath he had sworn at his coronation.

I did not attempt to contradict the King in his assertion that I might the better impress him with the necessity of a General Council without which the measures he talked about could not possibly be adopted;† but whatever efforts I made on that score were perfectly unavailing, he would not be persuaded that a meeting of that sort was at all necessary.

Towards the end of our conference the King inquired whether it was true that the king of Portugal had died. After that he began to extol and magnify beyond measure the power and wealth [of France], saying, among other things, that he never knew that country so rich and flourishing as it was at the present moment, with such a fine set of gentlemen capable

* "Les quels par une tromperie en une necessite auoient fait ce royaulme et yrland tributaires."

† "Je luy laissay sans contredit couler le tout pour avoer occasion de prendre sur ce beau teme de luy vouloer suader le concille general] sans le quel les choses dont yl parloit ne se debuoint ne pouvoint bonnement fere [mais y ny a ordre de luy faire gouster le dit concille]."

1533.

of bearing arms, who, he said, had in later times stolen from the English both beauty and corpulence, so much so that they looked more like Englishmen than Frenchmen, at which last observation *I was not a little astonished, fancying that such a conceited opinion of the physical superiority of the English over the French did only exist among the lower ranks of society here.**

Yesterday and to-day a motion has been discussed in Parliament for an ordinance and statute declaring that the Pope has no right, authority, or jurisdiction whatever in this kingdom. This some people have found very strange, yet it is believed that the affair will go on, *for the King wishes it immensely, and has already made his preparations to have the measure carried through the House. Should the Pope wish to prevent it, he might easily do so by sentencing at once the Queen's case, helping the king of Scotland with money, and fulminating ecclesiastical censures to prevent the intercourse of trade, as I have already had the honour of pointing out to Your Majesty; otherwise there is danger that things will go very badly.*

The King tells me that the German, about whom I wrote to Your Majesty on the 8th inst., had come here in consequence of the rumours of war, merely to offer his services, and that he had brought letters of introduction from the landgrave [of Hesse].

Besides the six men-of-war, mentioned in my last, four more are now being armed by the King's order, and there is some talk of getting others ready; all this is owing to the astonishing number of ships the Scotch seem to have at sea, which makes these people suspect that they must have got help or money from some quarter.

I forgot to say that this king said to me *that the Pope* was urgently pressing the marriage of his niece (Caterina de' Medici) to the duke *of Orleans, and that he considered the thing as done. I replied to him that in my opinion Your Majesty would be quite pleased, as it would be the means of preserving and cementing the present peace.*—London, 15th March 1533.

Signed: "Eustace Chapuys."

Addressed: "To the Emperor."

Indorsed: "From the ambassador in England. Received the 7th of April, on the Emperor's embarkation for Spain at Genoa."

French. Holograph. pp. 10.

* "Le dit roy vint a parler sil estoit vrai de la mort du roy de Portugal; puis vint a parler, magnifier et exalter la richesse et grande puissance de celuy de France quil nest possible den dire plus, disant entre autres choses quil ne vit onques la france garnie de plus de gentilhommes ne plus beaulx, et que depuis peu de tempsença les françois auoient desrobe la beaulte et la corpulence des anglois, et quil sembloit proprement quilz fussent anglois non point françois], des quelz derniers propos fus assez esbey cuydant que [telle oppinion comme quilz ne pouuoient estre belles gens que anglois, ne fut que entre les populaires]."

CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARY